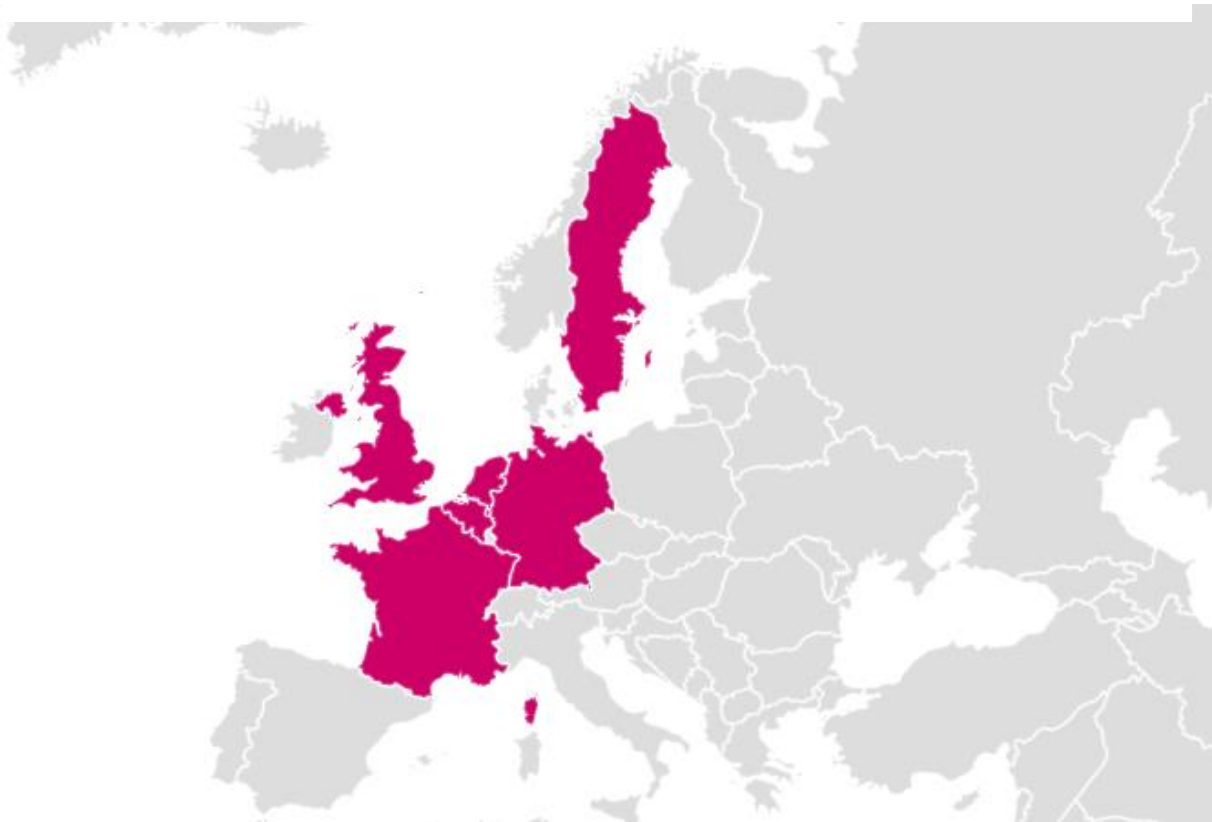


The differences in adoption of integration models



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Date of completion: 19 August 2016
Word count: 24406



Summary

The aim of this thesis is to find out whether the four theories of policymaking explain the difference in adoption of migrant integration models in Europe. To achieve this, this thesis critically analyzed four variables and their relation with the national integration policies of six European countries (the Netherlands, Germany, United Kingdom, France, Sweden and Belgium). The variables are conducted from the rational, political, constructivist and universalistic theory, also known as the four theories of policy-making. To study and test the explanatory power of these four theories, this thesis conducted a congruence analysis. The focus of this research was on the number of highly skilled migrants, the presence of populist radical right parties, the attitudes towards migrants and the welfare state type. Based on this analysis, this thesis concludes that the rationalist and constructivist theory (partially) explain the adoption of the universalistic and assimilationist migrant integration model.

Acknowledgments

After months of extensive research, I have finally finished my Master thesis. Not only did I learn new research techniques, I also had the opportunity to research one of the most actual subjects of this moment, which is immigrant integration. This master thesis owes its existence to the help, support and inspiration of several people. Foremost, I would like to express my deepest gratitude to my thesis supervisor, Peter Scholten, whose expertise, guidance and enthusiastic encouragements have kept me going throughout the course of this thesis. Also, I would like to thank Ilona van Breugel for taking the time to read my thesis and provide me with insightful feedback. Last but not least, I would like to thank my family and friends for their continuous love, support and encouragement throughout my studies.

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List of abbreviation:

EU: European Union

MIPEX: Migrant Integration Policy Index

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

PRRP: Populist radical right parties

SD: Social Democrats

UK: United Kingdom

Chapter 1: Introduction

This chapter gives a brief description of the background of integration policy in Europe along with the purpose of this study, the problem analysis, research questions and lastly the social and theoretical relevance.

1.1 Background

According to the OECD (2016) Europe is now facing one of the worst refugee crises in decades. Over one million asylum-seekers have reached the European Union via the Mediterranean shores in 2015, a number which is five times as high as the previous year. With the enormous volumes of new arrivals, many European countries have reached their breaking point in their capacity to meet the European Union standards in receiving and processing applicants (Banulescu-Bogdan & Fratzke, 2015). Even though many European countries struggle to find housing for asylum-seekers, the major issues of helping them rebuilding their lives, finding their place in their new home countries and participating in society stands out (Sunderland, 2016).

With regard to the current refugee crisis, the EU response has been rather chaotic and divisive and more or less characterized with disagreements over sharing responsibility and finger pointing (ibid.). National immigrant integration policies across Europe have been a necessary yet insufficient response to the need of a rapidly diversifying population (Collett & Petrovic, 2014: 3). Primary responsibility for integration lies at the national and local levels. As integration challenges mount, governments are beginning to look for other methods of addressing longer-term inequality and segregation within communities (Collett & Petrovic, 2014: 3). As a result, many types of government policies and programs emerged, leading to differences in integrating migrants by different governments (Reitz & Jeffrey, 2002).

Problem statement

Many European countries have agreed upon a collective European approach towards immigration and asylum policies, though countries apply different integration models and are still the main responsible for the integration of their migrants. The primary reason is that Member States are responsible for the development and the implementation of their own integration policy (See Annex), which leads to differences in European countries regarding the integration of migrants. Thus, the question arises what leads to these differences in integration policies in the different European countries and how can these differences be explained?

1.2 Aim of the study and research question

As stated in the previous paragraph, countries experience differences in their integration policy. Often different models of integration are presented in public and political discourses about how European immigration countries address the presence and integration of immigrants and minority groups (Bertossi & Duyvendak, 2012:237). Jacobs and Rea (2007) explain that distinct national policy traditions and related dominant discourses regarding to migrant integration are still present, though some of the policy domains are changing (p. 13). Recent convergence of integration policies for newcomers is the result of diffusion of policy schemes and visions from one country to another, without guided EU interference (p. 15), however there is still sufficient divergence in integration policies across countries to distinguish national integration models. Many European countries have agreed upon a collective European approach towards immigration and asylum policies, though countries still apply different integration models.

The objective of this study is, to find an explanation why European countries adopt different integration models and what factors have led to this difference. This study critically analyzes four variables, conducted from four theories of policymaking, and their relation with the national integration policies of six European countries – Sweden, France, Germany, Belgium, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. This resulted in the following research question and sub-questions.

Research question

Can the four theories of policymaking explain the differences in models of migrant integration that are adopted in Europe?

Sub-question:

1. What migrant integration models apply to these countries?
2. What is the relation between host countries' attitudes towards migrants and migrant integration models?
3. What is the relation between the types of welfare state and migrant integration models?
4. What is the relation between the skill levels of migrants and migrant integration models?
5. What is the relation between populist radical right parties and migrant integration models?

1.3 Relevance

The concept of relevance comprises of social and theoretical relevance. The theoretical relevance assigns to the research's contribution to the scientific body of knowledge, whereas the social relevance assigns to "*the project's perspective and ideally increases citizen's political knowledge and awareness* (Geschwend & Schimmelfennig, 2007: 23)".

Social relevance

Issues regarding the integration of migrants have become more present on the policy agenda nowadays. Due to large population movements during the last decades until now, the population of several European countries has become culturally diverse (Toth & van den Vijver, 2004: 249). National governments and social scientists therefore have become increasingly more interested in the possibilities and concerns of immigrants, mainly in its implications for the receiving society. Furthermore, the current refugee crisis has brought a massive flow of migrants to the European Union, on which the European countries need to anticipate adequately. The need for effective and appropriate integration policies across Europe is imminent as the growing population is diversifying (Collett & Petrovic, 2014: 3). As integration challenges mount, governments are beginning to look for other methods of addressing long-term inequality and segregation within communities (ibid.). Research in this area is of great importance as it provides more information why migrants are integrated differently in Europe and what factors contribute to this difference. Especially, during one of the worst refugee crisis in decades, knowledge about migrant integration could help national governments develop custom-made integration policies.

This study provides insights for national governments on what makes integration policy differ and why countries associate with a particular integration model. By analyzing different variables (attitudes towards migrants, welfare state type, the presence of populist radical right party and skill level of migrants) in six different countries, insight is given whether these variables can explain why countries adopt different integration models.

Theoretical relevance

Over the years, a lot of research has been conducted on the characteristics of different integration models and the relation of a particular country and the type of integration model a country adopts. Though only a small amount of the conducted research is focused on the relationship between the policymaking theories and its concepts and the adoption of different integration models. Research that covers this topic, mostly only compare countries on topics

such as labor market integration. This thesis will test four different factors, which are deduced from four different policy-making theories empirically on whether they have an influence on a country's choice for a particular integration model.

Another difference between this research and other research that has been carried out about the same topic is the choice of concepts which are analyzed. Furthermore, this study intends to explain the differences in integration policy by analyzing skill level of migrants, the presence of a populist radical right party, the attitudes towards migrants and the welfare state of a country. This thesis aims to contribute to science by shedding new light on the relation of different variables and their relation with the different integration models in six countries.

1.4 Structure of this study

This research consists of six chapters, which are divided in smaller subchapters, followed by the bibliography and annex.

Chapter two gives an overview of four policymaking theories, which are the base of the theoretical framework of this research. This chapter also elaborates on four different migrant integration models and their characteristics. Furthermore, four variables, which are deduced from the four theories are identified along with a conceptual model.

Chapter three presents the research methodology in which the choice for the research design and the methods of data collection and analysis are explained and justified. The dependent variable in this thesis is the integration models adopted by the countries. The independent variables are based on the theories in chapter two. Moreover, information is provided about congruence analysis and the validity and reliability of this thesis.

Chapter four presents the six countries and their migrant integration policy along with the conclusion what integration model each country adopts.

Chapter five elaborates on the findings which results in an analytical comparison of the integration models and the various independent variables. This chapter ends with a short conclusion.

Lastly, chapter six presents the conclusion and the limitations of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Theoretical framework

This chapter first discusses the four types of migrant integration models, and thereafter elaborates on the theoretical framework, which provides a systematic ordering of ideas about the studied objects and forms the base of this research. The theories chosen for this research are: the rationalist, political, constructivist and institutionalist theory on the basis that these theories give a better understanding of the mechanisms that lead to the adoption of different migrant integration models. By setting these policymaking theories against each other, the researcher could study the dynamics of national governments and retrieve insights about the theories that explains these dynamics of adopting integration models best. Furthermore, the immigrant integration models and the policymaking theories are considered as complements of each other to understand the immigrant integration policies. Paragraph 2.1 explains the migrant integration models. Paragraph 2.2 discusses the theories of policymaking. Paragraph 2.3 presents the conceptual model and the expectations of this research.

2.1 Migrant integration models

After some years of study and public debate, four main theoretical models are defined to explain the formation of immigrant integration policies. These four models of migrant integration are the assimilationist, multiculturalist, universalistic and the differential-exclusionary model (Scholten, 2011, 38). The first three models are known for their proposals of different types of integration policies, whereas the last one bases its assumptions on the development of policies that lead to non-integration of immigrants (Korkmaz, 2006: 7). This paragraph discusses the four migrant integration models and their main characteristics.

Model 1: Assimilationist model

The assimilationist model is often perceived as predicting the extinction of ethnic differences through the one-way adjustment of an immigrant-origin group to the receiving society's mainstream (Alba & Nee, 1997: 54). However, this theory did not start that way. According to the Chicago School formulation, assimilation was far from mechanic and it did not require the dismount of all ethnic characteristics (ibid.). One of the best-known early definitions of the assimilation theory, is described by Park and Burgess (1969:735) as “*a process of interpenetration and fusion in which persons and groups acquire the memory, sentiments and attitudes of other persons and groups and, by sharing their experience and history, are incorporated with them in a common historical life*”. This definition associates

assimilation with changes that bring ethnic minorities into the societal mainstream, instead of erasing their ethnic origins (Alba & Nee, 2014:54). Nonetheless, the assimilation theory has been subjected to inevitable reconsiderations through the years (Morawska, 1994). One of the major revisions in the assimilation theory also known as the neo-assimilation theory was formulated by Richard Alba and Victor Nee (2003). This theory starts from a new definition of assimilation, as “*the decline of an ethnic distinction and its corollary cultural and social differences*”. Therefore, the individuals and groups undergoing assimilation may still bear a number of ethnic markers (Alba & Nee, 2014:56). Over the years, the assimilation theory has had a noticeable impact on studies of immigration groups in Western Europe. The assimilationist model is culturally monist and sees assimilation as a basis for citizenship, anyone who agrees to assimilate is welcome to become a full citizen (Entzinger & Scholten, 2014:375).

Assimilationism and migrant integration

According to Peter Scholten (2011) “*assimilationist approach names and frames immigrant integration, mainly through how migrants adopt the culture of native society*”. This model assumes that, contact between the minority group of migrants and the dominant culture results in a gradual process of change in the minority group, forcing its members to gradually abandon their culture of origin in order to adapt themselves in the host society. Classifying the involved groups is an inherent dilemma in assimilationist theory, the identification of culturally deviant groups may lead to reification, rather than bridging of cultural differences (p. 39.). Contrarily, public discourse is more likely to emphasize ethno-cultural groups. According to assimilationism migrants should be willing to adopt national norms and values and national institutions should be effective of including migrants (ibid.). Assimilationism frames immigrant integration in terms of national identity and national social cohesion in the viability of the national community (ibid.). In assimilationist integration policy, these characteristics are often present: labor market and public institutions participation and encompassing parallel social and cultural changes, bringing immigrants closer to the society’s mainstream (Bloemraad et al, 2008).

Model 2: Multiculturalist model

The second model is the multiculturalist model, this model stresses the importance of cultural pluralism and a more cultural neutral, open form of citizenship (Scholten, 2011: 39). Multiculturalism names immigrants integration in terms of cultural diversity and the need of

varying cultural backgrounds (ibid.). Adaption however involves finding commonalities between individuals in society, multiculturalism searches for compatibilities between groups and for tolerance of facets of social life that groups do not have in common (ibid.). The causal theory, which is prominent in most multiculturalist thinking is that the only way to accommodate cultural pluralism is to recognize cultural diversity and to differentiate policies for particular cultural groups (ibid.). Multiculturalism contains the normative perspective that cultural diversity is a value in itself and that government interference should be limited as cultures themselves will determine the identities of their cultural group members (p.40).

Multiculturalism and migrant integration

Multiculturalism is generally based on two key principles – social equality and participation, and cultural recognition (Vasta, 2011: 734). The first important principle is based on the notion that immigrant participation is needed in all societal institutions, which includes the labor market and education for example. This notion requires government policies to ensure that immigrants have access to various rights, including anti-discrimination, equal opportunity and services that match the requirements of the various groups (ibid.). In addition, empowerment is of importance in the sense that immigrants need to gain cultural capital to participate in the receiving society. The second important principle of multiculturalism is based on the assumption that immigrants have the right to practice their own religion and languages and to establish communities. According to Vasta (2007), any policy of inclusion should include both principles in order to be successful.

Model 3: Differential- exclusionary model

The third model is the differential-exclusionary model, this model involves the institutionalization of differences (Scholten, 2011:40). Cultural diversity is institutionalized in the form of parallel societies (ibid.). In this model immigrant integration is in terms of accommodating differences between groups that are mostly autonomous or sovereign within their community (ibid.). The differential-exclusionary model is essentially utilized in countries where the nation is defined according to the majority populations' ethnic background (Korkmaz, 2006: 12). The dominant group is not willing to accept immigrants and their offspring as members of the nation (ibid.). This unwillingness is moreover expressed through exclusionary immigration policies, restrictive naturalization rules and the ideology of not being a country for immigrants.

Differential-exclusionary model and migrant integration

With the different exclusionary approach, immigrants are incorporated into certain areas of society, such as the labor market, but are denied access to other areas such as welfare systems, citizenship and political participation (Brubaker, 2001:538). This model classifies migrants in ways that stress their status as distinct national, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. The causal relation for the differential-exclusionary approach underlines either the absence of a need to integrate or the unfeasibility of integration (ibid.). Differential-exclusionary integration policy often has the following characteristics: instruction in languages and cultures of origin, System of social service provision to distinct populations of immigrant origin and restrictive citizenship law towards immigrants, extending political rights to resident foreigners instead of incorporating immigrants to full citizens (Brubaker, 2001:538)

Model 4: Universalistic model

Koopman and Statham (2000) identified the universalistic model as a model which adopts a more liberal egalitarian view on immigrant integration, whose core values are good citizenship and equality. This model differs from the multicultural and assimilationist model in the sense that it sees no role for the state in cultural affairs, the focal point is neither on commonalities or compatibilities between groups in pluralist societies (Entzinger & Scholten. 2014:375). Moreover, universalism focuses mainly on the social-economic and political-legal spheres of integration rather than the social-cultural spheres (Scholten, 2011). Culture and religion are viewed as issues belonging to the private domain. In the public domain, emphasis is put on individual participation in spheres such as labor, education and housing, which are considered colorblind.

Universalism and migrant integration

According to Peter Scholten (2011) the causal theory underlying universalism highlights the need for migrants to be able to stand on their own feet as citizens of society, mainly in terms of social-economic participation (p. 41). In a universalistic country, the fight against discrimination and the effectiveness of institutions, such as education and labor, at including migrants have a high priority. Universalistic integration policy often has the following characteristics: the presence of basic civil rights, political rights and international solidarity (Hutter & Kerscher, 2014: 4).

2.2 Theories of policymaking

In this paragraph, major theoretical approaches to the study of politics are introduced. Approaches are schools of thought that influence political science, structuring the questions we ask and constraining the answers we can obtain (Hague & Harrop, 2010: 25). By studying these approaches, different courses could be sensed in which politics can be studied, which enables academic research to be positioned within established frameworks (ibid). The principal distinction of these approaches lies within their different analytical perspectives. This chapter examines the rationalist, political, constructivist and the institutional theory.

2.2.1 Rationalist theory

The main characteristic of the rationalist theory is that policymaking is driven by rational choice (Bekkers, 2011: 55). Rationalism is further characterized as evidence based since it focuses on achieving objectives based on knowledge and information, as this not only gives insight about the public policy itself but also gives insights on how to tackle social problems effectively with the information you have. Public policy consists of political decisions from implementing programs to achieving societal goals (p. 55). According to this approach, knowledge and information are further needed to determine how societal problems are caused and how they could be solved by using the most effective means (p. 59). Therefore, the policy cycle according to the rational mode could be described as a learning cycle driven by knowledge and information.

Rationalist theory & migrant integration: highly skilled migrants

According to this theory, political and social actions are the outcome of rational, individual cost-benefit calculations (Elster, 1989). For this research, the rationalist theory is an important theory in understanding whether the adoption of a particular integration models is part of a societal objective a country wants to achieve. This research examines whether there is a causal relation between the amount of highly skilled migrants and the adoption of an integration model. The main reason to study this relationship is that cultivation of high-skilled migrants is regarded as an important societal objective countries want to accomplish, as countries want to maintain their globally competitive economies (DB, 2014). Furthermore, socio-economic participation is regarded as the area of life which provides the most important indicator whether migrant integration is successful.

2.2.2 Political theory

The political theory explains that policymaking takes place in a field in which dependent actors develop strategic behavior to influence policy for their own interest and positions (Bekkers, 2007: 169). According to the political theory, overall support by all actors is essential for the implementation of successful policy (p. 54). The more their interests are at stake, the more these actors resist the development of particular policy. The continual considerations by all parties is not regarded as rational but as a power battle of different interests (p. 63).

Political theory and migrant integration: presence of populist radical right parties

Since the 1980s, European politics has shifted towards a more authoritarian direction, immigration and integration as well as national security have become more present in the political agenda (Mudde, 2013:9). This shift even got further after the terrorist attacks of 9/11, which have led to the securisation of other policy areas (ibid.). As voter turnout declined, the influence of large mainstream parties decreased and the party structure became divided (DB, 2014:2). The impact of populist parties are noticeable today (Heinen et al, 2015:4). In many countries, established parties are more under pressure to pursue policies with national interest. This research examines whether there is a causal relation between the presence of a populist radical right party and the adoption of a particular migrant integration model. The main argument to study this relationship is the growing influence of populist radical right parties, having their interest sometimes taken into account in policymaking. According to Mudde (2013: 9) countries with large populist parties have introduced more populist radical right legislation, though these policy effects are indirect – “*that is, a reflection of shifts in the policy preferences of mainstream parties because of perceived electoral pressure from populist parties*”. However, while some authors have shown that governments with populist radical right parties have pushed through their preferred policies (Akkerman & De Lange, 2012), others have demonstrated equal developments in countries without such parties in government and sometimes in parliament, pointing to an EU wide convergence of stricter immigration policies (Givens & Luedtke, 2004).

2.2.3 Constructivist theory

According to the constructivist theory, policy is seen as the search for a shared meaning. Fruitful policy is policy that is meaningful for all interested parties (Bekkers, 2007:54). The constructivist theory discusses the role of policy discourses in the framing of policy issues. Rein & Schön (1993) define policy discourses as "interactions of individuals, interest groups, social movements, and institutions through which problematic situations are converted to policy problems" (p. 145). They further highlight the existence of competing and conflicting frames which can result in policy controversies which are often more difficult to solve than policy disagreements because policy disagreements come from common frames. (p. 148). In other words, ideas do not comprise our political world, but they do have an independent influence upon in, shaping how we define our interests, goals, our allies and enemies (Hague & Harrop, 2010: 38).

Constructivist theory and migrant integration: Attitudes towards migrants

Where rational choice describes how people achieve their individual goals, the constructivist theory examines the framing of objectives themselves and consider the interpretations as a property of the group rather than the individual (ibid.). Generally, constructivists do not consider the meaning attached to behavior by individuals but rather how such meanings form, reflect and sustain the tradition, cultures, codes, narratives and discourses of a social group or an entire society (p. 40). This research examines whether there is a causal relation between the attitudes towards migrants by the host country and the adoption of an integration model. It is interesting to study the meaning of the different attitudes towards migrants in Europe in relation with the integration models. According to the OECD (2015) positive attitudes towards immigrants make integration easier. Effective integration of immigrants is not solely an economic and labor market process (OECD, 2015: 19). It has social, educational and even spatial facets (ibid).

2.2.4 Institutional theory

The institutional theory regards policy as formed by rules, institutions and practices. The institutions of government are the device through which political issues are shaped, processed and resolved. These institutions bring in a major source of continuity and predictability. Furthermore, they shape the environment in which political actors operate and to a certain extent structure their interest, values and preferences (Hague & Harrop, 2010: 28). Successful policy, according to this theory relates to growing practices or has the capability to break through these practices (Bekker, 2007:54). Scholars of institutionalism stress on the importance of path dependency in social policy making. Path dependence refers to strategies that "favor the reproduction of established institutional logics" (Beland, 2005, p. 3). In this theory, positive feedback in the policy process occurs when there are small changes on the political agenda but can have major effects in the policy. Negative feedback, on the other hand, sustains the stability in a system and is associated with policy monopoly as it is a subsystem dominated by single interest (p. 155).

Institutionalist theory & migrant integration: Welfare state type

Like welfare states, the approaches that host societies take to integrate their immigrant origin populations have been classified in various ways. The relationship between national welfare states and the incorporation regimes is necessarily a close one (Martiniello & Rath, 2014:352). One of the most well-known and most-cited typologies of welfare states has been devised by Esping-Andersen (1990): liberal, corporatist/continental and social democratic worlds of welfare capitalism. This research examines whether there is a causal relation between the type of welfare state and the adoption of an integration model.

2.3 Conceptual model and expectations

This chapter has given an overview of the four integration models and the four theories of policymaking. Figure 1 shows the conceptual model and expectations of this thesis, which focuses on the following independent variables conducted from the policymaking models: attitudes towards migrants, the presence of a populist radical right party, the type of welfare states and the skill level of migrants on whether they have a causal relationship with the different integration models that are applied in the European countries.

Expectation 1: Number of highly skilled migrants

First of all, this thesis expects to find a relation between the skill level of migrants and countries with integration policies that focus on the fight against discrimination and the effectiveness of institutions, such as education and labor, as in multiculturalist models. It is assumed that a high number of highly skilled migrant's leads to policies that incorporate migrants politically, economically and culturally as their skills are perceived as a great asset for the host society economy and are taken usage of. On the other hand it is expected that a low number of highly skilled migrants leads to policies that are denying migrants access to areas such as welfare systems, citizenship and political participation, as these migrants might be perceived as temporary such as in differential-exclusionary models.

Expectation 2: Presence of PRRP

Second, this thesis expects to find a relation between the presence of a PRRP and the disapproval of special arrangements for ethnic groups. PRRP do not prefer special arrangements for ethnic groups which are often present in multicultural countries. Countries that adopt an assimilationist model are expected to have PRRP, as these parties often are in favor of stricter rules on migrant integration and the adoption of the host countries norms and values. Another expectation anticipates that PRRP are not present in countries that adopt a multicultural model as PRRP ideals do not go in line with the multiculturalist ideals of social equality and participation, and cultural recognition.

Expectation 3: Attitude host country towards migrants

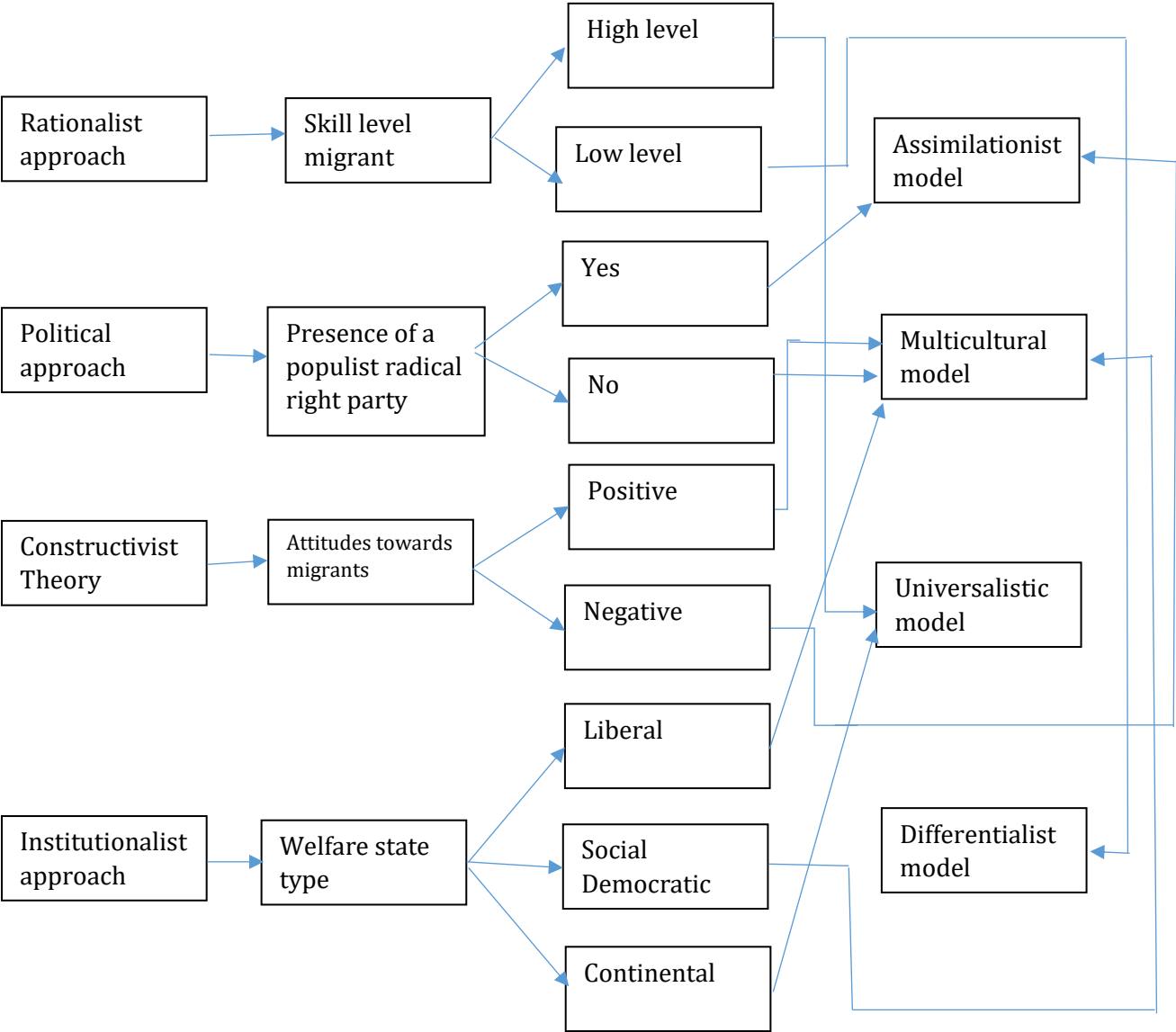
Third, this thesis expects to find a relation between the attitudes by the host country towards migrants and the multicultural model and the assimilationist model. This expectation anticipates that countries that are more positive about migrants are adopting a multicultural integration model as these countries are known for their promotion of equality between all ethnic groups. Another expectation is that countries that are less positive about migrants prefer migrants to integrate and take the host countries norms and values quickly, leading them to adopt an assimilationist model.

Expectation 4: Welfare state type

Lastly, this thesis expects to find a relation between the welfare state type and the multiculturalist model, differential-exclusionary and the universalistic model. This expectation assumes that have a social democratic welfare state adopt a multicultural model as integration in this welfare state types is ethnic group based, which is a main characteristic of the multiculturalist model. Another expectation assumes that countries that adopt a liberal welfare state system adopt a different-exclusionary model, as the characteristics for both these models are similar: high absorption in the labor market and weak integration of migrants. Ultimately, this thesis expects that countries that have a continental welfare state type adopt a universalistic integration model as incorporation in this welfare state type, unlike the other models is highlighted as rather individual and class based instead of ethnic.

By analyzing these different variables and scrutinizing the European integration policies, conclusions could be drawn about the differences in the adoption of migrant integration models. Chapter three will give an insight on how the analysis is conducted and how these variables are measured.

Figure 1: Conceptual model



Chapter 3: Research methodology

The research methodology for this study is presented in this chapter. Paragraph 3.1 describes the research design, followed by paragraph 3.2 which presents the data collection method. Paragraph 3.3 covers the data analysis, paragraph 3.4 discusses this study's reliability and validity and lastly paragraph 3.5 presents the operationalization of the dependent and independent variables.

3.1 Research design: case study

In order to determine potential explanations for the differences in adopted migrant integration models, this thesis uses a qualitative research design. This research aims to estimate whether there is a particular causal effect of the four independent variables on the dependent variable. This research question is also outcome-centric as its ambition is to comprehensively assess potential explanations by considering many independent variables (X) that try to account for variance in the dependent variable (Y). A qualitative research design fits this study as it allows the researcher to do a causal comparative research in which the researcher compares two or more groups in terms of a cause that already has happened (Cresswell, 2014: 12).

Moreover, this research uses the case study as research strategy. The case study is a research strategy, which focuses on one or more cases of the research subject in its real world context (van Thiel, 2010). The decision for a case study research is supported by the two main strengths of this strategy (Bebensat et al, 1987): First, the phenomenon, can be studied in its natural setting and relevant explanations could be generated from the understanding gained through observing actual practice. With regard to this thesis, the adoption of a certain integration model, could be studied by comparing different variables with the intention to find a relation between the variables and the adoption of a particular integration model. Second, case study research allows research questions that are outcome oriented, comparable to this thesis research question to be answered with more or less full understanding of the nature and the complexity of the phenomenon (Voss et al, 2002: 197). Outcome-centric small-N researches provide an in-depth, within case study of potential factors and causal processes that explain the occurrence as comprehensively as possible (Geschwend & Schimmelfennig, 2007).

This thesis discusses and compares six European countries, which makes the N relatively small and the usage of assumption more limited. The sampling strategy is very purposive as the researcher is relying on theoretical sampling by which the cases are selected because of their crucial information they provide. A small-N research seeks to “*attain the same goal by carefully matching a limited number of cases and increasing the number of causal-process observations* (Geschwend & Schimmelfennig, 2007: 11)”. The empirical evidence will be compared with the expectations deduced from the four theories of policymaking (p.204). By conducting a small-N research the concepts of validity increases as it focuses on a few cases and this allows the variable to be conceptualized in complex and multi dimension ways (Blatter & Haverland, 2010: 34). Moreover, a small-N research, allows process tracing which enhances the understanding of “*the causal mechanisms for the relationship and phenomena of interest* (Geschwend & Schimmelfennig, 2007: 10)”.

Case selection

In this research, the Netherlands, France, Sweden, United Kingdom, Belgium and Germany are chosen for comparison and evaluation, for the reason that these six countries are member of the European Union and have a significant number of immigrant population. The selection of these countries has been made on the grounds that they have developed their policies deriving from different theoretical models of immigrant integration. In other words, these countries have been chosen by means of selective sampling. Pre-research, showed that these countries have approached immigrant integration differently, as their integration policies vary heavily. Besides, these six countries have endured large migration flows in the past, though their approaches to integrating these migrants differ. First these countries are matched with a particular integration model according to their type of integration policy. Thereafter, these integration models are analyzed in the light of the different variables to see whether there is a relation between the variables and the different integration model. Purposeful selective sampling is widely used in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information rich cases related to the phenomenon of interest (Yin, 2013). The sampling strategy in this thesis is theory-based as it has the aim to find manifestations of a theoretical construct so as to elaborate and examine the construct and its variations.

3.2 Data collection

For this thesis various sources of data and data collection are used, which includes qualitative data collection techniques. Quantitative data is retrieved from sources, collected by others and official statistics. In his book *Social research methods*, Bryman (2001: 198) states that this way of collecting data has considerable advantages such as costs and time spent on research reduction and high quality data brought up by researchers is obtained more easily. However, secondary data as the source of information has the limitation of becoming obsolete and not meeting the specific needs of the particular situation or setting. Henceforth, it is of importance to refer to sources that offer current and up to date information (ibid.).

Desk research: Secondary data analysis – dependent variable

Secondary data has been collected for the research of this thesis. In line with Bjorklund and Paulsson (2003), primary data is information that has been gathered explicitly for the study. Data that has been published or released earlier in some way is defined as secondary data (ibid.), and is a various type of literature from the literature review.

The main research method that is used to retrieve information for this thesis is the secondary analysis of data from statistical sources. Data provided by the OECD, the World Bank databank, Mipex, Eurostat are used analyze and compare the integration policies in the six countries, while literature is used to explain the factors which play a role in the differences of integration policy. As this research is using the case study method, the measurements should be taken approximately the same time and therefore the gathered data is taken from the years 2012-2013. However, two exceptions are present due to absence of data, which is the gathered data about the attitudes of the host country towards the migrants, this data was taken from the year 2014 and originates from Ipsos Mori's research. And second, the retrieved data about the welfare state types taken from Ireland (2014), which is taken from the year 2014 as well. Another important note is that the information about the integration policies of the six European countries are taken from the period of 2010 – 2013, as some policy programs remained roughly the same over the years. The next paragraph will further elaborate on these statistical sources. For a complete list of literature used in this study the reader is referred to the bibliography.

Desk research: Secondary data analysis – independent variables

The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) is a tool that measures policies to integrate migrants in all EU Member States (MIPEX, 2016). The index has been useful for this thesis, as MIPEX evaluates and compares what governments are doing to promote the integration of

migrants in the countries that are chosen for this research (ibid.). Also, this research has used data which is retrieved from the Eurostat and the OECD. Eurostat is the statistical office of the European Union, which provides statistics at European level about different European policy topics (Europa, 2015). The OECD provides a database with public sector data that has been made publicly by the OECD member states. Qualitative data about integration models and their application in Europe are retrieved from journals, books and articles as these could be used to explain the factors which play a role in the differences of immigration integration policy. One of the main resources for the integration models is the book *Framing Immigrant Integration* by Peter Scholten (2011) and the book *an introduction to immigrant incorporation studies* by Martiniello and Rath (2014).

3.3 Data analysis

Congruence analysis

This thesis further conducts a congruence analysis as part of the research design. A congruence analysis (CON) is a small-N research design in which the researcher uses case studies to provide empirical evidence for the explanatory relevance or relative strength of a theoretical approach in comparison to other theoretical approaches. (Blatter & Haverland, 2014:144).

Two types of congruence analysis exists: a complementary theories approach and a competing theory approach. This thesis uses the latter, in this type of design, specific predictions and observable implications are derived from theories and compared to a broad set of observations after which these are tested using empirical data and compared to other theoretical approaches (ibid.). The four theories of policy-making are the basis of this thesis, which are the rational, political, constructivist and institutionalist theory. For each theory one indicator is identified and is tested empirically in chapter 6 in order to establish whether these indicators explain the difference in adoption of certain integration models. This design allows identifying and displaying the relative strengths of the best fitting theories to the case by providing understandings and explanations to the phenomena. It further allows demonstrating the relative power of a theory to shed some light on the objectively existing reality which in turn provides a comprehensive understanding of the specific case (Mills et al, 2010: 210).). Lastly, the usage of the four theories of policymaking, make the choice for congruence analysis more appropriate than co-variational analysis, as these congruence analysis allows the theories to be compared and contested (p.146). Also, since the research question is quite explanatory, a congruence analysis could offer a large variety on qualitative data about the variety of immigrant integration policies in Europe.

3.4 Validity and reliability

The following sections will discuss the study's reliability and validity. These are measures used to define a research's credibility (Bjorklund & Paulsson, 2003).

Validity

The validity of this case study research could be increased through triangulation with multiple means of data collection (Voss et al, 2002: 195). The internal validity of this research is determined by a good and complete operationalization and having the correct theoretical relation between the dependent and independent variables (Van Thiel, 2010). By using congruence analysis, the internal validity could be limited. When selecting and combining competing theories for the theoretical framework, rival patterns of explanations could come up, which leads to more differentiated results (Blatter & Haverland, 2014:174). By using a larger set of theories, more overlaps in sets of expectations could occur; the final outcome and many other aspects of the process that lead to the outcomes might be overdetermined in the sense of being more in line with more than one theory, this could limit the external validity of the research (p.175). Also a larger set of theories reduces the number of expectations and observations one can consider per theory, *ceteris paribus*. By only selecting more the same theories, a confirmation for a kind of paradigms is more likely (*ibid.*). Though, theories could be interpreted differently and on many ways, which could limit the internal validity as the difference in interpretation could encroach the indicators and it is quite hard to find good indicators for the variables. Given the timeframe, only a limited amount of theories could be researched, which makes the validity smaller (*ibid.*).

By doing a case study research, the researcher is challenged by several constraints: it is time consuming and care is essential in drawing generalizable conclusions from a limited set of cases and ensuring accurate research (Voss et al, 2002: 195). Despite these constraints, the results of case study can have very high impact (*ibid.*). Also, paradigms could change over the years in the six countries, the choice has been made to focus on current policies and thus not to do a time series design, due to time constraints and the complexity of the specific factors of these models and theories.

Reliability

The reliability of a research instrument concerns the level of consistency of the measuring of the concept (Bryman, 2004), in other words, to what extent does the instruments deliver the same results on repeated trials minimizing the rooms for errors and biases in the study (Van Thiel, 2010). The challenges that can be experienced by researchers in collecting the secondary data are the fact that sometimes these are regarded as too complex. Moreover, one or two variables that are needed by the researcher can be absent as the data that is acquired by others for their own purposes (Bryman, 2001: 201). For this research, various data of different sources have been collected for each research subject, as unfortunately occasionally some of the data for a particular country is absent. The reliability in this research thus could be questioned as the various collected data could be interpreted differently.

3.5 Operationalization

An operationalization provides reliability and validity to the measurements done in the research. In this paragraph, the dependent and independent variables in this thesis are operationalized and explained, thereafter an operationalization scheme is presented, in which the independent and dependent variables in this thesis are specified. Table 1 presents the operationalization of the different integration models of this thesis and table 2 presents the operationalization of the different concepts retrieved from the four theories.

3.5.1 Dependent variables

a. Assimilationist model

The assimilationist model assumes that, contact between the minority group of migrants and the dominant culture results in a gradual process of change in the minority group, forcing its members to gradually abandon their culture of origin in order to adapt themselves in the host society. To classify a country as assimilationist, this study looks at the following characteristics in integration policy: the importance of adoption of host countries norms and values and the denial of the host country regarding ethnic minorities as groups with special rights (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003: 8). These indicators have been retrieved from various sources, including the OECD and measure the core notions of the migrant integration models.

b. Multiculturalist model

This study bases its classification of a country as multiculturalist on the following two key principles – social equality and participation, and cultural recognition (Vasta, 2011: 734). To measure social equality, participation and cultural recognition in integration policy, this study examines the integration policies of the six countries over the years 2010-2013 on the following characteristics: anti-discrimination legislation, equal opportunities policies with easy access to political and civil rights and local arrangements to facilitate communication and understanding between ethnic groups. The emphasis of multiculturalist policies is on promoting equality and the enabling of exercise of different cultural practices (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003: 9).

c. Differential-exclusionary model

This study bases its classification of a country as differential-exclusionary on two principles: the extent of migrant inclusion economically and exclusion politically, culturally and legally. This model classifies migrants in ways that stress their status as distinct national, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. To measure migrant inclusion and exclusion in society, this study examines the integration policies of the six countries over the years 2010-2013 on the following characteristics: inclusion of migrants in the labor market and the exclusion of political and civic participation. This model is moreover common in countries that do not see themselves countries of immigration and tend to regard the presence of migrants as a temporary phenomenon (Rudiger & Spencer, 2003: 7).

d. Universalistic model

This study bases its classification of a country as universalistic on the key points of universalism: individual participation and citizenship and the absence of cultural recognition. To measure individual participation and citizenship and the absence of cultural recognition in integration policy, this study examines the integration policies of the six countries over the years 2010-2013 on the following characteristics: anti-discrimination policy, absence of cultural policy, and the participation of migrants in colorblind sector such as education and labor.

Table 1: Operationalization dependent variables

Migrant integration model	Characteristics in integration policy
Assimilation	Importance of adoption host countries' norms and values Denial ethnic groups with special rights
Multiculturalist	Anti-discrimination legislation Equal opportunities policy with access to political and civil rights Cultural recognition: Local arrangements to facilitate communication and understanding between ethnic groups
Differential-Exclusionary	Inclusion of migrants in labor market Exclusion of political, welfare state and civic participation Migrants as temporary phenomenon
Universalistic	Anti-discrimination legislation Migrants participation in society Absence of cultural recognition: absence cultural policy

3.5.2 Independent variables

a. Number of highly skilled migrants

There is a wide variety of definitions for highly skilled migrants in the literature. In this study highly skilled migrants are defined as 'immigrants that have a university degree or extensive/equivalent experience in a given field (Iredale, 2001:8)'. Highly skilled immigrants are often working in private, internationally competitive sectors, but also in public sectors such as education and health care (Cerna, 2010). To measure the numbers of highly skilled migrants in the six European countries, this study uses the data collected by the OECD and Eurostat in 2012 and the database of the Institute for employment and research (2013). These numbers of highly skilled migrants are taken as percentages of the whole migrant population of the particular country.

b. Presence of populist radical right party

Populist radical right parties share a core ideology that includes the combination of nativism, authoritarianism and populism (Mudde, 2007). To measure the presence of PRRPs, this study examines whether these PRRP are present in the government and what the election successes were over the years 2010 - 2013. Data for the six countries is retrieved from election resources (2016) and thereafter the data is compared among the six countries.

c. Attitudes towards migrants

This study defines attitudes towards immigrants as a proxy as a proxy for tolerance of diversity as a possible precondition for economic growth. To measure the attitudes towards migrant, this study relies on information provided by Ipsos Mori (2014). The indicators of this independent variable is measured by data of attitudes of the six host-countries on immigration as an opportunity or a problem, the economic impact of immigration and the attitudes towards contribution of immigrants in making a country a better place to live in.

d. Welfare state type

This study uses the typologies of welfare states devised by Esping-Andersen (1990). The first welfare state type is the liberal welfare state, which is characterized by weak labor market regulation, a low level of social benefits and a predilection for means-tested monetary transfers (p. 350). The second one is the continental welfare states, which are characterized by strong labor market regulation, a high level of work-linked social benefits, social insurance and a tendency to preserve existing stratification patterns. This category can be further subdivided into other forms: continental republican welfare states, characterized by centralization and lower levels of corporatism and familism; continental exclusionary welfare states, characterized by corporatism and strong male breadwinner model; continental inclusive welfare states, characterized by cooperative policymaking and lower levels of familism (Ireland, 2014: 350). The third one is the social democratic welfare state, these are characterized by strong labor market regulation, and a high level of residence based social benefits and universalism / comprehensiveness (ibid.). To classify which welfare state type belongs to which country, this study uses the classification given by Patrick Ireland (2014). One of the reason to for the choice of Ireland's classification is that the classifications are done in the time-frame, which is most useful for this research.

Table 2: Operationalization independent variables

Theory	Variable	Value	Score
Institutional approach	1. Welfare State type	1.1 Liberal	1.1.1 Weak incorporation efforts 1.1.2 Ethnic group based incorporation 1.1.3 Strong labor market absorption 1.1.4 High risk of poverty
		1.2 Social democratic	1.2.1 Structural and political cultural incorporation efforts 1.2.2 Ethnic-group based 1.2.3 Weak labor market absorption 1.2.4 Very low risk of poverty
		1.3 Continental	1.3.1 Focus on territorial structural incorporation 1.3.2 Individual, class-based incorporation 1.3.3 Moderate labor market absorption 1.3.4 Moderate risk of poverty
Constructivist approach	2. Perceptions by host country's citizens of immigrants	2.1. Positive perception	2.1.1 Immigration as an opportunity 2.1.2 High economic impact of immigration
		2.2 Negative perception	2.2.1 Immigration as a problem 2.2.2 Low economic impact of immigration
Political approach	3. Presence of populist radical right parties in politics	3.1 Yes	3.1.1 Yes
		3.2 No	3.2.1 No
Rational approach	4. Number of highly Skilled migrants	4.1 High	4.1.1 over 30% of total migrant population
		4.2 Medium	4.2.1 Between 20-30% of total migrant population
		4.3 Low	4.3.1 below 20% of total migrant population

Chapter 4: National integration policy

This chapter examines the immigrant integration policies of the different European countries. For a better understanding of the different of the integration policies, a brief description of the history of immigration and of the immigrant integration policies are discussed and elaborated.

4.1 The Netherlands

The Netherlands has experienced successive waves of immigration since the end of World War II (Vasta, 2007: 5). Between 1945 and the early 1960s, the first wave of migrants came from the former Dutch East Indies, followed by the ‘guest workers’ in the early 1970s from Southern Europe, Turkey and Morocco and from Surinam and the Antilles (ibid.). The 1980s however were characterized by inflows of refugees and asylum seekers from former Yugoslavia and Africa. These inflows of migrants through the years has moved the Netherlands from a homogenous country to a country which is now characterized by diversity (p. 6).

Table 3: Key statistics of the Netherlands

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
1960s	2,0%	11,5%	75%	21%	76%
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 A)

4.1.1 Dutch integration policy

Since the early 1980s, the Netherlands has pursued Europe’s multicultural policies, which envisaged emancipation” *for designed ethnic minorities, but within their own state-supported ethnic infrastructure* (Joppke, 2007:6)”. Even though the Netherlands has been celebrated for its successful multiculturalist policies for a long time, nowadays this approach is widely dismissed as a failure in Dutch public and political discourse (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008:339). In other words, the Dutch immigrant integration policies have shifted during the past decade towards a more assimilationist approach that is also found in many Western European countries during the last couple of decades (Joppke & Morawska, 2003). In September 2005, a bill for a new Integration Act was introduced into the Dutch parliament. The

main arrangement of the proposed law comprised of measures to define and enforce immigrant obligation and responsibility as well as the provision of compulsory programs and sanctions (Vasta, 2007:8). Attitudes and policies have shifted to a rather narrow and restrictive approach from a rather liberal approach. Ever since, the public debate on immigrants and integration in the Netherlands has become very heated and issues regarding immigration, asylum and cultural and religious diversity has become highly politicized.

Nowadays, the Dutch government encourages foreign nationals to participate in Dutch society, by either working or receiving an education for example (Government of the Netherlands, 2016). According to the Dutch government, the Dutch integration policy is based on the Dutch society and values. People who want to live in the Netherlands are expected to contribute to social cohesion and demonstrate involvement and citizenship (Government of the Netherlands, 2011). In 2011, the prior Dutch minister of Interior and Kingdom Relations Piet Hein Donner stated in a letter to the House of Representatives that integration is not the responsibility of the public authorities but rather of those who decide to settle in the Netherlands (Government of the Netherlands, 2011). Furthermore the Dutch government expects every citizen to contribute to Dutch society by taking responsibility for their subsistence, as in for their living environment and for society as a whole (ibid.). The letter also addressed that the Dutch integration policy will no longer target specific groups. Anti-social and criminal behavior will be combated without regard of ethnic origin.

The Netherlands – A universalistic country

Even though the Dutch government made a genuine attempt towards multiculturalism and encouraged diversity, there has been a lack of commitment in many aspects (Vasta, 2007:25). Nowadays, the Dutch integration policy encourages immigrants to participate in the Dutch society. People who live in the Netherlands are expected to contribute to social cohesion and demonstrate involvement and citizenship. With regard to cultural recognition, the Dutch government no longer targets specific ethnic groups. These characteristics all together more or less indicate that Dutch integration policy is rather universalistic. However, Dutch integration policy also demonstrate some assimilationist aspects such as the importance of compliance of Dutch norms and values. Based on the integration model theories and the current Dutch integration policy in which good citizenship, the lack of cultural recognition and the adoption of Dutch norms and values are important aspects of the Dutch immigrant integration, this thesis classifies the Netherlands as a universalistic country with some minor assimilationist aspects.

4.2 Germany

Since the end of World War II, Germany has experienced large inflows of migrants (Heckmann, 2003:45). From the years 1955 to 1961, active recruitment of foreign workers began and increased sharply, no groups involved in this process perceived the situation other than temporary and a kind of rotation system, where new workers would substitute those who are returning (p. 52). This rotation system however, did not take two important factors in to account: the employers wanted to keep workers who had been trained and socialized to save costs (ibid.). The second reason, was that many guest workers wanted to return, but kept postponing concrete plans to return again (Heckmann, 1981). Integration into the German society however, had no place in the definition of the situation during the period of guest worker recruitment (Heckmann, 2003:52).

Table 4: Key statistics of Germany

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
1960s	5,7%	12,4%	64%	21%	38%
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 B)

The end of guest worker recruitment period was meant to lead to a decrease in the foreign population, but the opposite happened. Temporary migration turned into settlement, which led to an increase in the foreign population, mainly because of family reunion (ibid.). Even though Germany experienced several waves of immigration and the size of their population with a foreign background increased, the German government was still convinced that these migrants would eventually return to their home countries (Hossman & Karsch, 2011:1). However, after having established their lives for themselves and their families, no political action was taken to try and to integrate some 16 million migrants in the German society (ibid.).

This denial of the immigration situation in Germany was one of the German governments' responses, another response was the beginning of what is called a discussion about integration and of detailed integration policies. Most relevant, migrants were integrated into the welfare state system. All these developments have led the German government to recognize the need

for integration, but at the same time uncertainty about the legitimacy of the presence prevailed (Heckmann, 2003: 52).

4.2.1 German integration policy

When the Federal Commissioner for Foreigners of the elected Social Democratic/Green Federal Government took office in 1998, she made a statement which read that “*The immigration situation has to be recognized*” (Heckman & Schnapper, 2003). This government had accepted the definition of an immigration situation in Germany and wanted to support the integration of migrants, whereas previous governments have always denied the situation (p. 2). From the year 2000 on, a major change occurred in the definition of the immigrant situation in Germany, the conservative opposition of CDU/CSU undertook a major revision of their positions (Heckmann, 2003:53). The CSU, who was an opponent and critic of immigration, changed its position saying that “*Germany is not a classical immigration country*”, though they did recognize that Germany needed a certain amount of in-migration for demographic and labor market reasons (ibid.). Thereafter, the CDU/CSU pointed out on preserving a *Leitkultur*, in which the knowledge of the German language, loyalty to the German nation and the acceptance of German social and political institutions are of great importance (Klusmeyer & Papademetriou, 2009). Another point of debate was linked to the relationship between immigration, integration, the labor market and the welfare state (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming: 107). It was getting more evident in Germany and other European countries that some immigrant-origin groups were experiencing poor educational outcomes, lower employment levels with tendencies to lower skilled work (ibid.).

Nowadays, the German government has put great emphasis on the acquisition of the German language in order to better integrate migrants (Hossman & Karsch, 2011:7). By mastering the German language, the migrants could join the German education system and fruitfully complete the German education, which could lead to greater chances on the job. The current integration policies consider language acquirement and the attainment of a higher education as the key to better integration. If participants dropout of a German language course, transfer payments are cut out. However, Klusmeyer and Papademetriou (2009) pointed out German integration policy is relatively modest, besides the integration courses and the language training. Many measures that are relevant for migrants affected migrant integration without framing them explicitly as part of an immigrant policy (ibid.).

Germany – A multiculturalist country

In former times, Germany was often defined as a country that is rather exclusive in the area of integration. Immigrants were welcomed at once and enjoyed equal legal, social and economic rights with the rest of the German society, which implied that the German integration was designed on the grounds of the assimilation model. However at the same time, these same guest workers were denied access to other areas of society like the welfare systems, citizenship and political participation, which indicates that Germany had adopted a differential-exclusionary model (Castles & Davidson, 2000: 244-245). The de-ethnicising of German citizenship perhaps shows that Germany has not yet changed its legacy regarding incorporating immigrants but instead extending political, social and economic rights of resident foreigners (Brubaker, 2014: 538). Categorization and distinction are mostly based on ethnicity in the German *Ausländerpolitik*, which is in relation to its history. Nowadays, German integration policy could be classified as multiculturalist over differential-exclusionary, as there is an increasing recognition of immigrant integration as a permanent feature of the country's landscape. German integration policies are trying to get people equal access to labor markets, politics, education and healthcare, Germany values language acquirement and the attainment of a higher education as it considers that the key to better integration. Moreover, the Federal Government has established an office against discrimination. Lastly, the German government has founded and held the German Islam Conference, which is a forum of exchange of opinions on topics that are important for intergroup and interreligious relations (Heckmann, 2010). Based on the integration model theories and the current German integration policy in which the distinction between German citizens and minorities is still visible in the German immigrant integration, this thesis classifies Germany as a multiculturalist country which previously was differential-exclusionary.

4.3 France

Already since the 19th century, immigration has been a constant feature of the French society. Algeria, Italy, Morocco, Portugal and Spain have sent the most immigrants to France for a long period of time, but inflows have diversified over the past 30 years as there are migrants from Asia and sub-Saharan Africa as well. Between 1999 and 2009, the share of sub-Saharan African immigrants increased from 10 percent to 17 percent of total inflow (Lessault & Beauchemin, 2009). Though France's foreign-born population is comparable to that of other European countries (Dumont & Lemaitre, 2005), there is a slight difference: immigrants arrived earlier in France and their flows have recently diminished compared to other destination countries. This makes France home to one of the largest proportions of immigrant descendants in Europe (Escafré-Dublet, 2014).

Table 5: Key statistics of France

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
<1950s	4,1%	11,5%	72%	29%	90%
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 C)

4.3.1 French integration policy

Schain (2010) argues that over the past 25 years of French policy on integration, there has been a greater volume of policy present and a struggle to manage integration in a more explicit way (p. 210). More intensive effort has been given to require through state policy what had previously been assumed would emerge from residence and education. According to the French Civil Code (Articles 21-24) since 1945, no one can be naturalized without demonstrating his or her assimilation to the French community through knowledge of the French language.

As urban riots that started in the early 1980s had continued over more than two decades, the involvement of the French state has grown and its efforts have contributed to the development of ethnic organizations as state agencies engaged in a sometimes desperate search for intermediaries (Body-Gendrot, 1993). Moreover, different approaches to discrimination have become of importance to policy on integration since the year 2000. France has lately moved

more in the direction “race relations” approach, largely as a response to the directives of the European Union in 2000 (Council Directive, 2003).

The Sarkozy law of 2003 required the demonstration of knowledge of rights and duties of French citizens, a requirement that was strengthened in the legislation, which was passed in 2007. This law required a contract for family unification, with sanctions for violation, and those applying were required to take a two-month course that included “an evaluation of language ability and the values of the Republic” in their home countries (Schain, 2008: 57). Also, Schain (2010) states that French integration policy is constrained by the development of European integration (p. 210). Geddes & Scholten (2015) note that the French Republican tradition is difficult to pin down, though it is closely associated with the initial ideas of the French Republic, which are the emphasis on individual citizenship and a direct “social contract” between the state and the individual. Political inclusion in France has meant the socio-cultural assimilation of both indigenous and immigrant-origin minorities (Geddes & Scholten, 2015).

Equality and unity in French Republicanism are interpreted as applying regardless of ethnicity, religion, culture and race (ibid.). Instead of “controlling” immigration, France had a long history of positively encouraging immigration because of concerns dating back to the nineteenth century about low levels of population growth (Noiriel, 1996). One of the better defined processes of integration seems to be the French Republican model, as its assumptions have been challenged by recent waves of immigration from North Africa (Schain, 2010: 207). Particularly, the French model recognizes the legitimacy of collective identities only outside the public sphere, which means that ethnic and religious groups are accorded no special privileges in public policy, nor are they granted special protection (ibid.). It is supposed that there is “color-blind” public support and recognition only for individual merit and individual advancement (Noiriel, 1988: 189-245). One of the most important changes was the growth of ethnic associations after the legislation legalizing them was passed in 1981 (Schain, 2010: 208).

France – An assimilationist country

The French approach to immigrant integration has been described as Republicanist or assimilationist (Scholten & Geddes, 2015). Integration policy has been rested on the assumption that as immigrants become more integrated, they would disappear as a distinct component of French society so that they would be emancipated from the “status of minorities as collectivities or communities (ibid.)”. Consequently, the concept of minority is absent from French law having policy-makers finding it difficult to think about the notion of minority groups (ibid.). Following the Republican values inherited from the French political tradition, integration is also regarded sometimes rather universalistic than assimilationist. As the French state does not formally recognize ethnic or racial groups, migrants and minority groups are regarded as equal on the basis of citizenship and thus emancipated through universalistic programs (Bertossi, 2011: 1565-1566). Based on the integration model theories and the current French integration policy in which minorities are regarded as equal and the French tradition is valued, this thesis classifies France as an assimilationist country with some minor universalistic aspects

4.4 Sweden

Since the end of the Second World War, the level of immigration was higher than emigration in Sweden. The extent of the immigration and the reasons have varied over time, during the 1950s to 1970s most immigrants were labour migrants migrating from both the Nordic countries as well as countries in Southern and Central Europe (Scholten, forthcoming). In 1970 the labour immigration has reached its peak, when a large number of people from Finland came to Sweden as migrant workers. From 1980 onwards, the character of immigration has changed with refugee immigration and the subsequent immigration of close relatives being the main flood of migrants, mostly from former Yugoslavia, Somalia and the Middle East. Moreover, since the Swedish membership to the European Union in 1995, immigration from the rest of the European Union and the EEA has also increased significantly (ibid.).

Table 6: Key statistics of Sweden

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
<1950s	3,9%	12,2%	66%	49%	78%
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 D)

4.4.1 Swedish integration policy

The main goal of the Swedish integration policy is creating *'equal rights, obligations and opportunities for all, regardless of ethnic or cultural background'* (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009). The policy goals will be accomplished through general measures for the whole population, regardless of country of birth and ethnic background (ibid.) Furthermore, this policy seeks to ensure that *'respect for fundamental values like human rights, democratic governance and equality between men and women are maintained and strengthened'*. In 2008, the Swedish government decided on a strategy for integration that identified seven areas that are important for the proper integration of immigrants in Sweden (Ministry of Integration and Gender equality, 2009).

- An effective service for receiving and introducing new arrivals
- More people in work, more entrepreneurs

- Better results and greater equality in schools
- Better language skills and more adult education opportunities
- Effective anti-discrimination measures
- Positive development in urban districts by increasing diversity
- Common basic values in society characterized by increasing diversity`

These seven areas had the aim to increase the supply and demand of labor and to enhance quality and equality in the Swedish society. In 2009, the Swedish parliament passed an even broader integration program (Ministry of Integration and Gender Equality, 2009). This bill was presented as a way to quicken up the process of integration for immigrants (ibid.). Additionally, the Swedish government set up an initiative in 2008 with the aim to strengthen people's involvement in issues such as democracy and human rights. This initiative triggered the dialogue concerning basic values and addressed the question of how a society could be achieved whose development is characterized by mutual respect for differences within the boundaries set by the fundamental democratic values of society (Ministry of Integration and Gender equality, 2009).

Sweden – a universalistic country

In Europe, Sweden is known for its open approach to the labor market and has been regarded as a safe haven for refugees and asylum seekers. As explained in last paragraph, Sweden provides all of its residents with equal political opportunities and equal support. Immigrants are granted full access to the labor market and provided with introduction programs that help newcomers gain employment. Furthermore, Sweden has a range of anti-discrimination policies, which offers victims compensation and covers the whole country under one law. With regard to cultural recognition, Sweden aims to not target specific ethnic groups in their integration policies. Based on the integration model theories and the current Swedish integration policy in which equality and utilization of welfare state rights are of great importance for Swedish immigrant integration, this thesis classifies Sweden as a *universalistic* country.

4.5 Belgium

Over the last three decades Belgium has become a permanent country of settlement for many kinds of migrants (Petrovic, 2012). Integration and migration policies have been rather responsive in nature, reacting to circumstances than pursuing a long term vision. Only recently, policymakers have begun to develop new policies and regulations in a consistent way, while being influenced by public opinion, heated debates and the rise of right wing parties (ibid.). After the two World Wars and more extensively since the 1960s, Belgium has attracted an inflow of immigrant labor migration. Bilateral agreements were made with South European and North African countries as well as with Turkey within flexible work-permit regime accompanied by permissive reunification rules (ibid.). Nonetheless, the government had adopted a more restrictive labor migration policy by the end of the 1960s in response to the recession and the increasing unemployment. The limitation of labor migration led to immigration mostly via family reunification and asylum.

Table 7: Key statistics of Belgium

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
<1950s	4,0%	15,7%	53%	25%	75%
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 E)

4.5.1 Belgian Integration policy

For a lengthy period of time, integration policies in Belgium were designed in an equally indifferent and ad hoc approach like the Belgian migration and asylum policy. The Belgian government presented integration as a policy concept, which was part of general migration legislation in the late 1980s, but without any formal or coercive requirements (Petrovic, 2012). Integration and reception were regarded as a competence of the communities, to which policies as social inclusion belonged (ibid.). During the 1990s, the Center for Equal opportunities and Opposition to Racism was established, holding responsibility for the promotion of equality of opportunity and the combat of all forms of discrimination and exclusion.

The integration programme in Flanders consisted of a primary training which is coordinated by the reception center and accompanied by individual guidance (Bijl & Verweij, 2012: 72). After completing the primary programme a secondary programme is offered, which consists of assistance, education delivered by public services, educational institutions. The Flemish Public Office for Employment (VDAB) has established training programs as part of the secondary program for migrant job seekers, which includes job-specific language training (ibid.). The integration program offered in the Brussels area is quite comparable to that in Flanders. The main difference is the amount of social orientation hours and the non-obligatory participation, whereas in Flanders participation is compulsory. Many public and private initiatives in these two regions are supported financially to improve the general social cohesion and the integration of migrants and ethnic minorities.

What makes migration and integration in Belgium so complex is its dual linguistic and political system (Petrovic, 2012). While public opinion in Flanders has been more right, public opinion in Wallonia has been much more left. This reflects in the power balance between parties in the federal government. In Wallonia, integration policy has historically always been focused on social inclusion whereas in Flanders, the approach has shifted from a minority policy in the 1990s and 2000s towards an overall inclusive policy regardless of origins in 2009. Though in both these communities integration supporting frameworks already exist for language, access to the labor market and housing, they are both considering in defining their policies more extensively in the future (ibid.). In conclusion, both the Flemish and the Walloon communities have reformed integration and social inclusion policies in the last decades, though these areas remain work in progress.

Belgium – a universalistic country

As explained in last paragraph, both Flanders and Wallonia provide its immigrants regardless of origin with access to the labor market, housing and personalized language courses. Furthermore, Flanders and Wallonia support initiatives financially to enhance the social cohesion of migrants and are planning to define their integration even more extensively. All these characteristics of Belgian integration policy indicate that Belgium is a universalistic country. Based on the integration model theories and the current Belgian integration policy in which equality and the overall inclusiveness of migrants regardless of culture, are of great importance for the Belgian immigrant integration, this thesis classifies Belgium as a *universalistic* country.

4.6 United Kingdom

In United Kingdom, before the 1960s, policies of assimilation were the norm. Outbursts of violence against migrants were quite common and ethnic unrest and riots continued to be an important social problem even after the Second World War (Koomen et al, 2013: 203). With the arrival of new migrants from the Commonwealth countries, the British integration debate shifted towards the inclusive form of multiculturalism for which it is known today (ibid.). The 1948 British Nationality Act gave all subjects of the Crown in Britain and its empire the formal right to move to Britain. People from the British colonies and the commonwealth could access the same formal legal, social and political rights as other subjects of the Crown (Saggar & Somerville, 2012: 25). There were many opportunities at work in the 1950s with active recruitment of migrant workers for employment work in public transport, the National Health Service and the textile and car industry.

Table 8: Key statistics of United Kingdom

Country of net migration since	% Non- EU citizens	% Foreign-born	%Non-EU of foreign born	% Non-EU university-educated	% from low or medium developed country
UN 2010 data in 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	Eurostat 2013	(Age 18-64, Eurostat 2013)	Eurostat 2013

Source: (Mipex, 2016 F)

4.6.1 Integration policy in United Kingdom

The British approach to immigration and integration has generally been associated with multiculturalism, though legal commitment towards it was not strong. Kymlicka (2003: 203) explains that even though there are many forms of multicultural accommodation at different levels of public institutions, there has been great reluctance to turn it into official public policy. In other terms, United Kingdom has not officially developed an integration program, regardless of the large immigrant flows and settlement over the past five decades (Saggar & Somerville, 2012:1). Only two groups have integration policy: people awarded refugee status; and permanent residents seeking to become a British citizen (Geddes and Scholten, forthcoming: 39). Boswell (2003: 77) believes that Britain's long history of its ethnic and cultural diversity has influenced Britain to adopt a multicultural take on integration. Also, Boswell notes that an

important factor in defining Britain's multiculturalism is its tradition as a liberal pluralist state, also defined as a state which “*embraces a philosophy of minimalist state intervention, individual freedom and limited expectations about the duties and shared characteristics of citizens* (2003: 77)”, and which also puts low expectation of migrants to adapt (Regout, 2011:11).

In Britain levels of public concern about immigration began to rise after the mid-1990s. Like other countries in Europe, an increased emphasis was placed on adaption by migrant newcomers. This development marked a retreat from multiculturalism as it would be difficult to identify specific commitments to multiculturalism in policy (p. 41). The British government's approach to integration has changed since the 1990s, with the focus on increasing the obligations on new, first generation immigrants to integrate (Saggar & Somerville, 2012: 10).

British integration policies nowadays combine support for traditions and practices of minority communities with policies to uphold equal rights (Taylor-Gooby & Waite, 2014: 2). Legislation against direct and indirect discrimination, also includes “promoting, supporting and enforcing equality” across race and religion among the statutory duties of a unified Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC,). Official policymaking acknowledge the various traditions and practices in education and recognize ethnic differences such as the right to observe religious holidays (Taylor-Gooby & Waite, 2014: 2.). Through the communities and neighborhood programs, local governments and agencies support different cultural, ethnic and religious groups. In 2004, language and citizenship tests were introduced in United Kingdom, these tests require prospective citizens to demonstrate linguistic abilities and knowledge about British history, culture and institutions (ibid.).

United Kingdom – a multiculturalist country

Though United Kingdom tends to gradually move away from multiculturalism, it is often still seen as a country that pursues policies that combine equal rights and opportunities with support for the traditions and cultural practices of minority communities. Based on the integration model theories and the current British integration policy in which equality and utilization of welfare state rights are of great importance for the British immigrant integration, this thesis classifies United Kingdom as a *multiculturalist* country.

Chapter 5: Congruence analysis

This chapter presents a comparison and analysis of the four integration models with the collected empirical data retrieved from the four theories. The empirical information is compared to the integration models in order to establish whether there is a causal relation between the adoption of a particular integration model and the variables conducted from the theories. The examined theories are the rationalist, political, constructivist and institutional theory. The analysis is structured and divided into four sections and correspond to the variables that are deduced from the four theories. At the end of this chapter, a summary of all findings of the congruence analysis in regard to the four theories is provided.

5.1 Rationalist theory: number of highly skilled migrants

According to this theory, political and social actions are the outcome of rational, individual cost-benefit calculations. The rationalist theory is an important theory in understanding whether the adoption of a particular integration models is part of a societal objective a country wants to achieve. Countries that have a higher percentage of highly skilled migrants are expected to accomplish more societal objectives regarding the maintenance of their global economies. One of the expectations of this thesis is that there is a relationship between the number of highly skilled migrants and countries with integration policies that focus on the fight against discrimination and the effectiveness of institutions, such as education and labor. It is assumed that a high number of highly skilled migrant's leads to policies that incorporate migrants politically and economically as their skills are perceived as a great asset for the host society economy and are gladly taken usage of. On the other hand it is expected that a low number of highly skilled migrants leads to policies that are denying migrants access to areas such as welfare systems, citizenship and political participation, as these migrants might be perceived as temporary. This congruence analysis examines whether there is a causal relation between the amount of highly skilled migrants and the adoption of a particular integration model by comparing the numbers of highly skilled migrants (in %) in a country and its adopted integration model.

Table 9: The number of highly skilled immigrants (as % of the total immigrant population)

Host Society	Model	Highly skilled migrants population in 2012	Highly educated migrants population in 2012	Tertiary education attainment migrant population In 2012
Belgium	Universalistic	-	28 %	27,9 %
France	Assimilationist	22,60 %	24 %	25,4 %
Germany	Multiculturalist	21,80 %	19 %	-
United Kingdom	Multiculturalist	48,90 %	47 %	46,6 %
The Netherlands	Universalistic	25,70 %	26 %	27,2 %
Sweden	Universalistic	33,20 %	31 %	32,2 %

Source: IAB (2013), OECD (2015) and Eurostat (2012)

5.1.1 Multiculturalist model: Germany and the United Kingdom

After comparing and analyzing the data for the multiculturalist countries, very different outcomes are present. On the one hand, United Kingdom has a relatively large percentage of highly skilled immigrants compared to the other five countries (46.6-48.8%). The OECD (2015: 27) states that countries like United Kingdom host significant numbers of both recent and long settled migrants, which account for 12% of the total population. The high share of recent immigrants comes from free movement within the EU-EFTA area, and are driven by migration for employment (ibid.). Furthermore, immigrant labor market outcomes in the United Kingdom are positive and quiet similar to those of the native born, which makes it attractive for highly skilled immigrants to come to countries like United Kingdom. On the other hand, the percentage of highly skilled migrants in Germany is the lowest (19 -21.8%) compared to the other five European countries. Immigration to Germany was largely shaped by flows of low-educated guest workers and their family after World War II. As a country that is known as a long-standing destination country with many settled low-educated migrants, the German government nowadays is very committed to a policy of attracting the highest skilled migrants around the world, in effort to cultivate high-skilled, globally competitive economies (IPSOS MORI, 2014). The Immigration Law of 2005 began to limit immigration and focused more on appealing the highly skilled workers to Germany. Angela Merkel's grand coalition (CDU/CSU and SDP) launched a Federal Integration Programme (Bendel, 2014: 147), which eventually led to the development of the first National Action Plan on Integration (2007) containing over 400 measures and commitments to be taken and implemented by governments, Lander, cities and NGOs. Nowadays, Immigrants contribute to the positive state of the German labor market, with

employment rates reaching almost 74% in 2013 (OECD, 2016). The overall employment rate was barely affected by the economic crisis and remains at 80%, one of the highest compared to other developed countries. Germany is considered as one of the pioneers in Europe in facilitating and supporting the recognition of foreign qualifications and skills, with the 2012 Recognition Act. The labor market integration challenges for high-educated immigrants are not less than for low-educated, but fairly different and perhaps even greater (Mipex, 2016 B).

Congruence analysis on both Germany and the United Kingdom show diverse data about the number of highly skilled migrants as Germany has the lowest number of highly skilled migrants whereas the UK has the highest number. However, during the years 2012-2013 both Germany and UK have policies that attract highly skilled migrants and the number of highly skilled migrants in Germany is steadily increasing. More information is needed to draw conclusions about this relationship as the data is rather contradicting.

5.1.2 Universalistic model: Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands

After comparing and analyzing the data for the universalistic countries, slightly comparable outcomes are present, with the exception of Sweden. First of all, Sweden has many highly skilled immigrants (31.0-33.2%). Mainly humanitarian immigrants and their families have accounted for much of the immigration in Sweden (OECD, 2015). These immigrants represent both ends of the education spectrum (ibid.). However, humanitarian migrants and their families tend to struggle with integrating and mostly show rather poor labor market outcomes. Since the year 2000, there has been major changes to Swedish labor migration and integration policies. Between the years 2008 and 2010 adjustments have been made to the Swedish immigrant policy by the center-right government that saw a market-driven approach focused on getting immigrants and their children into employment (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming: 17). Furthermore, Swedish integration policies have become stronger and long-standing, having immigrants integrated in the public service sector and enjoy the same level of access to training as the native-born (OECD, 2015). Even though Belgium was one of the long-standing destination countries with many settled low-educated immigrants, it has changed its integration policy to attract more highly educated immigrants. The percentage of highly skilled migrants in Belgium is relatively high (28%) compared to other long-standing destinations such as France, Germany and the Netherlands. Though, Belgium does not implement direct integration policy it does favor migrants with resources (economic, education). Well-paid highly-qualified workers can obtain a working permit in Belgium more easily for example (Mandin, 2014: 13).

An analysis of the data in this paragraph shows that the Netherlands, a country which is universalistic, has a percentage of highly educated immigrants of around 25.7 – 27.2%. The Dutch integration policy has the intention to encourage immigrants to participate in the Dutch society, demonstrate involvement and citizenship. Attitudes and policies have shifted to a rather narrow and restrictive approach from a rather liberal approach.

According to the prediction a country with a high number of highly skilled migrants adopts a universalistic integration model. Belgium and the Netherlands share similar numbers regarding the number of highly skilled migrants, though Sweden has a slightly higher number. After comparing the data for these universalistic countries comparable numbers of highly skilled migrants are present when compared to the other analyzed countries. Hence, the conclusion is that the prediction should be confirmed.

5.1.3 Assimilationist model: France

France is similar to the Netherlands and Belgium as it is also a long-standing destination countries with many low-educated immigrants. The percentage of highly educated immigrants in France is about 22.6 – 25.4%. The Sarkozy law of 2003 required the demonstration of knowledge of rights and duties of French citizens, a requirement that was strengthened in the legislation, which was passed in 2007. This law required a contract for family unification, with sanctions for violation, and those applying were required to take a two-month course that included “an evaluation of language ability and the values of the Republic” in their home countries (Schain, 2008: 57). France restricts and delays labor market integration more than most countries, with an estimated 5.3 million jobs not allowed to non-EU immigrants and only a few accessing education or training in France.

After the data analysis of France’s data about highly skilled migrants to the other analyzed countries it could be said that France has a relatively lower number of highly skilled migrants and policy which does not allow non-EU migrants to do certain jobs and exclude migrants from education and training. It could be claimed that lower highly skilled migrants lead to an assimilationist model, though this claim needs more additional information before drawing conclusions.

Conclusion

Congruence analysis in this research has shown, that countries with a relatively high number of highly skilled migrants adopt a universalistic model. . Mainly universalistic and multiculturalist models, with the exception of Germany have more highly educated immigrants, whereas assimilationist models attract highly skilled immigrants to a lesser extent. France, which has a relatively lower number of highly skilled migrants adopts the assimilationist model and scored respectively lower than the multicultural and universalistic countries, though more information is needed to claim whether a low number of highly skilled migrants does lead to an assimilationist model. Germany, as a multicultural country, scored the lowest on the number of highly skilled migrants compared to all five countries. The low level of highly skilled migrants in Germany could be explained by Germany's past of having many low-skilled guest workers, which were not integrated properly in the German society. However, as multiculturalism has become more present, Germany has made many reforms to attract more highly skilled migrants, which has led to an increase in highly skilled migrants over the years.

5.2 Political theory: presence of populist radical right parties

According to the political theory policymaking takes place in a field in which dependent actors develop strategic behavior to influence policy for their own interest and positions. Established parties are more under pressure to pursue policies with national interest. The influence of populist radical right parties is growing in Europe, as these parties sometimes have their interest taken into account in policymaking. One of the expectations of this thesis is there is a relationship between the presence of a PRRP and the disapproval of special arrangements for ethnic groups. PRRP do not prefer special arrangements for ethnic groups which are often present in multicultural countries. Countries that adopt an assimilationist model are expected to have PRRP, as these parties often are in favor of stricter rules on migrant integration and the adoption of the host countries norms and values. Another expectation anticipates that PRRP are not present in countries that adopt a multicultural model as PRRP ideals do not go in line with the multiculturalist ideals of social equality and participation, and cultural recognition. This research examines whether there is a causal relation between the presence of a populist radical right party and the adoption of a particular migrant integration model by comparing the presence of a PRRP in a country and its adopted integration model.

Table 10: Outline of data about the populist parties in the six European countries 2012-2014

Host society	Integration Model	Populist party	Political spectrum
Belgium	Universalistic	Vlaams Belang	Populist radical right
France	Assimilationist	Front National	Populist radical right
Germany	Multiculturalist	Alternative fur Deutschland The Republicans	Moderate right wing Populist radical right
United Kingdom	Multiculturalist	UKIP British National Party	Right wing conservative Populist radical right
The Netherlands	Universalistic	Partij voor de Vrijheid	Populist radical right
Sweden	Universalistic	Swedish Democrats	Populist radical right

5.2.1 Multiculturalist model: Germany and the United Kingdom

United Kingdom: British National party and United Kingdom Independence Party

In United Kingdom, two populist parties could be distinguished in their political landscape, the British National Party and the United Kingdom Independence Party. BNP is classified as an extreme right party, maybe even fascist, whereas UKIP is characterized by their strong level of Euroscepticism and could be placed in the right-wing conservative spectrum. Both parties, but mainly UKIP has called for stricter immigration laws and wants to ensure that British employees do not lose their jobs to immigrants and that the national welfare state is not overwhelmed (p. 14). The populist right in Britain has gained more support over the years, UKIP has performed very well in the second-order elections and especially in the European Parliament elections of 2014, in which it was the largest UK party (p. 24). The UK government is now restricting migrants' eligibility and access more than the majority of countries. "Following the extensive 2010 Equality Act, UK's commitment to equality slipped since 2011/12 with 55% budget cuts for EHRC and end of mandatory equality assessments". The restrictions placed on immigrants were usually motivated by the government's pledge to cap migration at the tens of thousands and to pursue austerity and localism.

Germany: Alternative für Deutschland

The Alternative for Germany is founded in March 2013 and has been able to secure direct influence in four regional parliaments in Germany. Furthermore, it is also represented in the European Parliament with seven MEPs (Heinen et al, 2015:5). The Alternative for Germany can be categorized as a moderate right-wing party. It has been able to make name "*effectively in the German landscape of opinions, with harsh criticism on the positions on immigration policies and family policy related issues*" (ibid.). Due to the right political, economic and social conditions to experiment, evaluate and expand new ambitious integration policies, the German integration policies have benefited and contributed to its increasing employment rates and positive public attitudes towards immigrants. However, steady progress still needs to be made on integration, with similar needs in Germany as other European countries. Several countries across Europe are reportedly experiencing racial or religious discrimination. Even though populist and extremist parties are not as prominent in Germany as in other European countries, it could be said that the anti-immigrant sentiment and opposition to the presence of the Islam in Germany is growing steadily. Besides Alternative for Germany, Germany also has The Republicans (REP), which is an ultranationalist political party, founded in West Germany in

1983 (Britannica, 2016). Though, support for REP has declined over the years in Germany, as they only received 0.4 per cent of the votes in Germany during the 2005 elections.

5.2.2 Universalistic countries: Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands

Sweden: Swedish Democrats

The Swedish Democrats (SD) are a nationalistic and social conservative political party (Norden, 2016). The SD was founded in 1988 and define their ideology as social social-conservative with nationalistic foundation (Towns et al, 2013). Some of their main issues are implementing tougher measures against criminality, more resources for elderly care and a more responsible immigration policy (ibid.). The party was elected with electoral support of 5.7 per cent to the Swedish parliament for the first time in 2010 (ibid.). The SD is a PRRP that has a history that consists of more extreme elements in their politics, which is connected to Nazism (Towns et al 2013: 1).

Belgium: Vlaams Belang

In Flanders, the far right wing party Vlaams Belang (Flemish Interest) has gained a lot of support in the last three decades. Still, the Flemish and federal government have been able to avoid Vlaams Belang from entering into both the regional and national government, despite its electoral victories (Petrovic, 2012). During the 2000-2010, Flemish Interest had received 7.8 percent of the votes In Belgium.

The Netherlands: Partij voor de Vrijheid

The Party for Freedom's point is opposed to immigration and the European Union. This party can be located to the right of the spectrum of populist parties. The party leader Geert Wilders has caused the PVV to receive a high level of media attention in the Netherlands (p. 11). The party addresses half of the Dutch who are against increased immigration from non-EU states. In 2012 a new grand coalition had been formed after the collapse of the 2010 right-wing government with the support of the far-right party PVV. Though few Dutch policies have undergone change from 2007-2010, the far right continued to politicize integration policy, set the terms of the debate and pressured the Dutch government for more restrictions. Current VVD Prime Minister Rutte has emphasized on the importance of migrants' individual responsibility for their own integration (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming: 136). Though partly responsible for this statement was Wilders' Freedom Party, which became more important after the 2010

elections where it came out as third largest party with 24 seats and nearly 16% of the vote (ibid.). Wilders' Freedom Party focuses strongly on prohibiting dual nationality, while adopting a more Eurosceptic approach and enforcing strict immigration controls. The VVD and the Freedom Party interests converged on cutting down government subsidies for migrant integration and strengthening individual responsibility (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming: 136).

5.2.3 Assimilationist model: France

France: Front National

The National Front is founded in 1972, now realigned under the party leader Marie Le Pen and gaining increasing support in France. The FN is located on the right-wing populist spectrum (DB, 2014: 7). The FN has linked the problems of high unemployment with problems of immigration. They are in favor a strictly limited number of immigrants per year defined based on professional skills (ibid.). In 2012 presidential and legislative elections in France have led to the replacement of the right-wing parties by the current left-wing government, though an increasing share of votes was for the far-right populist National Front party. Also, a considerable minority of public holds anti-immigrant attitudes in France as in the average European countries. From a democratic perspective, with an estimated 2.2 million non-EU citizens adults disenfranchised in elections, France can avoid becoming an exclusive democracy by facilitating naturalization, following several international reform trends (ibid.).

Conclusion

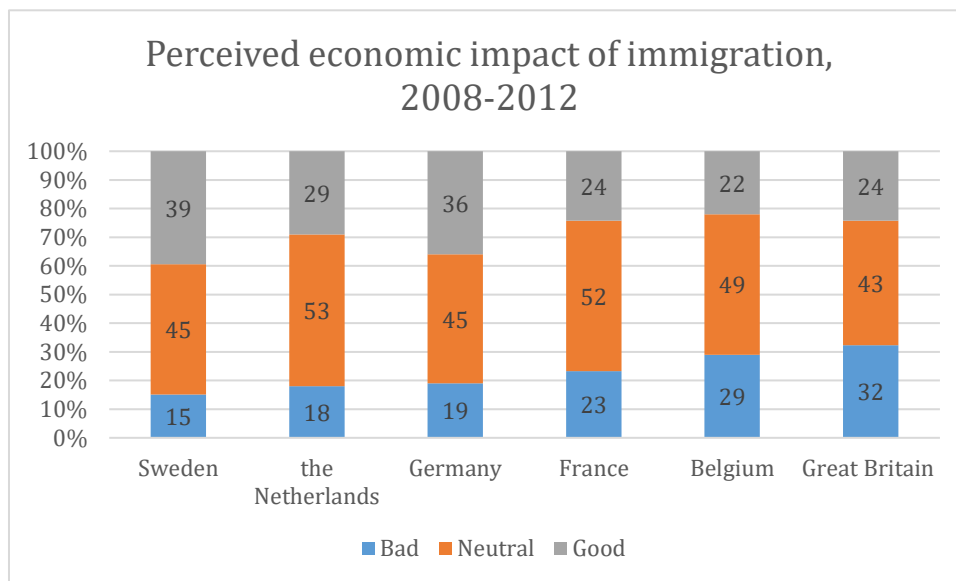
Congruence analysis shows that PRRP are present in all researched countries. Some countries support PRRP more than others. In multiculturalist countries support is less than 10 per cent of the electorate, whereas the support the assimilationist France and the universalistic Netherlands are relatively higher. In Germany, which applies the multiculturalist model the support for PRRP is the lowest, with only 0.6% of the electorate, however, after Alternative for Germany was founded, support increased significantly towards 4.6% during the 2013 elections. It is questionable whether these PRRP have exerted direct influence on the adaption of a certain integration model. With an average support of less than 10 per cent of the electorate, few PRRPs are major players in their national political system. Also, even fewer make it into government, hence policy influence is quiet rare. This conclusion is supported by Mudde (2013:1) who states

that the effects of populist's parties are limited to broader immigration issues. Even if it is true that countries with populist radical right parties have introduced more "populist radical right" legislation, these policy preferences are at best indirect, which means that the shifts in policy preferences of mainstream parties are caused by the perceived electoral pressure from PRRP (Mudde, 2013: 10). Furthermore, Mudde argues that populist right should rather be viewed as catalysts than initiators, who are neither needed to nor sufficient for the introduction of stricter immigration and integration policy. The congruence analysis shows that there is no strong relation between the presence of a PRRP and the adoption of a particular model, therefore the predictions are rejected, though it is notable that populist parties are present and relatively more supported in assimilationist countries.

5.3 Constructivist approach: attitudes towards migrants

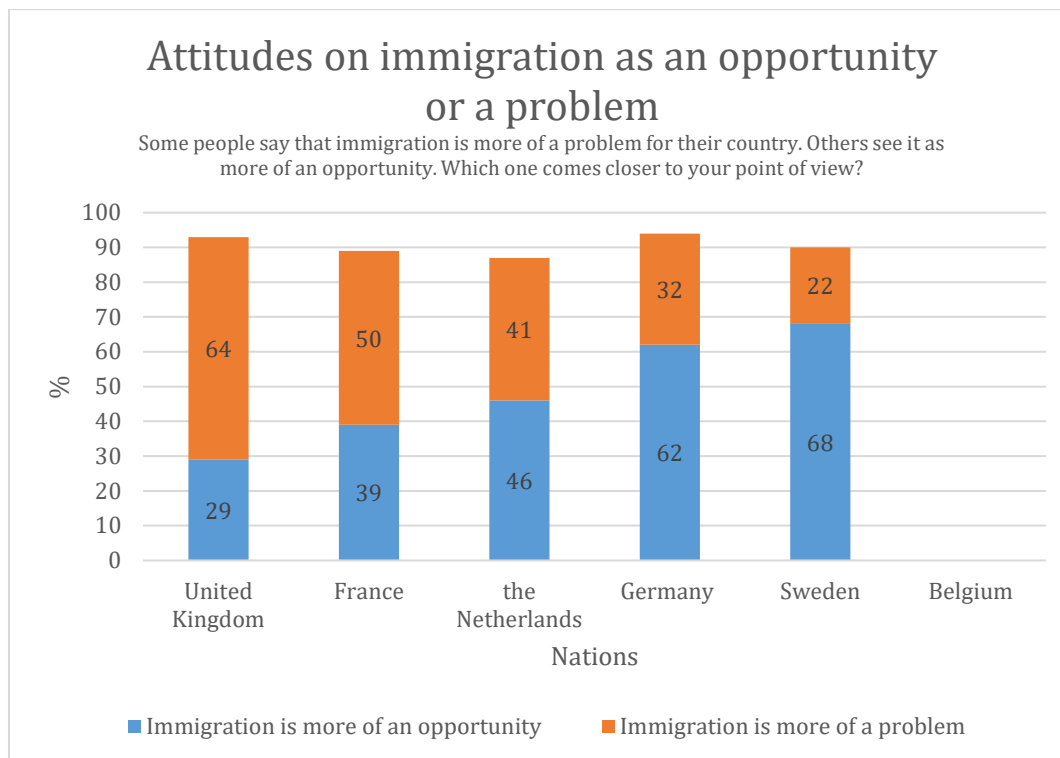
According to the constructivist theory, policy is seen as the search for a shared meaning. Fruitful policy is policy that is meaningful for all interested parties. The constructivist theory examines the framing of objectives themselves and consider the interpretations as a property of the group rather than the individual. This thesis anticipates that there is a relation between the attitudes by the host country towards migrants and the multicultural model and the assimilationist model. This expectation anticipates that countries that are more positive about migrants are adopting a multicultural integration model as these countries are known for their promotion of equality between all ethnic groups. Another expectation is that countries that are less positive about migrants prefer migrants to integrate and take the host countries norms and values quickly, leading them to adopt an assimilationist model. This congruence analysis examines whether there is a causal relation between the attitudes towards migrants by the host country and the adoption of a particular integration model by comparing the attitudes towards migrants of a country and its adopted integration model.

Figure 2: Perceived economic impact of immigration 2008-2012



Source: OECD (2015)

Figure 3: Attitudes on immigration as an opportunity or a problem in 2014



Source: Ipsos Mori, 2014

5.3.1 Multiculturalist model: Germany and the United Kingdom

Among the six countries in this thesis, the British respondents were relatively the most negative about immigration and immigrants, than the respondents from the other countries. When asking the British respondents about their public perceptions about immigration, 64 per cent of the respondents perceives immigration as a problem, whereas 29 per cent sees immigration as an opportunity (Ipsos MORI, 2014). Furthermore, in another survey by Ipsos MORI (2014), 42 percent of the British respondents disagreed with the statement that immigrants make their country a better place to live, whereas only 33% agreed. Another finding by Ipsos Mori, carried out in June 2011 shows similar pattern, where the Britons are marginally more negative about immigration's economic impact compared to the other European countries (figure 2). Figure 2 shows that Germany is more positive about the economic impact of immigration than the UK and Belgium, as are the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, like Sweden (IPSOS Mori, 2014: 36). Around 62% of the German respondents of the Ipsos MORI survey state that they perceive immigration as an opportunity for Germany. Moreover, Germany is also one of the few developed countries with improving attitudes towards migrants: 83% of the German citizens thinks that Germany is a welcoming country and 72% that non-EU and German citizens

should have equal rights (Mipex, 2015 B). According to Wasmer (2013) the attitudes on Germany to diversity has remained ambiguous as evidence could be found for both an increase of support for diversity as an enrichment of society combined with an increase in the numbers of people who perceive immigrants as a threat to the national identity and social cohesion. The debate about integration in Germany is already going on for some years and it is still a heated discussion (ibid.).

According to the prediction, countries with a positive attitude towards migrants were assumed to adopt a multiculturalist country. After comparing the data of Germany and the UK, it could be stated that the prediction is rejected as the data about attitudes towards migrants differ heavily. The UK has a somewhat negative attitude towards migrants, whereas Germany is relatively more positive about migrants.

5.3.2 Universalistic model: Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands

Within the six European countries in this thesis, Sweden is regarded as the most tolerant country towards immigrants. Survey data has shown that Swedish people to be amongst the most positive about immigration in Europe while all the political parties in the Swedish Parliament support the maintenance of the Swedish relatively welcoming approach to migrants (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming). Around 68% of the Swedish respondents see immigration as an opportunity for their country in the IPSOS MORI survey, whereas 22% sees immigration as a problem. Furthermore, around 44% of the respondents agree with the statement that immigrants make their country a better place to live. These Swedish scores are the highest, when compared to the scores of the five other countries. More than 80% of the Swedish citizens think that Sweden is right to give immigrants equal rights as the Swedish citizens (MIPEX, 2016 A). Since 2010, there has been no major change in the Swedish integration policies, besides the focus on implementing the 2009 Introduction Act and Discrimination Act to reach all those in need, measure impact and make it more effective. The Discrimination Act creates single comprehensive law and Equality Ombudsman for more effective access to justice and active measures (Ipsos MORI, 2014). Overall, there is a relative high acceptance of immigrants in Sweden. On the other hand, the Belgians are quiet negative about immigration's economic impact, with almost 29% of the respondents that are negative (Figure 2). Furthermore, a majority of 60% of the Belgian respondents disagreed with the statement that immigrants make their country a more interesting place to live, whereas only 19% agreed with the statements. Unlike the Belgians, the Dutch respondents are slightly a bit more positive about immigration

and immigrants. Around 46% of the Dutch respondents perceive immigration as an opportunity, whereas 41% perceives it as a problem (Figure 3).

According to the data about the attitudes of host countries towards migrants, it could be noted that the universalistic countries differ in attitude. Especially Sweden, which is considered as a country with a very positive attitude towards migrants, whereas the Netherlands and Belgium are both clearly less positive.

5.3.3 Assimilationist model: France

The assimilationist countries have scores that are relatively more similar than the multiculturalist countries. Around 50% of the French respondents perceive immigration as a problem, whereas 39% sees immigration as an opportunity for France (Figure 3). The Front National aligned itself to the values given by the French people, as only 35% were positive towards immigration from outside the EU, while 58% were negative (ibid.). Although, half of the French people are in favor of immigration from EU states (51%). In France still a sizeable minority of the public hold anti-immigrant attitudes (Mipex, 2016 C).

After the congruence analysis on France's data about attitudes towards migrants to the other analyzed countries it could be said that France has a relatively more negative attitude towards migrants. Based on the different data sources, which show similar results, the conclusion is that the prediction should be confirmed. Hence, a negative attitude by the host country leads to the adoption of an assimilationist integration model. Though there are some limitations as a comparison of other assimilationist countries would make this confirmation more valid.

Conclusion

There is great difference in the perception of immigrants in the six countries, nevertheless, negative attitudes towards immigrants are prevalent in all six countries though to different extents. Congruence analysis in this research has shown, that countries with a relatively positive attitude towards migrant integration do not adopt a multiculturalist integration model. The countries that apply the multiculturalist model vary heavily in opinion about immigrants and immigration. Germany scores relatively high, with a majority of the German respondents perceiving immigration as an opportunity for Germany, whereas United Kingdom is relatively more negative about immigration. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that congruence analysis

has shown that countries (in this regard France) with a relatively less positive attitude towards migrants adopt an assimilationist integration. Still, more research about other assimilationist countries is required to generalize this finding. With regard to the universalistic countries, Sweden is regarded as the country which is most positive about immigration compared to all analyzed countries whereas in the Netherlands and Belgium people are less positive about migrants.

5.4 Institutional theory: welfare state type

According to the institutional approach, policy is regarded as formed by rules, institutions and practices. The institutions of government are the device through which political issues are shaped, processed and resolved. These institutions bring in a major source of continuity and predictability. According to Esping-Andersen (1990) there are different typologies of welfare states: liberal, corporatist/continental and social democratic worlds of welfare capitalism. This expectation assumes that countries that have a social democratic welfare state adopt a multicultural model as migrant integration in this welfare state types is generally ethnic group based, which is a main characteristic of the multiculturalist model. Another expectation assumes that countries that adopt a liberal welfare state system adopt a different-exclusionary model, as the characteristics for both these models are similar: high absorption in the labor market and weak integration of migrants. Ultimately, this thesis expects that countries that have a continental welfare state type adopt a universalistic integration model as incorporation in this welfare state type, unlike the other models is highlighted as rather individual and class based instead of ethnic. This congruence analysis uses Patrick Ireland's (2014) chapter "Welfare states and immigrant incorporation trajectories" as a basis for the analysis with the aim to form conclusions about the relation between the adoption of a particular integration models and a country's welfare state.

Table 11: European welfare state regimes and incorporation regimes in 2014

Host societies	Integration model	Type of welfare states
Belgium	Universalistic	Continental inclusive
France	Assimilationist	Continental republican
Germany	Multiculturalist	Continental exclusionary
United Kingdom	Multiculturalist	Liberal
The Netherlands	Universalistic	Continental inclusive
Sweden	Universalistic	Social democratic

Source: (Ireland, 2014: 356)

5.4.1 Multiculturalist model: United Kingdom and Germany

Regarding the multiculturalist countries, the welfare systems in these countries vary greatly, as Germany and United Kingdom have different welfare systems. Germany has a continental exclusionary welfare state system, which is comparable to France as the focus of integration is class based and ethnic based exclusive. Furthermore, there is a moderate risk of poverty in welfare systems such as in Germany and market absorption is moderate and differentiated. After concerns about inflexibilities and persistent long-term unemployment, the SPD/ Green government made reforms, with the aim to liberalize the German labor market. The Hartz reforms were quiet controversial as they limited access to welfare benefits for the unemployed, relaxed job protection laws and reduced taxes on lower paid and part-time jobs (Jacobi & Kluge, 2006). According to Geddes and Scholten (forthcoming) these reforms have also influenced immigrant integration policies, greatly emphasizing the framing of policy on adaption of the needs of the labor market. In other words, the German government focuses now on both attracting highly skilled migrants while at the same time trying to deal with issues associated with failed integration as in education and employment outcomes for some sections of the immigrant-origin population. United Kingdom has a liberal welfare state. This welfare state is characterized by outcomes and outputs such as strong labor market absorption and high risk of poverty.

Congruence analysis on both Germany and the United Kingdom has shown diverse data about the welfare state type as Germany has a continental exclusionary welfare state whereas the UK has a liberal welfare state. Thus, the prediction that countries which have a social democratic welfare state type adopt a multiculturalist model should be rejected due to Germany and the United Kingdom being multiculturalist but adopting different welfare state types.

5.4.2 Universalistic model: Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands

According to Ireland (2014) Sweden has a social democratic welfare state. This welfare state system is characterized with outputs and outcomes such as weak labor market absorption and very low risk of poverty. Furthermore, the government makes structural and political cultural efforts in integrating the immigrants and integration is ethnic group based. In Sweden, group rights for migrants are defined in cultural terms with the intention to facilitate their integration into the Swedish welfare state (Geddes & Scholten, forthcoming: 18). Geddes and Scholten argue that integration in Sweden rests on four pillars, namely the swift recognition of permanent

immigration, the social democratic welfare state with its protection, a corporatist policy style with an emphasis on consultation and dialogue and ideas about the international solidarity and the responsibilities of richer countries to less developed countries (p. 18). Belgium and the Netherlands have a continental inclusive welfare state, characterized by social-democratic type redistributive benefits, largely financed by social insurance contributions (Kammer et al, 2012: 456). The continental inclusive welfare state is characterized by the following outputs and outcome such as low risk of poverty, weak labor market absorption. Furthermore, integration is ethnic group based and the focus lies on integrating the immigrants politically and culturally.

Congruence analysis on Sweden, Belgium and the Netherlands has shown different welfare state types. Sweden has a social democratic welfare state whereas the Netherlands and Belgium both have a continental inclusive welfare state. Thus, the prediction that countries, which have a continental welfare state type adopt a universalistic integration model should be neither confirmed nor rejected. While Belgium and the Netherlands both have the continental inclusive welfare state, which confirms the prediction, Sweden has a social democratic welfare state, which rejects the prediction. More information is needed to draw conclusions about this relationship as the data is rather contradicting.

5.4.3 Assimilationist model: France

According to Ireland (2014) France has a continental republican welfare system. The continental republican welfare state is characterized by the following outputs and outcome such as moderate risk of poverty and the moderate labor market absorption. Furthermore, this welfare state type focuses on territorial structural incorporation and migrants are integrated individually and class based.

Congruence analysis on France has shown that France, which adopted an assimilationist integration model has a continental welfare state type. Again, the prediction that countries which have a continental welfare state adopt a universalistic model is rejected.

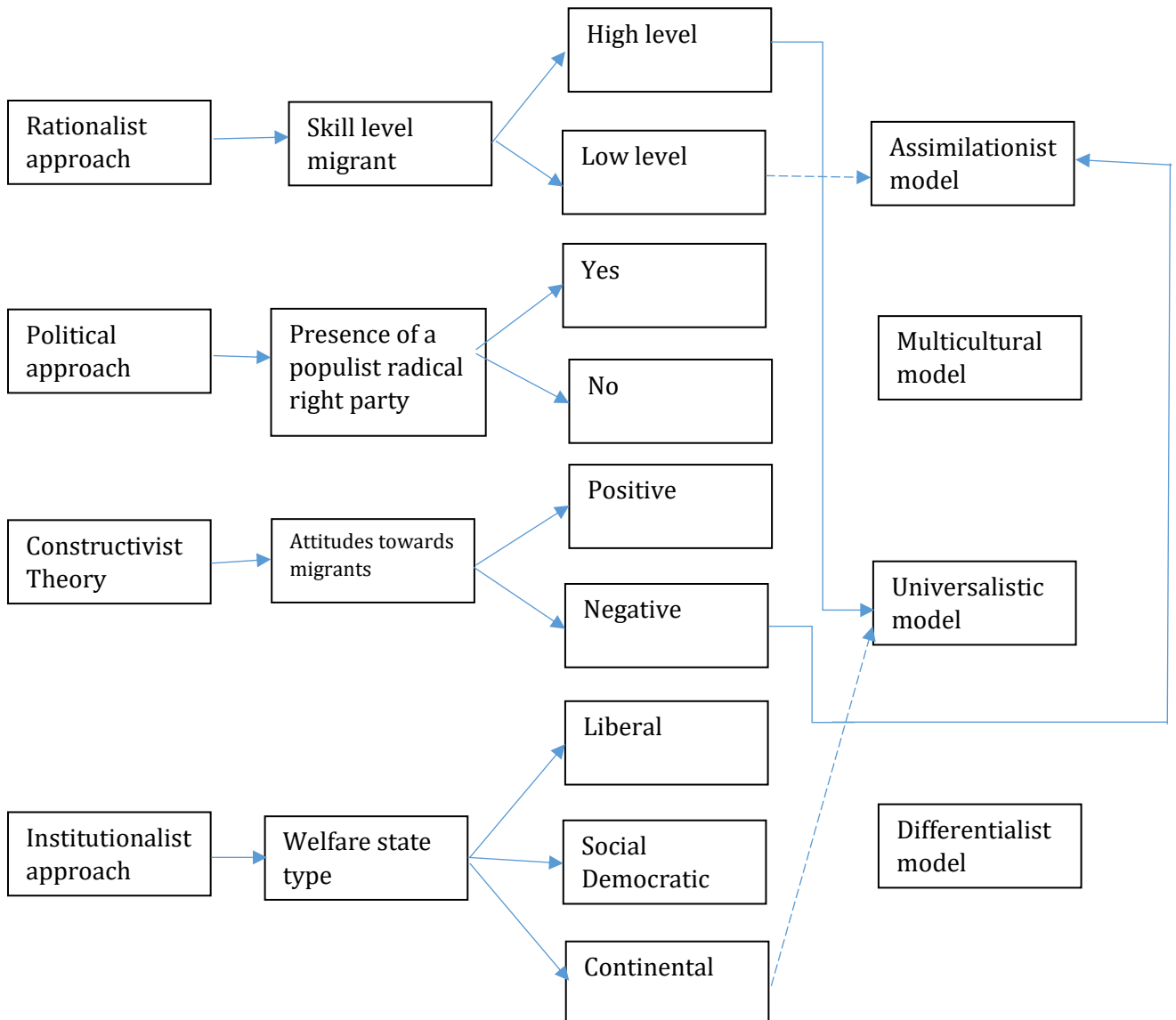
Conclusion

Analysis of the data shows that countries that have the same particular welfare state type adopt different integration models. Congruence analysis in this research has shown, that countries that have a continental welfare state adopt the multicultural, universalistic and assimilationist model. This finding has rejected the prediction that countries which have a continental welfare state adopt a universalistic integration model. Furthermore, the prediction that countries which have a social democratic welfare state adopt a multiculturalist country is also rejected, as the only country which has a social democratic welfare state in this research adopted a universalistic model. With regard to the prediction about the liberal welfare state type, as there is no country which has adopted a differentialist integration model, no conclusions could be drawn about this prediction. Lastly, based on these results, it could be said that the relation between the welfare state type and the adoption of a particular integration model is relatively weak.

5.5 Conclusions of congruence analysis

This chapter had the intentions to test the theoretically derived predictions from the four theories through data collection. Figure 3 presents the findings of this study by showing which theoretically predictions have been confirmed or disconfirmed with the data that has been collected. The dashed lines indicate that more information is needed to research this relation, whereas the straight lines represent a relation.

Figure 4: Outcomes congruence analysis



Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter summarizes all the findings of the research and draws conclusion on the phenomena studied. The aim of this research was to find out why countries adopt different immigrant integration models. This research has done the congruence analysis on four theories, which are the rationalist, political, constructivist and institutionalist theories. Besides giving the overall conclusion of this thesis, a reflection of this thesis is provided.

Overall conclusion

This thesis started off with the examination of the four different policymaking theories and the four migrant integration models, focusing on six European countries and their integration policies. The objective of this study is, to find an explanation why European countries adopt different integration models and what factors have led to this difference. The research question of this thesis is:

Can the four theories of policymaking explain the differences in models of migrant integration that are adopted in Europe?

Based on the conducted congruence analysis it can be said that the rationalist and constructivist theory could explain the adoption of the universalistic and the constructivist model in the European countries to a certain extent, whereas the political and institutionalist theory cannot explain the adoption of a particular integration model. As regard to the differential-exclusionary model, there is no sufficient information to draw conclusions as none of the analyzed countries adopted a differential-exclusionary model. More research should be conducted regarding the adoption of this model and the relation between the four policy theories. Furthermore, about the multiculturalist model, none of the carried observations provided convincing evidence that these four theories could explain the adoption of this model, as the data about the two analyzed countries was quiet contradicting.

Regarding the rationalist theory, analysis showed that a higher number of highly educated and skilled immigrants are present in countries which have adopted the universalistic integration model. The Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium all had comparatively a higher number of skilled migrants compared to the other countries with the exception of the United Kingdom. The countries which adopted the multiculturalist model, Germany and the United Kingdom, varied greatly in the number of highly skilled migrants, as Germany had the lowest number of high skilled migrants and the UK the highest. With regard to France, which had a

relatively lower number of highly skilled migrants adopted the assimilationist model and scored respectively lower than the multicultural and universalistic countries, though more information about other assimilationist countries is needed to confirm whether a low number of highly skilled migrants does lead to an assimilationist model.

As to the constructivist theory, analysis showed that there great difference in the perception of immigrants in the six countries. It could be pointed out that countries which have a relatively more positive attitude towards migrants did not adopt a multiculturalist model, whereas the countries that are more negative about migrants adopt an assimilationist model. However, more information about other assimilationist countries is needed to confirm the relation between negative attitudes and the adoption of the assimilationist model. Moreover, the countries which adopted the universalist model, the Netherlands, Belgium and Sweden, varied greatly again in their attitudes towards migrants, as Sweden was generally more positive about migrants and the Belgium quiet negative.

With reference to the political theory, there is no strong relation between the presence of a PRRP and the adoption of a particular integration model as PRRP are present in all analyzed countries. With regard to the institutionalist theory, based on this research's results, it could be said that the relation between the welfare state type and the adoption of a particular integration model is relatively weak. Analysis of the data shows that countries that have the same particular welfare state type adopt different integration models. Observations of the welfare state type and the adoption of an integration model were not in line with the predictions and thus all rejected.

Lastly, the findings of this research, thus conclude that in overall, the observations of the four theories are more or less not in line with the predictions. However, the level of validity of the rationalist and constructivist theory are higher than the political and institutionalist theory concerning the adoption of the universalistic and the assimilationist model. This is due to the case that the concepts of the rationalist and constructivist theory are somewhat better reflected in the adoption of particular integration models. This allows a slightly better consideration in confirming or rejecting the predictions.

Limitation of the studies and recommendations for future research

This research has met several limitations. First of all, the number of cases is quiet limited for this studies, as only six countries were selected for this research. For example, this thesis only analyzed one country which adopted the assimilationist integration model, this made it more difficult to draw reliable and valid conclusions. Further research should include more countries

to continue testing the same or even more variables, which will increase the reliability of the conclusions. Moreover, this thesis was based on the researcher's interpretation and most of the time information about these countries was rather limited in quantity. More research should be done on the attitudes of the host countries towards migrants, as data about these perceptions were sometimes incomplete, defined rather vaguely and limited, which made it hard to interpret the data. Furthermore, countries adopt various integration models over time, which made it difficult to classify which integration model was present in a particular country. This studies could be carried out with a time-series design, which would describe the changes in adoption of integration models in different countries. Lastly, the time dimension has placed a huge constraint on this research, data was not always available for each year, which makes the reliability of this research low, though this research had the aim to use different types of data to counter the time dimension.

As stated before in this thesis, a lot of research has been done already on the characteristics of different integration models and the relation why a country adopts a specific type of integration model. Though only a small amount of the conducted research is focused on the relationship between the policymaking theories and its concepts and the adoption of different integration models. This research attempted to attribute to scientific discourse by providing first insights in the relationship between the four policymaking theories and the adoption of integration models. With regard to the findings of this thesis, more information is now specifically present about the adoption of the universalistic and assimilationist models and their relation to the four policymaking theories. First insights have been provided about the explanation power of the rationalistic and constructivist theory regarding the integration models. These insights could be a starting point for other researches to enhance broader understanding of integration models. Another difference between this research and other research that has been carried out about the same topic is the choice of concepts which are analyzed, which are the skill level of migrants, the presence of a populist radical right party, the attitudes towards migrants and the welfare state of a country. More variables, which are linked to the policymaking theories could be included into future analysis, such as the shortage of highly skilled migrants and the type of political system in a country. Furthermore, future research should include more data sources to ensure triangulation, as this research only used desk research.

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Annex

Immigrant integration policy at the EU level

Over the years, the European Union has tried to achieve higher uniformity in integration policy across the Member States. Since the Tampere Programme in 1999, European Union cooperation on the integration of non EU-nationals has developed (Bijl & Verweij, 2012: 12). One of the more important elements of this common policy is the advancement of effective integration policy to assure third country nationals aimed at granting them rights comparable to those of the EU citizens (European Commission, 2001). In 2004, the European Council has adopted The Hague program enhancing freedom, security and justice (Council Document 16054/04). This underlined the need for greater coordination of national integration policies and EU activities based on common basic principles.

Like any human society the European Union is a multicultural, multiracial and multifaith society (Martiniello, 2014: 394). It is a culturally diversified society in which many collective identities coexist (ibid.). The diversification of diversity has several sources. First the EU consists of 28 states, and each are linked to a specific history of nation-building and to specific national identities. Even though these states have many point in common, they also defend their specificity in terms of language. Entzinger and Scholten (2014) state that immigrant integration has become an issue of multilevel governance. Present immigrant policies are formulated and implemented at different levels, interacting in ways which could cause conflicts (p. 379).

Background of EU integration policy

There is a great diversity of migration processes in Europe and therefore also different integration processes (Bijl & Verweij, 2012: 32). There are differences in all countries between migrant groups as regards to their migration motives, their cultural backgrounds, and existing (colonial) ties with the host country, the degree to which the migration was voluntary, and how permanent or temporary their migration will be (ibid.). The history of immigration and emigration also varies widely across Europe. There are countries which have only recently begun experiencing the phenomenon of immigration, whereas other countries have seen migrants arriving for more than a century. Until recently, attention for integration processes and specific policy formulation in this area has developed in many European countries. Different types of migration processes are distinguished in the literature (ibid.). A first distinction, which could be made is the difference between internal and international migration. The former refers

to migrant flows within a state, and the latter to flows between countries. In reality, the emphasis is less on nation-states and much more on migration flows from outside the European Union, by third-country nationals, to EU Member States. International migration is then migration to the territory of the EU. A second distinction is that between voluntary and forced migration. Many refugees will be subject to forced migration, for example because they are persecuted in their country of origin because of their ethnic background or religious conviction (p. 33). The third relevant distinction is that between temporary and permanent migration. This refers to highly educated knowledge workers who are sent to Europe by their employers for a fixed period, mostly temporary migrants, which make little effort to integrate. The picture becomes less clear for seasonal workers who come to Western Europe from Eastern Europe; *“a sizeable number stay behind in the country where they have worked – not always with the intention of staying permanently, but in anticipation of an improvement in the economic situation and labour market opportunities in their country of origin”* (Bijl & Verweij, 2012: 34). Through the last couple of decades large groups of migrants have moved to the various European countries as labour migrants. Initially these migrants had the intention of returning to their country of origin after a few years, once they had earned enough money. As a consequence, the necessity and desire to make an effort to integrate in their host country were not great (ibid.).

Many European countries only began focusing specific attention on integration policy at the end of last century. Policy in this domain is often regarded as reactive: thoughts in many European countries only seriously turned to the design of an integration policy in reaction to social problems, when social unrest, high unemployment and other forms of marginalization among migrant groups demanded attention (p. 35). According to Bijl and Verweij (2012) many governments only became aware late in the day that many migrants were not present on a temporary basis at all, but had settled permanently (ibid.). It also became apparent that the social problems associated with the relationship between migrants and the host society were not resolving themselves. For instance, Germany did not regard itself as an immigration country, despite the fact that it had been receiving a steady influx of (mainly) labor migrants for many. After the United States, Germany has been the country with the highest influx of immigrants in absolute numbers. In other European countries, too, like the Netherlands, the myth that migrants would return to their country of origin was kept alive for a very long time. Guest workers, as labor migrants were called at the time, were after all in the country only temporarily, and would return home after a few years. However, the reality proved otherwise, but politicians were unable or unwilling to accept this. In fact the same applied for many migrant groups themselves,

who also long cherished the idea that their stay in the host country was merely temporary and that in time they would return to their country of origin. The Netherlands also has a colonial past which is reflected in its migrant population. Scandinavian countries, for their part, number a relatively high proportion of refugees among their migrant populations; in Sweden, immigration has been dominated by this category of migrants since the 1980s, and subsequently by the immigration of close relatives, particularly from the former Yugoslavia, the Middle East and Somalia (P. 36).

Even though the EU Member States endorse the definition as set out in the EU Common Basic Principles on Integration, only a few countries have actually worked up those principles into policy documents (Bijl & Verweij, 2012:36). One of the leading factors is often that there is no single coordinating ministry with responsibility for integration issues, but rather that several players and stakeholders are involved (ibid.). In some countries the distribution of responsibilities is made even more complex by the fact that regional authorities also have a say in addition to national government and are able to apply their own interpretation to migration and integration issues.

EU Policy context for immigrant integration

The immigrant integration policy of the EU has been developed as a consequence of the general immigration policy since the late 90's. After the sign of the Amsterdam treaty, integration policies have been considered as a major part of the immigration policy (Korkmaz, 2006). According to Penninx. (2004), the lack of consistent integration policies and the challenges to the integration of diverse newcomers had led to many negative perceptions of migration and immigrants, which reinforced immigration policies. In the past, integration research mainly focused on the national level, one of the reasons why so much attention was given to national models (Entzinger & Scholten, 2014: 379). Lately, attention has moved somewhat to policymaking at the European level and local level (ibid.).

In November 2004, the European Council agreed upon 'common basic principles' of immigrant integration policy with the aim to establish a general direction and content of integration policies across Europe (Council of the European Union, 2004). According to Freeman (2003) one of the striking aspects of these policies is to be "*broadly if imperfectly inclusive*" (p. 3). Furthermore, Soysal (1994) has pointed out that inclusiveness is due to the postwar human rights discourse and also complementary to international and national legal regimes, which enhanced rights from national citizens to all persons regardless of citizenship. Respectively, the

first common basic principle of immigrant integration policy: “Integration is dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of the Member States (Council of the European Union, 2007:19)”. This means that not only the migrants have to change but also the receiving society, the latter being mandated to create ‘the opportunities for the immigrants’ so they can participate in society (ibid.). The second common basic principle of the EU offers some insight into what is expected from the migrants: “*Integration implies respect for the basic values of the European Union*”. These values could be summarized as: “*the principles of liberty, democracy, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the rule of law* (p. 19)”.

The third of the EU’s common basic principles reads: “*Employment is a key part of the integration process* (p. 20)”. With this principle, the EU responded to an alarming degree of unemployment and welfare dependency among immigrants and their offspring in Europe and moreover focused on the socioeconomic integration of migrants (Joppke, 2007:4). For three decades, Europe had not have programs for labor migrants, so nowadays a large majority of newcomers are asylum and family migrants, many low- or unskilled (p. 8). As a result of the new focus on socioeconomic integration, the responsibility of adjustment shifted more towards the individual migrant, mainly when one enters the new society (ibid.).

Subsequently, the fourth common basic principle implies that: “*Basic knowledge of the host society’s language, history and institutions is indispensable to integration* (Council of the European Union, 2004: 20).” The Netherlands is known as one of the first countries to have adopted civic integration policy, which is based on this fourth principle. This policy obliges migrants to take civic and language courses immediately after entry and non-compliance tends to be sanctioned in terms of financial penalties or even denial of permanent legal residence permits (Joppke, 2007:5). Remarkably is the obligatory character, which has increased in intensity over time and the change of this integration policy into a tool of migration control, helping states to restrict entry of certain types of migrants (low-skilled) (ibid.).

The EU has not yet acquire full competence in the issue of immigrant integration. Up to now, what the EU has succeeded should be deemed as an effort to create a general framework for integration and act as a facilitator for the member states to maintain their integration policies (Korkmaz, 2006: 29). Integration of third-country nationals is a process of mutual of mutual accommodation by both the host societies and the immigrants and an essential factor in releasing the full benefits of immigration (Commission of the European Communities, 2007: 3). Towards a comprehensive European migration policy, the link between legal migration

policies and integration strategies needs to be continually reinforced (p. 4). In 2004, the European Council has adopted The Hague program enhancing freedom, security and justice (Council Document 16054/04). This underlined the need for greater coordination of national integration policies and EU activities based on common basic principles.

The EU supports Member States' integration policies with a number of financial instruments. Since 2003, the Commission has been co-financing trans-national integration projects that promote cooperation between Member States, regional/local authorities and other stakeholders under INTI Preparatory Actions³⁶. Integration of third-country nationals has been the subject of a debate focussed on discrimination phenomena and cultural and religious diversity. In some cases, dramatic events were crucial in influencing the public perception of immigration. Many Member States identified new priorities and revised their policies. Most concepts present in Member States' integration policies are codified by the Common Basic Principles and they are, to different extents, reflected in their integration strategies.

In September 2005 the Commission put forward A Common Agenda for Integration which provides a framework for the integration of third country nationals in the European Union (Commission, 2005: 389). The Common Basic Principles (CBP) were aimed at designing a common framework for a European approach to immigrant integration (Martiniello, 2007). Furthermore, the Common Agenda provides supportive EU mechanisms to facilitate this process by developing a distinctive European approach to integration through cooperation and exchange of good practice (Commission of the European Communities, 2007:4).

Concluding remark

As the previous paragraphs stated: many European countries have agreed upon a collective European approach towards immigration and asylum policies, though countries apply different integration models and are still the main responsible for the integration of their migrants. Thus, the question arises, how it is possible that countries vary in integration models as most of them have experienced the same migration flow over the years.

Integration and migration are two sides of the same policy coin (European Commission, 2011). Integration is a multidimensional process of interactions between immigrants and the host-society, which requires effort in various areas and needs to be taken into account in a wide range of policy developments at different levels and involving numerous actors (ibid.). However, Member States are primarily responsible for developing and implementing integration policies,

though measures taken at EU level provide support to actions in Member States to promote the integration of third-country nationals. The European Union has a variety of instruments, which could be used to support migrants' integration, including financial support, policy coordination and in some cases even legislation. In conclusion, the differences in migrant integration in Europe exists due to the fact that countries are responsible for their own migrant integration as the European Union only has a supportive role and not a binding one.