



Rethinking Immigration and Integration: a New Centre-Left Agenda



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About Policy Network

Policy Network is an international think-tank dedicated to promoting progressive policies and the renewal of social democracy. Policy Network facilitates the sharing of ideas and experiences among politicians, policy-makers and experts on the centre-left.

Policy Network's objective is to develop and promote a progressive agenda based upon the ideas and experiences of social democratic modernisers. By working with politicians and thinkers across Europe and the world, Policy Network seeks to share the experiences of policy-makers and experts in different national contexts, find innovative solutions to common problems and provide quality research on a wider range of policy areas.

Policy Network was launched in December 2000 with the support of Tony Blair, Gerhard Schröder, Giuliano Amato and Göran Persson following the Progressive Governance Summits in New York, Florence and Berlin. In July 2003, Policy Network organised the London Progressive Governance Conference, bringing together 12 world leaders, and over 600 progressive politicians, thinkers and strategists. Since 2003, Policy Network has organised Progressive Governance Conferences in Budapest and Johannesburg, as well as a series of events and summits across Europe.

Through a programme of regular events, including Progressive Governance Conferences, symposia, working groups and one-day conferences, Policy Network's focus is injecting new ideas into progressive politics. Meetings are held throughout the year, often in cooperation with partner organisations such as Fondazione Italianeuropei, the Wiardi Beckman Stichting, Fundación Alternativas, A Gauche en Europe, the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, the European Policy Centre, the Progressive Policy Institute, and the Centre for American Progress. The outcome and results of the discussions are published in individual pamphlets that are distributed throughout the network, placed on our website and used as the basis for discussions at Policy Network events.

During 2005 and 2006, we have concentrated our energies on the renewal of the European Social Model. Our programme on the ESM was launched during the UK Presidency of the European Union and has investigated the principal means through which the various models for welfare states in Europe can be adapted to meet the challenges of the twenty-first century. Eighteen working papers were commissioned for the project, and six of them presented for discussion at a private seminar for the UK Prime Minister at 10 Downing Street one week prior to the European Summit at Hampton Court. Since then the debate has widened in a series of discussions across Europe in collaboration with other European centre-left think tanks in Italy, the Netherlands, France, Hungary, Germany, Spain, Romania and Finland. Similar discussions also took place around the UK. The first results have been published in a policy pamphlet, *The Hampton Court Agenda: a Social Model for Europe*, in March 2006.

In 2007, Policy Network's work programme will broaden to include research on immigration and social integration, public service reform and social justice in a globalised world. In January 2007, Policy Network held a conference on 'Britain and Europe in the Global Age: Common Challenges, New Opportunities' at which Tony Blair gave a keynote address exploring the fresh challenges for the progressive centre-left. More information on Policy Network's activities and research can be found on our website:

www.policy-network.net

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Olaf Cramme

Introduction

Olaf Cramme and Constance Motte

This book argues for a frank and open debate amongst the European centre-left about the issues surrounding immigration and integration, including multiculturalism, citizenship, identity and the cause of rising populism. It challenges traditional stances on immigration and integration by acknowledging past mistakes and promoting a new approach. Contributors make a fresh case for progressive parties to decisively address – not stigmatise – the concerns of those who feel alienated by immigration, while defining effective integration policies and better communicating the benefits that migrants bring to our economy and society as a whole.

In the last few years, a series of events – from the murder of Dutch film maker Theo van Gogh, through the 7/7-bombings in London, to the massive riots in French suburbs in autumn 2005 – have brought the challenge of integrating migrants into Western European societies brusquely to the fore. While in many countries the adverse effects of poorly managed immigration have already caused serious problems, these incidents also fuelled many citizens' anxieties about immigration, security and national identity.

Immigration and integration policies in the 1970s and 80s have undoubtedly contributed to this, favouring – intentionally or unintentionally – segregation over integration and failing to encourage a higher number of immigrants to acquire education and skills as well as the 'soft' capabilities that are necessary to compete successfully in the increasingly knowledge-driven economies of post-industrial western societies. As a result, migrants generally not only suffer greater levels of disadvantage when measured against the key indices of health and education, with some exceptions such

as the Chinese and Indian communities in the UK for example. Furthermore, poverty, unemployment rates, and crime figures among immigrants tend to be higher than the average, signalling a wider social problem that requires effective integration policies which strengthen social justice.

Furthermore, cultural traditions within some immigrant communities seem increasingly in conflict with the cultural and social values of post-modern western societies, including the core values of the European left such as gender and sexual equality, religious tolerance and secularism as well as individual freedoms. Although this only applies to a minority of immigrants, it aggravates the prevalent mistrust against what is perceived as ‘foreign’.

At the same time, these unresolved problems associated with immigration in Europe not only appear to alienate immigrant communities themselves, but also traditional communities in the host countries. A significant number of working and lower-middle class voters exhibit a growing tendency to desert – actively or passively – centre-left parties and look to other, populist electoral options. The defeat of Lionel Jospin in the French presidential elections in 2002, the election results of the Dutch PvdA also in 2002, the rise of Jörg Haider’s FPÖ in Austria, the success of the Vlaams Belang in Belgium, and the steep fall of the Danish Social Democrats in 2005 are all examples of this trend.

The failure to confront populists such as Jean-Marie Le Pen in France, Pia Kjaersgaard in Denmark or Geert Wilders in the Netherlands was and is often associated with the failure of mainstream political parties to respond to the concerns of ‘ordinary people’, for instance about the impact of immigration. Yet, immigration is frequently named as one of the top priority concerns of people, especially in countries such as the UK and Spain. It is important to realise in this respect that feelings of alienation not only occur in areas with a high percentage of migrants but also

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– and in some cases predominately – in areas that show very low numbers of migrants, suggesting that reasons other than prejudices against immigrants are decisive.

Over the last few years, tolerance towards migrants also seems to have deteriorated. In the Netherlands and Germany, around 80 per cent of the population stated that migrants must conform to the ‘way of life’ in the host country. In the UK, this opinion is shared by almost 70 per cent.¹ According to a European Social Survey in 2002/03, in countries such as Greece, Denmark, Portugal and Belgium up to 40 per cent of the population wish to live in areas where almost nobody is of a different race, colour or ethnic group from most people living in their respective countries.

Finally, the terrorist attacks against the United States in 2001 or the so-called ‘cartoon crisis’ in 2006 appear to have fuelled resentment against the Muslim community as a whole. In the Netherlands and Germany, for example, up to 50 per cent express an unfavourable view of Muslims.² These attitudes often go along with the widespread perception that many more immigrants live than in one’s country than in any other country in Europe, representing a constant overestimation of the numbers of foreign-born citizens.

These concerns not only reflect the unease gripping European societies, but also reveal the major challenge for progressives: defining a more coherent and consistent approach to immigration and integration in the years to come. Migration is the most visible evidence of increased global interconnectedness and the rapid social transformations it generates. Yet migration is likely to increase in the future, due to the growth in world population – largely in the developing world – the erosion of borders and cheaper and easier transport means.

In this context, some communities regard immigration as a catalyst for ‘negative change’ threatening cherished traditions with

harmful consequences for one's personal economic prospects. From this point of view, such change can lead to strong feelings of injustice, fears of *déclassement* and rising insecurity. As a consequence, individual problems in the labour market, housing or schools are assigned to the 'influx of foreigners' which, in turn, is exploited by the (extreme) right for whom immigration constitutes the most important political issue.³

For the progressive centre-left, this creates a twofold dilemma: First, it questions not only the traditional approach to immigration and integration, but also its strong emphasis on 'permanent change' and modernisation. While the new global, technological and social circumstances may require bold reforms to enhance each individual's capabilities and opportunities, people inevitably cling to certainties and habits that provide assurance and stability in a world of change. Hence, is there a trade-off between modernisation and tradition and if this is the case, where do we have to strike the balance?

Second, the immigration debate tends to polarise around values of tolerance, openness, equality of opportunity, anti-discrimination and equal respect on one side, and rising inequalities, insecurity and alienation of the working class on the other. Yet, the centre-left traditionally promotes the former *and* tackles the latter, refusing to play one off against the other. This dilemma becomes even more obvious when looking at the strategy of populist parties, both on the left and the right: leaders such as Jörg Haider in Austria or Jan Marijnissen from the Socialist Party in the Netherlands argue for equality, fairness, and freedom of speech – values that social democrats equally stand for.

This book touches on all these issues, contributing to the resurgent debate about immigration and integration in Europe by providing an analysis of current migration patterns, questioning

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the left's approach, looking at national cases studies and exploring specific themes.

In the first chapter of this volume, Elizabeth Collett offers a valuable overview of the current scale of migration into and within the European Union. Conceiving the substantial differences between countries, net immigration masks a mobility of people from an increasingly broad geographical and social spectrum which is changing the cultural, ethnic and religious make-up of Europe. With increasing numbers of people living and participating in more than one society, the implications for integration are enormous, from the provision of social services to membership rights.

Ernst Hillebrand, in the second chapter, scrutinises the "errors of the European left". He argues that the fear of xenophobia has undermined progressive thinking and values, allowing the emergence of parallel communities with different social and cultural codes that are at odds with post-modern Western societies. European countries have missed the opportunity to employ 'best practice' from countries that successfully coped with integrating migrants. Yet, Europe also underestimated the extent to which ideological, political and cultural changes in the originating regions of migrants would affect community relations in our societies.

Chapters three to eight take a closer look at national case studies and approaches to immigration. Liam Byrne highlights the economic and cultural benefits that immigration has brought to the UK, recognising at the same time that the development and enforcement of comprehensive rules of immigration are central to regain support for it. Migration issues must therefore be tackled on many fronts simultaneously: there needs to be greater accountability of delivery and greater scrutiny; a regional structure in place so regions may be compared; ID cards in order to better identify illegal migrants and validate legal ones; and a European and global response to illegal immigration.

Drawing on the numerous migration-related incidents in the Netherlands over the last few years, Jeroen Dijsselbloem portrays the problems that have arisen in his country due to poorly managed immigration. As a result, he advocates the control of the types and numbers of labour immigration and a fundamental review of marriage migration policies and compulsory language courses that have failed in the past. Taking the example of the veil, Dijsselbloem equally addresses the challenge of striking the right balance between individual liberties (freedom of religion and expression) and societal norms, stressing the need to clarify those values that require protection from the state.

For François Dubet, the accumulation of social and institutional problems represents a crisis of the French nation with immigration at the heart of the difficulties. The French model, dominated by work and universal citizenship, expects migrants to assimilate. Yet, this approach is increasingly under strain, highlighting the shortcoming of France's present institutional structure and welfare state. The issue facing France is therefore how to renew the republican model in the globalised world, while retaining French identity. The gap between political beliefs and political desire for change is, however, disrupting the development of strategies for reform.

Consuelo Rumí Ibáñez analyses the shifting dimension of immigration in Spain, which has changed in a short period of time from a country of emigration to the country in the European Union with the highest increase in the numbers of immigrants. In her plea for a more coherent and consistent EU strategy on immigration, Rumí Ibáñez sets out the principles to improve interstate co-operation on matters of legal and illegal immigration as well as on integration initiatives.

As Luca Einaudi spells out, Italy may not yet be confronted with the same immigration problems as other Western European

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countries, but ‘ghettoisation’, educational exclusion and unequal distribution of economic opportunities can easily hit the second generation of migrants. His contribution is a powerful reminder that a successful integration of the first generation of migrants tells little about the overall achievement of a country’s integration policies. Einaudi outlines why housing and education must therefore be at the centre of any integration policy.

Finally, Endre Sik offers an insight into the history of immigration, emigration and transmigration in Hungary. Migration policy is primarily seen in terms of demography and security while integration is not high on the agenda. Instead, the diasporic questions are much more pressing, highlighting the differences to the immigration debates in Western European societies.

Chapters nine to twelve explore different conceptual themes relating to the issues surrounding immigration and integration. Alessandra Buonfino questions the current policies of social integration in Europe and argues that there needs to be a greater understanding of how to measure and define ‘good integration’. The considerable public unease over immigration is not necessarily racism, but is instead caused by the perception that immigrants increase the level of insecurity for the native population. The lack of trust in government and its institutions combined with concerns about employment and social order is therefore the crux of the problem for policy-makers.

Richard Pearson tackles the issue of immigration and economic integration, using the example of Britain to illustrate the importance of bringing migrants into the labour market. Although the extent of the integration of migrants into the economy is difficult to assess, governments are required to break down the barriers – such as adequate language skills, housing, a lack of experience of working practices – that constitute the major obstacles for the successful economic integration of migrants.

René Cuperus investigates the “new populist European revolt”, arguing that populism must be seen as a protest against the rapid transformations caused by migration, European integration and the process of globalisation that is driven by economic and cultural liberalism. Confrontational lines now exist between ‘the elite’ and ‘the people’, between the winners and losers from change. The unease is to be found in the perception of threat and the undermining of national characteristics through processes of internationalisation and the erosion of national borders. Cuperus defends the necessity of national identity and finds in the restoration of trust between politicians and citizens at the national level the answer to re-establishing social cohesion.

For Jon Cruddas, the challenges of immigration and integration in Britain mean a return to issues of class, race and poverty, demanding an adequate response from the state based upon empirical realities in the country. The perception of immigration of both the public and the government needs to be revised to more accurately reflect the current reality, and therefore to solve the most pressing issues surrounding immigration. In Cruddas’ view, the debate around migration has been fundamentally dishonest by leaving aside actual material conditions experienced by both the migrant and the host community.

In the last chapter, Jürgen Krönig not only sketches out the current debate on the European centre-left about immigration, but also critically examines the paradox of multiculturalism, the difficulty of integrating Muslims into post-modern Western societies and the challenge of radical Islam. For Krönig, extreme right-wing parties will inevitably gain from a voter revolt against poorly managed immigration, unless the parties of the centre-left decide to respond decisively to the concerns of the people.

As all these chapters suggest, the progressive left must now design a fresh approach to immigration and integration, developing

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an explanatory story on migration, taking into account both the benefits and adverse effects that immigration produces, looking at past mistakes, analysing the changing patterns of migration in Europe, and assertively addressing the anxieties of those who feel alienated from migration. Immigration and integration policies will need to go hand in hand with a new set of social policies that tackle rising inequalities and the marginalisation of groups both from the host and migrant community.

In this context, progressive parties also need to find a new way to frame the debate on immigration and integration. If a right-wing agenda is exclusively based on the notion of ‘security’, could, for example, ‘fairness’, be a better approach for the centre-left?

Most polls show that people appreciate diversity but are afraid of immigration. Their concerns frequently stem from the changes brought about by internal (e.g. technological revolution) and external pressures (e.g. mobility of capital and people). Immigration thus also becomes a social justice issue, constituting an integral part of the debate on the future of globalisation and the European Social Model. Social democrats will need to come up with a coherent and consistent agenda in this respect. A particular challenge will be to clearly distinguish such an agenda from the chauvinistic approach of the right and extreme right which is quick to offer ‘easy solutions’. Yet, tolerance is a two-way, never a one-way street. The progressive left should take this to heart.

1. European Social Survey, 2004.

2. Pew Survey, 2005.

3. For a detailed analysis, see the final report of “Socio-Economic Change, Individual Reactions and the Appeal of the Extreme Right”, coordinated by Jörg Flecker and the Forschungs- und Beratungsstelle Arbeitswelt (FORBA), Vienna, Austria, 2004.

Europe: a New Continent of Immigration

Elizabeth Collett

Overview

Large-scale immigration to Europe has a comparatively short history. While New World countries such as Australia and the United States were conceived – and strongly identify themselves – as countries of immigration, European states have taken a very different approach. Indeed, it has been said that while EU countries have very different flows and stocks of immigrants, they share one common feature: a basic non-acceptance of immigration.¹

In the twenty-first century this perception is changing. Europe hosts the largest proportion of all migrants – about 34 per cent, including EU citizens who have moved within Europe² – in the world and over four per cent of Europe's population are migrants from outside the EU³. Of a foreign-born population of 40.5 million (8.8 per cent), approximately 23.8 million originate from outside the EU25.⁴ It is no longer realistic to deny Europe's status as a continent of immigration.

Migration in context

According to the United Nations, there were 191 million migrants in the world in 2005, and the European continent is currently host to approximately one third of the global migrant population (64 million).⁵ Migrants are increasingly concentrated in developed countries, travelling from developing countries. There has been a steep increase in migration over the past few decades, and Europe's

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migrant stock has increased by six million over the past five years alone.

These changes are closely related to the process of globalisation. With increased mobility of goods, services, finances and information comes increased human mobility, and migrants are a new dynamic factor in the global economy. Global income inequalities between developing and developed countries are driving those in poorer countries to look for opportunities abroad. The development of a global media and faster exchanges of information mean that migrants are better informed about those opportunities than ever before, while faster and cheaper travel makes taking advantage of those opportunities a more realistic possibility for a larger number of people.

These developments are having mixed global effects. On the negative side, organised criminal networks have made millions from the smuggling – and in some cases trafficking – of people across international borders, and a large number of migrants are trapped in exploitative labour situations across the globe. Some estimates suggest that up to 200,000 women are trafficked into the EU each year from Eastern Europe for the purposes of sexual exploitation.⁶ This does not include other regions of origin or migrants who are trafficked into the labour market. Meanwhile, sending countries are noting with increasing concern that their most qualified nationals are leaving for jobs overseas, often in Europe, a phenomenon labelled the ‘brain drain’.

This is balanced against the fact that migrants sent home over 230 billion dollars in remittances in 2005 according to the World Bank, with many developing countries benefiting financially in exchange for the loss of human resources. Currently, sending and receiving countries alike are turning their attention to how migration could contribute to the development of the poorest countries, rather than draining them of resources, while minimising

the vulnerabilities faced by migrants during their journey. This reflects a new recognition that migration will not stop, but rather needs to be channelled to best suit the needs of all those affected.

Migration trends in Europe – a short history

There have been several phases of migration over the past fifty years, and there have also been regional differences within these. Following the end of the Second World War, Northern European countries resorted to attracting large numbers of migrants to help rebuild their decimated countries. Some, such as Britain, the Netherlands and France turned to nationals of former colonies to fill gaps in the labour market, from the Caribbean, South Asia, and North and West Africa. These migrants were often offered settlement rights, and could bring families and other dependents.

Other countries – most notably Germany, but also Austria and Switzerland – recruited temporary workers through bilateral agreements with a number of countries. While for Britain and France, migration had a historical and cultural context, these temporary migration programmes were solely a labour market policy tool. At the peak of the German *Gastarbeiter* programme, migrants represented twelve per cent of salaried workers;⁷ however, these migrants were expected to return home at the end of their work contracts.

A number of European countries, including Ireland, Finland, Spain, Portugal and Greece, remained countries of emigration for most of the twentieth century. Indeed, much migration in Europe during this first phase was ‘local’, with many workers moving from southern Mediterranean states to north western Europe through temporary migration programmes.

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Economic recession, subsequent high levels of national unemployment, and the realisation that policy outcomes may not be entirely under national control led to a phasing out of both permanent and temporary legal migration channels in Europe in the early 1970s and a policy goal of ‘zero migration’ was pursued by almost all European countries throughout the 1970s and 1980s. This can be considered the second phase of migration – or rather non-migration – in Europe and despite changes in policy throughout the continent, the mindset developed during this period has proved durable.

During the 1980s however, economic growth, demographic decline and subsequent labour shortages meant that some European countries began to rethink their policies and import labour, particularly in traditional countries of emigration. The divide between emigration and immigration countries in the older Member States has continued until quite recently. The last EU-15 country to move from emigration to net immigration was Ireland in 1996.

However, the speed of change has been rapid. Some of those who were net exporters of labour just twenty years ago now have some of the highest immigration rates, notably Spain and Ireland. In countries with a longer history of immigration, the character of migration flows were less related to conscious policy choices. A stark increase in asylum claims, combined with more noticeable flows of undocumented migrants, demonstrated that closing the channels of migration does not necessarily stem migration itself. These unanticipated developments occurred alongside continued family reunification of dependents of the original migrant stock. Despite ‘zero migration’ policies, the international and human rights obligations of Member States required that some channels of migration remain open, namely those for humanitarian protection and family reunion. Later on, during the 1990s, the realisation

slowly developed that migrant workers were needed, and led to immigration policies which once again allowed for the 'import' of selected workers.

Amongst the countries of Central and Eastern Europe which joined the EU in 2004 (or A8), migration flows were much less dynamic, at least until the collapse of the Berlin Wall. As these countries rebuilt their economies and looked towards EU accession, they became increasingly attractive to migrants from both east and west. While outflows from all these countries remain significant, only three – Latvia, Lithuania and Poland – are still countries of net emigration. Meanwhile further south, the small island of Cyprus has the highest immigration rate in Europe (19 migrants per 1000 of the population).⁸

Attitudes towards migration have become somewhat complex in recent years. Demographic decline and the burdens of an ageing continent have become too urgent to ignore. Of the EU-15, Germany is already witnessing negative population change, with several other Western Member States set to join over the next few years. No EU Member State currently has fertility rates high enough to replace the current population and the European Commission has predicted a 20 million fall in the number of workers in the EU-15 region over the next 25 years.⁹

The 2004 enlargement did little to redress this trend: according to 2005 figures, seven of the ten new Member States are also experiencing contracting natural populations. Newest member Bulgaria is experiencing the deepest natural decline of all. However, even though population growth in the EU owes more to immigration than natural increase – accounting for over 80 per cent of population growth in 2005¹⁰ – it is accepted that immigration cannot be a complete solution to this problem.

While demographic decline is yet to manifest itself fully in the labour market, Western Europe is experiencing a number of

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shortages in particular high-skilled sectors, not least healthcare, IT and engineering, and the economic usefulness of migrants is becoming clearer. Member States are increasingly preoccupied with attracting the best and the brightest to Europe, and reforming labour market policies accordingly. Highly skilled workers have always been welcome. The harder question is how to fill gaps in the labour market at the lower end of the scale, particularly in the construction, agriculture and service sectors.

This need, and how to fill it, is largely unacknowledged in many, if not all, Member States. Countries such as Spain and Ireland have, until now at least, been happy to accept large numbers of low-skilled migrant workers, recognising the role they have played in these Member States' recent economic prosperity. Other countries have placed more stringent controls on the movement of low-skilled workers, amid concerns that national workers will be displaced.

Migration to Europe today

Migration flows themselves have changed in a number of ways over the past three decades, with an increase in both number and complexity of flows to and within Europe. This is not to say that patterns of migration to European countries have converged; there remain substantial differences between countries with respect to type, fluidity, and size of migration. For example, while around one-third of Luxembourg's resident population is non-national, this figure drops to around three percent for Finland.¹¹ Net immigration flows (numbers entering minus numbers leaving the country) often mask a far higher mobility: Germany's net immigration is under 100,000 people annually, but a closer look at the figures show over

700,000 people entering, and over 600,000 people leaving the country each year.¹²

The complexity of migration trends in the twenty-first century cannot be ignored. As noted above, in the past, most migrants came from countries with colonial and specific bilateral arrangements. There has been a rapid increase in the diversity of migrants as a result of a more interconnected world, with continued economic disparities. The increase in the number of sending countries has resulted in a new 'super-diversity' in Europe, with many disparate communities composed of small groups made up of many different nationalities.¹³ In the UK alone, there are populations of more than 10,000 from 42 different countries, and populations of more than 5,000 from a further twelve countries.¹⁴ Before the 1970s, almost all the migration to the UK was from a handful of countries in South Asia and the Caribbean. This poses new challenges for integration. In addition to dealing with more established communities of second and third generation migrants, policy-makers must devise ways to integrate smaller, more fragmented communities of newcomers.

This increased diversity has changed the ethnic, religious and cultural make-up of Europe. Historically a Caucasian Christian continent, other ethnicities are forming large minorities in Europe, particularly in urban areas, and may become the majority population in some cities. Islam is the fastest growing religion in Europe, due in part to immigration, and the second largest religion after Christianity. Both religions have a long history in Europe: Muslim territories were established in the Iberian Peninsula as far back as the eighth century. Although fears of violent radicalisation have created new tensions with Muslim communities in Europe, a number of other religions are established in the continent today, in a context where the European population is becoming increasingly secular.

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The flow of migrants to Europe has also become more complex in terms of movement and legal status. Globalisation is changing the nature of the migration journey. One-way voyages to a new country of settlement, the type of migration which populated the New World, are giving way to more temporary and flexible movements, and a new generation of migrant globetrotters. With cheaper communication and travel, migrants have greater opportunities to maintain links with their home countries, and ‘return’ and ‘circular’ migration is becoming increasingly commonplace. In Europe particularly, an increasing proportion of the migrant population is ‘transnational’: that is to say, people working in one country while maintaining a family and social life in another.

This is not a particularly new concept, and migrants have often retained economic, political, and social links with their home countries, whether through sending money home (remittances), voting in national elections, or returning home for periods of time. However, the resurgence of temporary migration programmes for migrants hailing from outside Europe, in addition to the establishment of an area of free movement within Europe, has meant that both EU and non-EU citizens are sustaining homes in more than one country simultaneously. Migrants may also have more than one national identity (and in some cases citizenship), which has implications for traditional concepts of integration focused on the process of belonging to and participation in just one society. However, the maintenance of transnational ties can be seen as complementary to – rather than detracting from – a process of integration. On a more practical level, there may be implications for the provision of social services, payment of taxes and pensions, and other rights and responsibilities attached to holding membership in a society.

In addition, the number of legal categories into which migrants fall has proliferated – labour, humanitarian, family reunion,

and study to name but a few – and migrants often switch from one category to another. For example, a student may become a migrant worker, while a family member may become a citizen. A migrant arriving in Europe may have a Byzantine range of options available, with different status, rights and entitlements attached to each method of entry.

The structure and weight given to each of these categories varies from country to country. National immigration systems in Europe generally allow for all types of migration, but countries vary with respect to the proportion of each type they are willing to receive. In some cases this is deliberate, particularly with respect to economic migration, but in others it is a legacy of previous migration regimes. In France, for example, the migration of family members currently accounts for a significant proportion of the total population, as a result of generous policies and high levels of permanent migration from former colonies. The government is now reviewing these policies to focus on ‘selecting’ immigrants for economic purposes. In other countries, such as Norway, economic migration remains small-scale, and refugees and others under humanitarian protection form a far larger proportion of the total migrant intake.

There are a number of new trends and areas of convergence worth noting in Europe. Despite wide variance in the size and type of flow, there seems to be a gradual move amongst all Member States towards attracting the most highly skilled, while finding ways of curtailing other flows such as family reunion or permanent residence of the lower skilled.

Low-skilled migrant labour remains the elephant in the room: while most countries need it to a greater or lesser extent, few have established politically acceptable ways of sourcing it. Most are currently fulfilling labour needs through movements of new Member State workers (detailed below). Some of the Mediterranean states are also taking the pragmatic approach of offering legal status

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through amnesties to undocumented migrants already working in low-skilled sectors, to bring them into the formal economy (see below). However, one significant trend is the rebirth of temporary migration programmes (TMPs) in Europe to address both high and low-skilled labour needs.

These second generation TMPs in Europe are more diverse, both in composition and objectives. Western European countries are devising multiple micro-programmes aimed at filling particular gaps in the labour market. In Spain, the majority of work permits for non-EU workers are issued for the service sector. In the UK, there are shortages of both low-skilled workers (in hospitality and food processing) and highly skilled employees (in engineering, health and IT). In addition to specific temporary migration schemes, many countries issue time-restricted work permits as a more general – and politically acceptable – tool of immigration policy. In France, 74 per cent of work authorisations in 2004 were for seasonal work, eleven per cent for temporary work, and just five per cent for permanent work. In Germany, 95 per cent of work permits issued included time restrictions.¹⁵ Whether these programmes will be deemed more successful the second time around will likely depend on whether workers return home once their permits expire. However, it has been pointed out that the necessary enforcement policies associated with ensuring returns may not be compatible with the values of Western liberal democracies.¹⁶

A frequently overlooked category is family reunification; that is to say, family members joining migrants already present in the Member State. Dependents make up a significant proportion of total migration flow; for example in Italy, nearly twice as many family members entered than those given work permits.¹⁷ The right to family reunion is a core fundamental human right, and all European countries allow it on some basis. However, there may be restrictions as to the definition of family member, length of stay

of the initial migrant, and minimum income levels to be attained. As the need for migrant workers increases in Europe, a number of countries are restricting access for family members, usually on the basis that the worker will not become a permanent resident.

An increasingly important migration flow to Europe is that of international students, although they are often not considered migrants.¹⁸ With the international market in education services estimated at more than 30 billion US dollars,¹⁹ they can be a lucrative flow both in the short and long term. The EU currently hosts approximately 47 per cent of the world's international students. Approximately 750,000 third-country nationals were studying in Europe in 2003, alongside over 280,000 EU citizens studying in another Member State. France, Germany and the UK are the biggest hosts of international students, but other countries are catching up: currently ten of the EU-25 are net exporters of education services; i.e. they are welcoming more students than they are sending abroad.

The original student programmes developed after the Second World War had a cultural and social rationale. However, as governments begin to appreciate the economic benefits of foreign enrolment in universities, many have begun to actively attract young people to their institutions. Indeed, with shortages of skilled workers becoming more acute, international students are also a ready supply of highly-skilled migrant workers, trained 'in-house'. In recognition of this, several countries have eased restrictions on working post-graduation and extended work permits to students in particular sectors.

Given the significance of illegal border crossing in Europe, particularly in the context of freedom of movement and dismantled internal checks, undocumented migration remains a key policy concern in Europe. Estimates vary widely, but it is thought that up to 500,000 undocumented migrants arrive in Europe each year,²⁰

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while 6-8 million undocumented migrants are estimated to reside in Europe.²¹ During 2006, nearly 50,000 were recorded as attempting the crossing from the African continent alone in boats to Spain, Italy, and Malta, and many died along the way. The humanitarian, as well as practical concerns attendant with this have preoccupied policy makers across Europe, but particularly in the Southern States.

Perhaps as a result, there is a divergence in policy approach towards those migrants already present in Europe. Both Spain and Italy have offered amnesties to migrants working without papers on their territories in the past couple of years, with 600,000 migrants being offered work permits in Spain during 2005, in partial recognition of the national need for labour to fuel economic growth. Other countries prefer to either tolerate or deport those migrants it finds living and working without documentation on its territory. However, with global income disparities increasing and demographic trends diverging across the globe, Europe is unlikely to see the pressure from unauthorised migration ease any time soon. Without viable opportunities in home countries, migrants will continue to seek better opportunities abroad, and the pressure on Europe to respond will increase.

Meanwhile, one flow has decreased over the past few years: that of migrants seeking humanitarian protection. During the 1990s, levels of asylum reached unprecedented levels in Europe, and countries such as Germany and the UK received hundreds of thousands of applications. Although many of the situations forcing migrants to move across the globe in search of protection still persist, applications for asylum in Europe have dropped dramatically: in 2005, the EU's 25 Member States received a combined total of 237,840 applications for asylum, which is a 46 per cent fall from 2001 levels.²² Germany remains by far the largest host of refugees in Europe, with more than 700,000, followed by the UK, France

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and the Netherlands. One of the biggest challenges facing Europe is how to fulfil its obligations under international asylum laws – agreed through the Geneva Convention more than 50 years ago – while maintaining secure external borders. Whether the decrease in applications is due to lack of need or lack of access to protection is a continuing policy debate.

Mobility within Europe

The freedom to live and work in any European Union country is an exclusive right bestowed upon EU citizens, and is a unique development in the history of migration.

The concept of ‘EU citizenship’ has contributed to the sense of normality surrounding movements from one Member State to another. It has also created a new label in Europe, that of the ‘third country national’, a national of a non-EU Country, and a tiered approach to migration preference. However, despite the removal of regulatory obstacles, less than four per cent of the EU population have actually exercised their right to move. This is a much lower level of mobility than within the United States, although not particularly different than the global rate of migration (currently three per cent of the world population are migrants). A number of less visible barriers still remain for EU citizens, such as differences in healthcare entitlements, tax systems and employment laws. They therefore, remain quasi-migrants: citizens in principle, yet migrants in reality.

The right of free movement does not yet fully apply to most of the newer Member States of the European Union (the exceptions being Cyprus and Malta). In response to fears that the 2004 enlargement of the EU would lead to a flood of workers from countries with high levels of unemployment, the EU decided to

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allow 'old' Member States to maintain their national immigration schemes – treating the new EU citizens as third country nationals – for up to seven years. Ireland, Sweden and the UK waived these transitional arrangements and allowed unrestricted access to their labour markets. Following a review in 2006, five countries (Spain, Portugal, Finland, Greece and later Italy) lifted their national restrictions, while four more (France, Denmark, Belgium, and Luxembourg) have eased restrictions, mostly on a sectoral basis. Only Germany and Austria have declared an intention to maintain restrictions until 2011. Similar transitional arrangements apply to Romania and Bulgaria. The UK, for one, will maintain its national regime this time around, along with a number of other EU countries, including Hungary, the only 2004 Accession State to do so.

So what impact have transitional arrangements had on patterns of mobility from the A8?²³ The answer is some, but not as much as one might think. Flows of workers to the UK and Ireland following enlargement were larger than had been predicted. However, in Sweden, which also lifted restrictions, flows of migrants remained modest. In fact the biggest recipient of migrants from the new Member States since 2004 has been Germany under its work permit scheme. Transitional arrangements per se do not seem to have as much impact as the economic, geographic and social factors drawing migrants to certain countries of the EU.²⁴ In addition, social networks play a role in drawing migrants to particular countries.

In terms of nationality, Poles are by far the largest population of workers abroad. Those moving tend to be young, and their reasons for moving include the search for a better quality of life, the desire to improve their languages, skills and career prospects, and simple curiosity.²⁵ The majority have had a medium- or high-level education, and rather than moving to settle, most express an

intention to live overseas for just a few years as part of a longer term career plan.

Looking forward, what can be expected with the new round of enlargement? Surveys conducted in Romania and Bulgaria suggest that Italy and Spain will be the most favoured destinations for the new EU citizens, while Greece, Germany and Hungary will also be significant recipients.²⁶ This suggests that two of the most popular destinations during the previous enlargement, the UK and Ireland, will be receive fewer workers this time round. A recent survey in Bulgaria suggested that the vast majority of citizens had not considered emigration in any case.²⁷

A number of EU countries have decided, both explicitly and implicitly, that flows of new EU citizens can fill gaps in the labour market at the lower end. For example, Ireland has toughened its immigration policy on the basis that it can source workers from the newer Member States. Work permits will only be given to third country nationals in particular industry sectors. The question is how long such policies can be sustained? With the newer Member States also experiencing demographic decline, and economic growth increasing, the supply of workers from the region is likely to diminish over the next few years, while demand for workers will increase in the EU-15. The biggest population in Europe, Turkey, may yet be considered a viable labour force in Europe.

Looking to the future

It is clear that migration, in its various forms, will continue to play a significant role in European policy and society. Europe is slowly recognising both the economic necessity of migrant labour, and the economic pressures driving more migrants to the continent. Addressing these two sides of the same coin, and paying sufficient

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attention to the social consequences of the choices made, will be the biggest immigration policy challenge for the next decade.

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Migration and Integration: The Errors of the European Left

Ernst Hillebrand

Western European societies are facing a major social and political challenge in the question of managing the integration of old and new immigrants. The warning signs that we have been failing to cope successfully with this challenge have been visible in many events of recent years. In the UK, Trevor Phillips, the former Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality, stated in early 2006 that “the UK is sleepwalking into a fully segregated society”. Similar tendencies can be observed in many other countries; the 2005 riots in the French suburban immigrants ghettos, the high unemployment rates among immigrants in Germany, and the very unequal education results among certain immigrant groups in almost all European countries show that there is a massive, widespread failure in the integration of immigrants.

The last decades have seen the emergence of ‘parallel societies’ that function according to completely different cultural and social codes, partly at odds with the central values of Western societies. The mass protests and death threats against the Danish caricaturist in early 2006 by European Muslims gave as much witness to these developments as the radical fanatic who interrupted the British Home secretary when he spoke in east London with the words “How dare you come to a Muslim area?”. 7/7, 9/11, the Madrid bombings, the murder of Theo van Gogh in the Netherlands and the significant number of terror plots planned in the migrant ghettos of Western Europe that have been thwarted by the security services (especially in the UK) show that there is a growing problem with the integration of Muslim immigrants into Western society.

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At the same time, we are witnessing the growing alienation of important parts of the traditional 'indigenous' communities from the political system and the rise of right wing populism in many European countries. Again, we are facing a massive Europe-wide trend, articulated in Le Pen's shock result at the 2002 French presidential elections, as well as in the successes of various right wing populist movements at elections in the Netherlands, Austria and Italy in recent years. Not even a country with an electoral system so structurally biased against newcomers as the British one has been able to avoid the slow rise of movements such as the British National Party (BNP) or the UK Independence Party (UKIP).

The responsibility of the left

The European left is no stranger to these problems. Indeed, they have as much to do with errors in our own policies and concepts as with the concepts and errors of the political right. The European left never developed a consistent strategy on how to cope with the huge challenge posed by the integration of many millions of culturally, socially and linguistically 'foreign' men and women into this continent's increasingly competitive economies and societies. Worse, we never allowed for an open political debate about these questions and the problems and challenges linked to it. Very few social processes of similar magnitude in recent history have been so unaccompanied by appropriate politics as the massive immigration to Western Europe during the last few decades.

A long list of errors and misjudgements

When we look at the stance of the European left toward these developments, we can find a significant number of omissions and erroneous approaches.

1. Naivety about the nature of the process

First of all, the left has been utterly naive in its thinking as to what degree integration would happen as a quasi-natural process that would not require special effort or arrangements for the immigrants as well as for the host communities. We completely underestimated the inner dynamics of immigrant communities which tended to reproduce their own culture within the new host settings; we therefore developed no concepts on how to pro-actively manage the integration of immigrants into our societies. Rather the contrary: when the European left did develop concepts on how to deal with immigration, it did so to a very different end, promoting a strategy of cultural segregation under the label of ‘multiculturalism’. Even if the more ludicrous elements – such as promoting education in the ‘national’ language of immigrants instead of Dutch, English or German – have been abandoned rather quickly, the very essence of multiculturalism as an ideology based on the *affirmation of differences* instead of integration into mainstream society has long gone unchallenged within the European left.

2. Arrogance towards the experience of others

As we were naive in our assessment of the processes of social integration of the newly arrived, we have been arrogant towards the experiences of historic immigration countries like the USA or Argentina. These countries developed mechanisms – rituals,

symbolisms and symbolic actions – that facilitated and accelerated integration. We have treated these mechanisms as something like remnants of a ‘reactionary nationalism’, vestiges of the nineteenth century, completely overlooking the functional character of these mechanisms in the context of an immigration society. We did not bother to reflect on the fact that these successful immigration countries conceived themselves not as multicultural societies, but as cultural nations, as ‘melting pots’. Intellectually shell-shocked by the bitter consequences of the European nationalisms of the twentieth century and the cataclysms they had produced, best practice learning was not utilised by the European left when looking at the experiences of successful nation building in traditional immigration countries.

3. Blindness to cultural differences

Interestingly enough, we were also blind to the extent of the cultural differences that separate post-1968 hedonist Western societies from most of the rest of the world, especially from those areas which produce significant numbers of immigrants: the poorest and most traditionalistic parts of the developing world. We failed to grasp the fact that the ‘hedonistic revolution’ of the 1960s and 1970s had transformed the Western societies in a much more profound way than many people would have thought; the gulf separating them from semi- or pre-industrial societies in the developing world, marked by traditional religious and moral arrangements is immense and, in many respects still widening, especially if we think of questions such as the social role of women (perhaps the greatest achievement of post-modern capitalism) or the importance of religion. Failing to understand these differences, we massively underestimated the complexities of people who have been socialised in cultures and value systems so far away from each other living together.

4. Laziness in analysing economic processes

The European left was also lazy in analysing the consequences of processes and developments in the economic sphere: According to a mid-90s study by the World Bank, 80 per cent of the immigrants who came to Western Europe in the 1960s and 70s were low or unskilled workers; 37 per cent of Bangladeshi men and 46 per cent of Bangladeshi woman in the UK today have no professional training. These people initially found jobs in the ‘sunset industries’ of the classical industrial age – taylorised, fordistic work, not necessitating higher levels of skills or technological knowledge. Whereas this kind of low skill immigration continued (for family reunification if not for work), the old industries, which were able to provide employment for this type of workforce, were crumbling in front of our very eyes in the 1980s and 90s. Yet, we did not consider where jobs for these people would come from in the future, creating a massive unemployment problem within immigrant populations in Europe. In most western European countries unemployment among immigrants is significantly higher than among the indigenous population. In the Turkish community in west Berlin (where the remaining industrial structure all but collapsed after reunification), seasonal unemployment among the male population reaches over 40 per cent; unemployment among the Bangladeshi community in the UK is triple the national average (not counting the high number of people in this community living off incapacity benefits). Nor did we bother to think about the consequences this kind of low skilled immigration would have for our education systems. In many cases, second or third generation migrants from poor educational backgrounds tend to reproduce the educational under-performance of first generation low skilled migrants. Only recently did we

start to take more interest (and invest accordingly) in the specific necessities these groups might have in our education systems.

5. Ethnocentrism

Paradoxically, the European left proved to be rather ethnocentric in its attitude towards other cultures. It never fully accepted the fact that not only things that *we* are doing (and not doing) will have an impact on the conditions and forms of coexistence between newcomers and old populations, but also things done by others and elsewhere. So we massively underestimated to what extent ideological, political and cultural changes in the regions where the migrants came from would spill over into our own countries and affect community relations here. This is particularly true for our relations with Muslim immigrants. The rise of politicised religion (a phenomenon well known in European history) in the Islamic world over the last 30 years has had significant repercussions on the perspectives by which Muslim immigrants saw and see the Western societies they had migrated to. Yet, traditional left thinking on integration does not really allow for autonomous dynamics inside immigrant communities. We tend to conceive whatever they do as a ‘reaction’ to the undertakings of the majority society, and never as autonomous actions of self-determined individuals acting according their own interests, values and political agendas. Immigrant communities seem to be seen by the traditional left as some kind of collective resonance bodies to the actions of the host societies – and not as groups of human beings that might be marching to drums of their own.

6. Slowness to understand technological change

The European left was equally slow to understand the consequences of technological change. Thinking in terms of emigration and immigration as one-off processes from and to a community or country, processes with a beginning and an end much along the lines of nineteenth and early twentieth century migration from Europe towards the Americas, we did not understand the implications of cheap travel, satellite TV and the internet for the processes of integration or non-integration. These technological changes have changed the underlying social dynamic of migration to a certain degree, fostering the development of ‘parallel communities’ with low interaction with mainstream societies, living culturally and socially separated lives and not developing a perspective of long term integration into the ‘melting pot’ of their countries of (temporary) residence. Now we are seeing a third generation of children who have lower national language skills than their parents or grandparents developed, who at their time of arrival were not able to maintain intensive connections with the regions and countries of their origins. Again, it is intriguing to see that the left was so blind to these dynamics as it had been academics generally associated with centre-left thinking that have been the first to analyse and describe the disintegration and fragmentation of post-modern societies as a whole and the tendency of people to live increasingly inside of culturally defined ‘imagined communities’ which, based on new developments in the field of information and communication technologies, span national borders and continents.

7. Condescendence towards the native electorate

At the same time, the European left became increasingly condescending towards the ‘indigenous’ population of the host

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countries whose complaints about the negative sides of ill-managed mass immigration were pushed aside as ‘racist’. Yet it has been these populations – many of whom count among the less privileged and most vulnerable populations themselves – who in their daily lives had to come to grips with the realities and negative side-effects of that ill-managed process. The collapse of community life and social trust in neighbourhoods and boroughs of high ethnic diversity – recently documented by Robert Putnam in a broad study of community relations in Los Angeles – the decline in the quality of education systems (unable to cope with the high influx of non-native speakers) and the massively increased demand for social services by newly arrived poor people in times of welfare spending cuts, are among the best documented. The effect on wages and employment is perhaps less clearly documented, but still well proven in certain cases. The political correctness of the left more or less forbade these ‘white working class’ people from articulating their grievances and complaints about these developments, casting them aside as expressions of racism and xenophobia. A recent study by the British Young Foundation – *The New East End* – gives a vivid account of how the white working class population in the London East End feels bullied by the (Labour-dominated) local authorities. Similar examples can be found in many other parts of Europe.

8. Cowardice in standing up for progressive values

Finally, and perhaps most shamefully, we have been utterly coward when it came to defend the essential values and norms of our own societies. This reluctance is most surprising, as today’s Western societies are to a high degree the product of the political and cultural struggles and successes of progressive political forces during the so-called ‘social democratic’ twentieth century.

These progressive political values – most notably the principle of democratic governance, the separation of state and religion, the rule of (secular) law, the equality of men and women, freedom of expression, the protection and non-discrimination of minorities – had to be won and secured against reactionaries, conservatives and totalitarians in our own societies in a long historical struggle. Yet when all of a sudden, the reactionaries and conservatives came not from within the established political communities but from outside, we were unable or unwilling to react. The *fatwa* against Salman Rushdie at the end of 1980s was a very visible lightning on the horizon. The European left failed completely to find an appropriate answer and to reign in the religious and cultural intolerance that started to articulate itself in this event.

Today, for fear of xenophobia and blinded by our own idiosyncrasies, we have ceded even more ground in various areas. We accept that within migrant communities central aspects of the core values of western progressive thinking become increasingly undermined or even meaningless:

- What value do the individual rights and liberties guaranteed in the European Convention of Human Rights have for an Eastern European sex slave? What for the bonded worker brought into Europe through the criminal networks of human trafficking?
- What value do individual liberties have for the Muslim girl who lives in fear of honour killing just for wishing to enjoy the very individual liberties we praise our societies for? What protection does she get from our state apparatus? What freedom (and security) enjoys a Muslim apostate and what help from the state will he or she receive? Who protects the basic freedom of women inside certain migrant communities not to be obliged by misogynistic cultural traditions to cover their faces while in public?

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- What freedom of expression exists for the Danish caricaturist who did something caricaturists do – not least as a result of all the struggles that progressives have won in the last two hundred years against religious obscurantism and political intolerance – namely publishing a caricature on a controversial subject?

Liberty, the saying goes, dies by inches. Currently, the greater threat to civil liberties within western societies tends not to come from the State, but from the organised intolerance of minorities. In awe of the ‘dos and don’ts’ of political correctness we never even dared to raise this question, and, worse, sometimes encouraged this intolerance. The view of Western politicians declaring their understanding for the ‘grievances’ of fanatic lynch mobs uttering death threats (and killing almost 140 people worldwide) during the ‘caricature crisis’ in 2006 was rather telling in this respect. Yet, the question of defending our values is a fundamental one if we want to protect the very achievements of our political system that have made Western Europe an island of individual liberty, cultural freedom, security and prosperity in the world.

The European centre-left will have to correct as quickly as possible the above listed shortcomings; if not, it will pay a hefty price: it will sooner rather than later itself live in societies that will be quite different from those it has been dreaming of and doing politics for. It will lose political power and influence as traditional voters, bored and tired of being lectured instead of listened to, turn away from them and look for new or alternative political forces to vote for.

From Free Movement to Fair Movement: the Immigration Debate in the UK

Liam Byrne

Changing patterns of immigration are one of the big challenges that globalisation brings. Like the restructuring of economies, or the challenges from new alliances of terrorists and failed states, it is a change that the centre-left has to manage with a tough-minded fairness – or lose office. In Britain, there is a critique which claims that the rise in public concern about immigration is purely media-driven. It is true that we do not have to look far for the evidence. Until 2004, some of Britain's media urged upon the nation something akin to a moral panic centred almost entirely on asylum. Stories abounded about numbers, benefit claimants 'sponging off the state', clandestine entry, a poor system for deporting those whose claims failed, and weakened social cohesion.

The only problem with the 'it's all the media' thesis is that it is not quite true. During the 1990s, the UK *did* change from being a country of net emigration to one of net immigration – 2.4 million people left Britain and 3.4 million came in. With that change came enormous economic benefits. Migrants make up eight percent of the UK workforce, but contribute ten per cent of our GDP. The Treasury says that from 2001 to 2005, migration contributed to around fifteen to twenty per cent of the UK's trend growth.

The step-change in public concern about immigration has been one of the most dramatic aspects of the changing political agenda since Labour came to power. Back in 1997 the EU, unemployment, education and the NHS led the list of issues that voters said were vital. Ten years on, the issue list looks different. Health and education remain on the radar. But crime, race relations and defence have rocketed up the table. Ten years ago, Labour's 1997

manifesto devoted 135 words to immigration and less than ten per cent of the population named immigration as the biggest issue in British politics. Today, 40 per cent rate immigration as their top concern, and in poll after poll during 2005, immigration was either the number one, or number two issue.

Post 2004, the debate shifted. Eight new countries acceded to the European Union. In the media, some of the themes stayed the same; the concern about numbers didn't disappear, nor the claims (right, wrong *and* exaggerated) of bad behaviour of immigrants. But there was a still greater focus on fraud, on poor administration and somewhat crucially, on the impact upon the British job market.

The other side of the story: the benefits of immigration

While addressing these concerns is imperative, highlighting the benefits of immigration is equally important. Since the days of Crosland and before, the left has understood that progressive politics is hard work without growth. So we have argued that migration is good for Britain, but not just for the boost to the national bank balance but because of the obligations we have to offer safe haven to those in danger, and for the diversity and pluralism that migration brings.

Our long boom without inflation would have been impossible without migration. The NHS would barely function without migration. One in four work permits last year were issued to workers in health and social care. The City of London wouldn't work without immigration and nor would our biotechnology industry, which is second only to that of the US. But ask the public and you do not hear much about the success stories. In fact some polls showed only four per cent of people (polled by YouGov) said they believed the Government had immigration under control.

Other polls point to a cynicism, a suspicion, and a distrust that these changes are working for them.

We have emerged from the globalisation of the past two decades as one of the world's most prosperous, open and interdependent nations. Thirteen million British nationals live and work overseas. Our citizens make around 60 million foreign trips abroad each year. In 2002, turnover on the London Stock Exchange for example totalled £5.5 trillion. Today, exports make up a higher proportion of our GDP than France, Germany, Japan and the US. Foreign investment in the UK accounts for more than twenty per cent of manufacturing jobs. A higher proportion of our GDP is invested abroad than that of any other OECD country.

Yet, over the next fifteen years, accelerating global trade offers us even more. Huge new markets are growing around the world. China and India – already responsible for one-sixth of global GDP – offer massive new markets, in high value sectors like pharmaceuticals, aerospace, biotechnology, electronics, automotive, creative industries and food production. Goldman Sachs have said that in less than 40 years time the so-called BRIC economies (Brazil, Russia, India and China) will be bigger than the G6. In fact, by 2050, China, the US and India may be constitute three massive economies some \$22 trillion larger in GDP than the next largest economy. Our closest market – the EU – will enlarge until 2010, bringing with it a larger single market with greater trading opportunities than ever before.

Without dynamic human capital links with these markets the possibilities of the future are pretty dim. And without strong bridges, these new markets will be beyond us. Those bridges will be people. Global companies like HSBC already move large quantities of staff between offices in London, New York and Hong Kong. But with the greater velocity of the global economy, and changing patterns of demography around the globe, pressure on migration

will not weaken. By 2020, the world's population may increase by two billion – with 95 per cent of growth in the developing world, creating younger populations than the West that are more mobile and probably more motivated to seek a better life abroad.

The challenge for the left

So here are a set of changes which have made Britain richer but which have deeply unsettled the country. The political risk for any government is that if you fail to solve this paradox you could lose your job. In Austria, Denmark and the Netherlands, governments lost office in elections where immigration was a serious issue. Worse still, if we fail to solve the paradox we fail to find consent for policies vital to our future wealth and health.

Thus far, the left's approach is not clear, and we see this in the kind of debate that recently divided the work of Britain's Institute of Public Policy Research (IPPR) and in 2006 David Goodhart in *Prospect* magazine controversially argued that the values of diversity and solidarity held firmly by the left were at odds with each other, with solidarity – notably sharing through redistribution – requiring a limited set of common values and assumptions that diversity was undermining. Coupled with a modern concept of citizenship based on rights *and* responsibilities, Goodhart questioned whether Britain was becoming too diverse to give expression to a common culture and with it, the concept of reciprocity that is so vital to sustained consent for redistribution. The conclusion was that those valuing solidarity should not contribute to its erosion by underestimating the constraints upon it, and that public policy should favour solidarity over diversity. With an emphasis placed on the need for immigrants to integrate,

immigration policies should be designed to reduce the fear of free riding and reinforce the symbolic aspects of citizenship.

In contrast, the IPPR have strongly emphasised the economic value of immigrants to Britain. Nick Pearce in 2004 highlighted that the left's core values are not an *irreducible* conflict, but terms subject to both debate and change. Pearce counters the idea that ethnic diversity is undermining attitudes to, and the strength of, the welfare state with international evidence to the contrary. Highlighting the complex relationship of trust, solidarity and redistributive policies, Pearce promotes the ideas of multiculturalism with an emphasis on, not an ignorance of, integration through domestic policy prescriptions and the need for multilateral structures to deal with the management of migrant flows.

Reciprocity and the 'art of association'

Is this a conflict that can be resolved? Can the solution be sold to modern electorates? Some of our recent debates about social capital may hold the answer. One of the most striking changes in internet use is the way that people across the globe have renewed what de Tocqueville called the 'art of association'. Services like MySpace give people who have never met the chance to come together, share ideas and common interests and develop and deepen their identity in communities that might never physically ever meet.

Central to the success of these communities are notions of shared rules and norms – a sense of mutuality. On MySpace, users can people define access to their 'clubs' based on criteria (such as shared interests) even if the communities are incredibly diverse. Social capital is always good – as Francis Fukuyama pointed out, the Klu Klax Klan benefits from a pretty strong mutual affinity.

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Yet the right social capital can underpin support for progressive values. Commenting on progressive notions such as the welfare state, writers such as Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, developing the work of Robert Axelrod and others, have underlined that developing a notion of reciprocity is now absolutely central to retaining support for progressive values;

The welfare state is in trouble not because selfishness is rampant (it is not) but because many egalitarian programmes no longer evoke, and sometimes now offend, deeply held notions of fairness, encompassing both reciprocity and generosity, but stopping far short of unconditional altruism towards the less well off.¹

This has profound implications for the centre-left's approach to migration. It says to us that if we are to strengthen the social capital of communities that are changing quickly (and some are changing very quickly; in Canning Town for example, foreign born nationals doubled between 1991 and 2001, and now make up a quarter of the population), we have to stress the reciprocity in the relationships between newcomers and settled. And practically, that means giving our communities time and space to forge such links. The development, as well as the enforcement, of the right rules – about who can work, study and stay in Britain and what rights are acquired when and what obligations are owed – becomes absolutely central to developing support for migration that is managed.

Appropriate policy responses to pressing questions

The idea is simple. We want a more open debate about what immigration is good for Britain that takes into account its wider

impact. It is imperative to launch this debate amongst a wide range of actors. In the diversity that comes with a more global society there is a new premium on developing the rules in an open way – and enforcing them visibly. We need new ways to build trust in the way we answer the question; ‘what kind of immigration is best for Britain?’.

For lower skilled migration, the debate is about whether we need such migration at all from outside the EU given the recent expansion and if we do, what size quota is appropriate? For higher skilled employment the question is not the ceiling; it’s the standards people have to reach to come and work or study in Britain. In Manchester, the Professional Footballers’ Association told me that about 40 per cent of its membership comes from overseas and at any one time around twenty per cent of its membership is looking for work. So while they value the skills brought by foreign players, they question whether the system should be doing more to protect some of their British members, especially in the lower reaches of the professional game.

There is a need for information on migration issues to be transparent and publicly available. This would help people understand the decisions we will be making and why, leading to the greater accountability and acceptability of policy. In Britain this means that the previous routes into the country, which amount to more than 80 in total, have been reduced to just five. This simplifies the rules and making it much clearer to the public about the kind of hurdles that would-be newcomers have to cross to get into Britain.

That communities are not clear that change has been fair is a cause of the paradox of migration boosting our economy but not public confidence. We must address the reality that we live in a world where migrants move faster than ministers, and the public services in some communities can find it difficult to change as

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quickly as their communities are changing. The control of the labour market is key, whether this involves limiting the amount of labour migration or welcoming large numbers of workers. It is true that a small number of schools have struggled to cope, that some local authorities have reported problems of overcrowding in private housing and that there have been cost pressures on English language training but the answer is in action that is simultaneously firm and fair.

In order to harness the benefits of immigration and minimise its negative impact, there needs to be a coherent and targeted social policy. The problems of inequality and child poverty are high amongst the side effects of migration which need to be prioritised by policy-makers. The Fabian Society's Commission on Life Chances, which reported in 2006, admirably described the bridge of hope, from the national minimum wage, to tax credits, to lower tax starting rates, to the child trust fund, to Sure Start, to reformed children's health and education services, to neighbourhood renewal. The total impact of fiscal reforms since 1997 is estimated to have increased the potential income of the poorest twenty per cent of households by more than ten per cent, with smaller gains for more than half the population and the London School of Economics' Centre for Analysis of Social Exclusion recently concluded that "the package of support for low-income working families with children is now one of the most generous in the world."

However, we also have to accept that *laissez faire* migration runs the risk of damaging communities where parts of our anti-poverty strategy come under pressure. When a junior school – such as the school in Hodge Hill, my own constituency in Birmingham – sees its population of children with English as a second language rise from five per cent to twenty per cent in a year, then boosting standards in some of our poorest communities gets harder. The Office of National Statistics acknowledges that the figures on

which key local financing decisions are pre-based require more work. Getting this right must almost be a precondition for our policy in the future.

When rules are set, governments need to be tough about enforcing them – and recognise that like any crime, we need to be tough on both the offender and the causes of the offence. We have to be very clear that illegal immigration is a crime and like any crime, it has victims. It is not populist to argue for a tough enforcement of our immigration laws – it is progressive. Illegal migrant working lets unscrupulous employers undercut competitors by exploiting the vulnerable. Left unchecked, it leaves people working in the shadows, unknown and unprotected, pricing out others in the labour market with a legitimate place in the queue, damaging community cohesion. For the left to be trusted on the issue this must be met by a tough response and one that is tough on the causes and not just the outcome.

In a pilot study in the West Midlands, where the immigration service teamed up with workplace protection agencies, we found that businesses employing illegal immigrants were breaking every other rule too, including minimum wage regulations. With people smuggling comes the truly appalling crime of human trafficking, trading human beings for profit. Many pay the price with their lives. In 2001, the National Criminal Intelligence Service reported that at least 58 illegal migrants died attempting to enter the UK. In the decade to 2001, at least 2000 illegal migrants were thought to have died on various routes to Europe. The profits do not simply go to unscrupulous businesses, but rather into the pockets of organised criminals. Recent intelligence estimates as much as three-quarters of illegal immigration is in the hands of organised crime (indeed immigration officers in Calais told me that anyone trying to take a lorry-ride to England needs the permission of one of the local gangs). To combat this, Labour is proposing a bigger, smarter

border and immigration agency. In July 2006, the Home Secretary committed to doubling resources for enforcing the rules.

The need for a comprehensive approach

We need to tackle the issues on many fronts simultaneously in order to have a significant impact on the problems surrounding illegal immigration. Those who break the law need to be detected, detained and deported. Organised crime must also be targeted with pre-emptive action against people smugglers and traffickers. Networks and businesses involved in such activities must be identified. The speed of the process can be increased through the use of fast-tracking and civil penalties, and the whole can be facilitated by co-ordination between a number of different agencies involved in various aspects of the process (for example, the Confederation of British Industry and the Trades Union Congress). The combined force of these agencies can help drive out bad practice and remind firms of the rules and their responsibilities.

A further useful source of information is the public, and this can be accessed via the Crimestoppers telephone line. When people are caught breaking the rules, a much bigger detention estate means more can be held, and the judiciary can contribute on how to keep to a minimum abusive judicial review applications that simply frustrate legitimate deportations.

The recognition of the need for open rules that are visibly enforced helps explain why a national identity card scheme is so important; Britain is years behind most of Europe on this. While we need to strike the right balance for migration with the kind of transparency that the Monetary Policy Committee brought to the once 'dark art' of setting interest rates, ID cards have a virtue that stretches beyond their immediate benefits to public agencies. Yes,

they would help us transform the policing of illegal immigration and make our borders more secure, but they would also provide a protective shield for the vulnerable with better detection of crime and fraud prevention. They could make the bad more difficult and the good easier. As fresh thinking is developed for how ID cards can help prove eligibility for all sorts of things, we have a very visible way of explaining to the public that people (newcomers and others alike) are not illegally defrauding the system, and in turn, not being perceived as defrauding hard-working residents.

Together with reform that drives more effective delivery of the rules, we have to demonstrate to the public that change is actually working. This means quite simply transforming the level of accountability for delivery. In this context, Labour is proposing to re-establish our Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) with greater autonomy to make its own decisions and manage its affairs. This lets the Government set clearer, stronger, challenging performance targets. But with its new status, we will introduce tougher scrutiny in the form of a single regulator to supersede some of the eleven which currently inspect bits of the IND in a piecemeal fashion, to provide a clearer and more consistent picture of performance in the round.

Finally, although 60,000 people were removed from Britain last year – one every nine minutes – we have to recognise that we cannot tackle illegal migration alone. It is a global issue that requires a global response. That is why the first EU-pan Africa conference on migration and development in November 2006 was such a breakthrough. Across Europe we have to find a solution to a big problem together. Remittances from foreign workers are second only to foreign direct investment in value for the developing world. But for European nations, committed like us to international development, we need help from states taking back their own people who are here illegally. Providing passports

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and permission to return is one of the single biggest barriers to removing immigration offenders.

Here is a prime example of where there can be not only a common cause across Europe, but a new chance to show how through effective cooperation, Europe can solve problems that are directly relevant to and important in voters' lives. Combined EU action is already in place in practical ways like the FRONTEX initiative to strengthen combined security along Europe's borders. Concerted action to exploit EU development assistance to help developing nations build the capacity, the infrastructure and the new domestic economic incentives to help manage migration is a real opportunity in 2007.

Conclusion

The debate about immigration is one of the best examples of why the debate about Labour's renewal in government must embrace not just policy substance, but the very shape of our agenda. Immigration must be one of those debates of substance. It's not racist for Labour to debate immigration; it's the real world – the world in which the people we represent live in. A world we cannot be passive in but must actively seek to change if all people can aspire to achieve what they can. In the months to come, we shouldn't be afraid of arguing progressive policy with confidence. We can build an immigration system that not only boosts our economy, but makes Britain a better place to live and satisfies our obligations to the world in which we make our living; a strong country delivering opportunities for aspirational citizens and, most of all, rooted in a fairness that is fundamentally Labour.

1. Bowles, S. and Gintis, H. (2000) *Social Capital and Community Governance*
University of Massachusetts Department of Economics Working Paper

The Integration Debate in the Netherlands

Jeroen Dijsselbloem

Introduction

The ongoing process of globalisation, manifested in unease over issues of migration, integration and Islam, is very much connected with a nostalgic rise of traditional values in voters' priorities and is exemplified in the Netherlands. The fact that these issues dominate the agenda is a direct consequence of the 9/11 attacks and an indirect consequence of the under-estimated friction from the various flows of post-war migration. Many surveys of Dutch voters over the last five years have shown evidence of an increasing uncertainty on both socio-economic and cultural values. Where the political elite is convinced that the advantages of globalisation will in the long run exceed any disadvantages in the short term, the expanding middle class feels increasingly uncertain about the outcome. In short: our jobs are disappearing to the east whilst newcomers move in from the south, bringing with them different cultural values and even perceived threats to domestic security.

In the elections in 2006, we, the Dutch social-democrat party (PvdA), lost three times as much as the Dutch Christian-democrats (CDA), therefore they lead the coalition negotiations. 29 out of 150 seats in parliament changed political colour. Of those 29, 24 went to the populist left and the populist right. The three large centre parties lost. The election result seems to point to a process of polarisation on the left-right scale of politics. Yet in Dutch politics there is also another scale; the scale of liberal versus conservative. The outcome of a pretty hard, American-style campaign showed a victory for those parties who were seen as conservative on values

and a loss for all parties who are regarded as liberal on traditional values. Uncertainty was the central issue in our November 2006 elections and we failed to address it effectively.

Sources of migration into the Netherlands

The Dutch post-war migration flows came from four distinct sources. The first kind of migration influx had everything to do with decolonisation. Dutch nationals returned from Indonesia and former Dutch troopers with an Indonesian or Moluccan background were repatriated soon after the war and Indonesian independence. Another post-colonial flow came from Surinam after its independence in 1980. A further source of immigration was the Caribbean Dutch Antilles which produced migrants over a long period of time, but with a recent peak in the mid-nineties.

The second type of migration in the post war period was that of low-skilled workers from the Mediterranean countries. Due to a labour market shortage in the Netherlands in the sixties and seventies, Dutch industries were allowed to bring in low-skilled labour migrants. Those from southern European countries largely returned when the economy in their home countries started taking off. However, the largest groups were brought in from Turkey and Morocco, more specifically from the poor and rural areas of east Anatolia in Turkey and the Riff Mountains of North Morocco, and these individuals tended to remain in the Netherlands.

The third migrant group followed directly from these Turkish and Moroccan migrants; the family re-unionists and so-called marriage migrants. The workers from Morocco and Turkey were only expected to remain in the Netherlands on a temporary basis, but many brought over their wives and children. Marriage migration is a different phenomenon. Some 40 years since their fathers first

came over, the majority of Moroccan and Turkish youngsters who were born in the Netherlands still go back to the Riff or Anatolia to find a marriage partner. This was the largest group within the migration to the Netherlands over the last five years and continues to be responsible for a significant proportion of immigration.

The last group significant group in the Dutch migration and integration debate are the asylum seekers. As in the rest of Europe, the number of people seeking asylum has grown enormously since the beginning of the nineties. In the Netherlands the influx of asylum seekers reached a peak in the mid-nineties with an average of 40,000-50,000 per year, numbers that put our asylum system under constraints and led to a new strict asylum law, introduced in the last year of the government of social-democrat Wim Kok.

Social tension and the challenge for the state

A number of problems surrounding migrants in our society lead to the revolt of 2002. First of all, the arrival of large numbers of refugees in the nineties put the Government to the test and it failed. Government bureaucracy simply couldn't deal with the numbers. Asylum seekers were put up in leaking army tents and local governments were ordered to offer houses to refugee families. At the same time politicians and the media acknowledged the fact that a large part of the asylum seekers were not genuine refugees who fled their countries due to prosecution for political or religious reasons, but were in fact economic refugees fleeing from the poor south to the prosperous north. However understandable from their point of view, it put a great strain on the willingness of Dutch society to take in these large numbers of migrants and formed a real threat to our social welfare-system.

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Second, first-generation Moroccan and Turkish migrants were made redundant on a large scale in the economic crisis of the eighties. The expanded Dutch welfare system allowed them to stay redundant. At that time, the social welfare system did not focus on getting people back to work. No one, least of all their former employers, invested in their professional education. The vast majority of the men who came to work in the Netherlands in the sixties and seventies were sent home on what was to become a very early retirement. This particular group, who largely came from very rural areas, often with little to no education, had very little success integrating in the urban liberal Dutch society. The truth is that it wasn't a priority for Dutch society at the time, and little was done to aid the integration of these men and their families. Few had learned to speak Dutch and most were housed in the cheapest parts of our cities. Segregation took place on the basis of economic standards of living, and was reinforced through different cultural patterns combined with social isolation.

The problems of these communities within our societies slowly but surely got more attention due to two developments: first, a change in the nation's attitude towards the welfare state; and second, an increase in anti-social behaviour among migrants. Where the welfare state is concerned, we could no longer afford the number of people who had become dependent on welfare. The budget deficit and national debt had gone sky-high in the eighties and demanded a cutback in public spending and a trimming of the welfare state. The public's attention was also drawn the increasing anti-social behaviour of second-generation migrant youngsters in the cities. Where the social problems had previously been confined to poorer areas of the cities, these young people were now causing problems in city centres, on public transport, in schools and in urban nightlife.

Migrants are generally over-represented in statistics on unemployment, crime, poverty and social welfare figures and under-represented in school results and social and economic participation. During the nineties, a growing awareness arose of this negative statistical cost of migrants. Different leading intellectuals, including within the PvdA, pointed to the risks of these structural problems for future generations. One of those intellectuals also proved to be a very effective populist politician – Pim Fortuyn cultivated the general public unease with the way politics in general and especially the left was dealing the multicultural society. He strongly attacked Islam as being a “backward religion” and a threat to our modern values. As a homosexual, he had personally experienced the anti-gay resentment among young Muslims on the streets of Rotterdam. In the 2002 election, he almost destroyed the Dutch political landscape, but was assassinated a few weeks before election day. His party became one of the three members of a coalition led by the CDA-leader Jan Peter Balkenende. The coalition fell apart after just 87 days and his party collapsed. After the November elections they did not return in parliament.

However, populist resentment is not so easily curbed. The disastrous outcome of the 2002 election forced the Dutch left to re-think our views on migration and integration. Over the last few years we have developed a new outlook on both migration and integration policy. Migration policy will have to become selective and take national interest into account. Selectiveness where asylum seekers are concerned means that we have to be effective in separating true refugees from those who are in fact economic migrants. The asylum law of 2000 enables us to do just that. Figures dropped dramatically to 14,000 in 2005. Selectiveness where labour migration is concerned means that we will have to establish the quality and quantity of workers needed in specific sectors of our economy annually, a system comparable to the Australian

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points system or perhaps the Canadian migration laws. A minimum number of points are needed for an entry permit, points which can be gained through knowledge of the Dutch language, professional training and experience, age and private capital.

A more difficult question is how selectiveness could be applied to the field of marriage migration. As the choice of partner is a free choice, on what basis can a government regulate marriage migration? Restricting individual civil rights can only be justified on the basis of a strong common interest of society. The parliamentary select committee which did profound research into the integration policy in the Netherlands over the last 30 years concluded that ongoing marriage migration has been a continual interruption to the process of integration. We concluded that marriage migration cannot be forbidden, but the Government could formulate conditions which would contribute to a more speedily integration of the new partner into our society. In the law which parliament passed in 2005, marriage migrants had to pass an exam at the Dutch embassy which involves a basic level of the Dutch language and some knowledge of Dutch society. From the opposition, we supported the law but pleaded for a different kind of criterion. The level of education of migrants proves to be a good indicator for the success of their future integration. Yet the majority of marriage migrants from Turkey and Morocco are still practically illiterate. Therefore we proposed the criterion that marriage migrants would have to have finished at least primary education in their country of origin. Dutch language tuition and further professional education could then take place after arrival in the Netherlands. A national newspaper headed "Opposition more strict than government on marriage migration".

Integration of migrants and the question of Islam

Integration policy also needed an overhaul. In 1998, also under a Social Democrat government, the first *Inburgering* law was implemented. A compulsory language course was introduced for all new migrants arriving in the Netherlands. It was then a novelty in Europe. The results of these courses were disappointing. There was no effective sanction for non-attendance, and many didn't finish the course. The language level reached was, generally speaking, nowhere near enough to continue further professional training. Furthermore, the previous generations of migrants had never had proper language courses and the law didn't provide for them. Therefore, a new *Inburgering* law was needed. Even though there was massive political support for a new, broader law, it took the Government four years to get it passed in parliament. We were in a position in parliament in which we could strongly influence the proposal. The new law regulates compulsory language exams for new arrivals as well as for those migrants who arrived before 1998. Priority will go to parents of young school age children and to those who are dependant on social benefits. Those who are over 60 or in any way disabled are exempt from the exam. Local government will offer the courses which will also include a practical element.

Since the Twin Towers disaster in 2001, Islam has become central to the issue of integration. There was contentious debate in Dutch society on integration problems, somewhat separate from the debate in parliament on new migration and integration policies. The integration debate became increasingly an Islam debate. Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a refugee from an upper class clan in Somalia, who became a member of parliament for the Dutch liberal party (VVD), strongly attacked the position of women in Islamic communities. Her vision of what she called "pure Islam" was that of a violent, oppressive, anti-Western ideology, which could in no way be

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compatible with our liberal way of life. This approach, which got some support, put Muslims in our society on the defensive. The Minister for Integration, the liberal Rita Verdonk, further inflamed the debate by saying “Muslims shouldn’t be too touchy”. The situation became even tenser after the brutal murder of the film director Theo van Gogh, who made a movie with Hirsi Ali in protest against abuse and violence in Islamic society, but who also insulted Muslims in his weekly contribution to a national tabloid. He was brutally slaughtered on the street in Amsterdam by a Salafi extremist.

Nevertheless, there were some positive outcomes from this debate. There is now a greater awareness of the position of women in traditional migrant communities. Issues such as domestic violence and honour killing were given a greater priority in politics as well as in the police force. A larger budget was made available for public campaigns on these issues and extra shelters for threatened women were opened.

At the same time, a great mistrust grew among the general public towards Islam. There is a strong tendency in public opinion that believes Muslims should be forced to assimilate rather than integrate. Assimilation would mean that Muslims would have to completely adopt Dutch mainstream values and traditions. Several radical proposals were put forward in parliament such as a ban on headscarves or any other kind of religious symbol in Government offices, a complete ban on the building of new mosques, and a complete ban on the niqab and burqa. The latter proposal was supported by a majority of the right-wing parties before the election but will not be put forward by the new government.

Our position as Social Democrats on the niqab is that we, from a point of view of emancipation of women in our free society, hope that very few women will feel the need to wear a niqab or burqa. However, we reject a general ban because it would be strongly in

conflict with our freedom of religion and freedom of expression. In the Netherlands, it is already possible to introduce a dress code in schools or the workplace on objective criteria. Some schools have found it necessary to ban the burqa on the basis that it strongly hinders open communication within the classroom. This kind of specific and rational ban stood up in court and we support this approach. There was also a debate on the headscarf in which we defended the right of every citizen to express their beliefs in the way they dress. This also applies to civil servants. As in many countries, the only exemption is the courts, where all servants of the court must be completely neutral including in the way they dress. A majority in parliament agreed with us. The largest supermarket in the country now has headscarves in the company's colours.

Integration and social values

A third example of the ongoing debate on how to define common values in the context of a new religion within our society, concerns the importance of shaking hands. The local council of Rotterdam turned down a man's job application to the local jobcentre because he refuses to shake hands with women. The National Committee on Equal Treatment passed a verdict saying there are other ways to show respect and the man should have been given the job. A further example which got even more media attention was a female schoolteacher who, on returning to school after the summer, refused to shake hands with men. The school sent her home and asked for the Committee on Equal Treatment's verdict. Again, the ruling was that the individual right of the employee was not to shake hands if her belief did not allow it. Our objections focus on the second verdict. The importance of a common set of social behavioural rules within a school, preparing the pupils for their

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future participation in society, was not taken into account by the Committee. We stressed the importance to get more clarity and support for schools who on good and objective grounds formulate such common norms and values.

In essence, there is now a fundamental need in our society to clarify our common norms and values. This is only partly related to the import of the new religious and cultural standards of migrants. It is also the aftermath of the sixties and seventies in which norms and values were made suspect and seen as socially repressive. National culture was regarded as Western superiority and politically suspect. The combination of the two has left society in disarray. There is now an interesting debate going on in the Netherlands about what these common values are, that we must cherish and which bind us together. It is an interesting shift of focus which can strengthen, instead of divide, society.

The outcome of the November 2006 election enables us to start working on a change of climate surrounding Islam in the Netherlands. Over the next few years we will have to regain our commitment to tolerance and acceptance of religious and cultural differences. At the same time we must hold on to the regained consciousness of the importance of shared values. We will fight for equal rights for Muslims on all levels and expect Muslims to stand up for equal rights for women and homosexuals on all levels, and together fight terrorism which has come so near over the last five years. We have to make it clear that civil rights are not to be dealt with in an opportunistic manor but that they apply to all citizens at all times. Therefore, we will have to work together to fight intolerance and radicalisation within our communities and schools. We are not out of the pressure cooker yet.

The French Social Model and Immigration: Principles and Reality

François Dubet

Introduction

The overwhelming majority of the French believe that they are worse off in their lives today than they were yesterday, and that they will be worse off tomorrow than they are today. They also believe that inequalities of all types are deepening. 42 per cent imagine that they could lose their job or their accommodation in the forthcoming years – rather than being a mere prediction, this expresses a true moral panic. Although France is not necessarily in less good shape than its neighbours, the country's population feels that the difficult situations it is facing are raising questions about the country's nature and identity. This helps explain the powerful 'no' vote in the EU referendum; the political clout of far-left and far-right parties; and the difficulty 'traditional' left-wing and right-wing parties are having in reforming the French social model.

Immigration is at the heart of these problems. The underlying the accumulation of social difficulties represents a crisis of how the nation and the republican political community are represented. For a long time, France has been a country of immigration that considered that migrants had to melt into the crowd and into a French model dominated by work and the image of a universal citizenship. However, these two pillars – work and universal citizenship – are weakening. On the one hand, the labour market does not integrate everyone seeking employment; on the other, the migration model is evolving as the republican model is on the wane.

The social and national Republic

For about 150 years, three major discourses shaped the way in which social issues were addressed in France. These discourses defined the social problems, the social actors, the modes of intervention, and the principles of justice.

The first of these three discourses is about work and the industrial society, as discussed by Castel (1995). Social rights derive from one's status as a worker, and end up extending beyond work: unemployment benefits, pensions, paid holidays, social security, wider protection due to an extension of the corporatist model (Esping-Andersen, 1999). The social rights won by forceful trade unions through a process of negotiation have been progressively extended to everyone, including those people who do not have a job on a long-term basis. This social system managed by trade unions, employers and the state reached its golden age in the 1950-1970s. During these decades, full employment, economic growth, and a good demographic situation enabled the extension and funding of this social system. In terms of political and ideological references, this discourse was that of the left and of the working-class movement, for whom labour conflicts translate into social rights and integration. As a consequence, the integration of migrants into the mainstream labour market is of fundamental importance to their societal integration into the French Republic.

The second discourse is that of national integration. Its tone is softer, mainly because social integration is, in France, necessarily embedded in a national framework in which immigrants (who make up a significant proportion of the most vulnerable workers) progressively evolve from being foreigners to being French, following a pattern of migration and rhetoric of integration. Considering this, France is a country that cannot be based on

cultural minorities. Indeed, such minorities gradually disappear into a national culture and identity rooted in 'secularism', which confines religious questions to the private, personal sphere. Hence, France was not perceived as being a country of immigration – strangely enough since it has been one for a long time – because it was obvious that the foreigners would become fully French.

The third discourse is that of the Republic. The two narratives presented above merged, less smoothly than one often thinks, around the republican institutions that were meant to define a latent 'contract' – combining social equality with the primacy of a national culture and the assertion of an individuality based on citizenship. In this context, the close relationship between society and nation rested on the link between social participation via the institutions, and the development of an individuality based on citizenship. School was the institution charged with setting into motion the Republic, educating citizens, spreading a national conscience, the philosophy of the Enlightenment, and trust in the state. For this reason, the French school system is much more than an organisation in charge of teaching pupils. It is an institution required to *give impetus and shape to* the Republic. By and large, most French institutions have in some way contributed to the making of the republican ideal of a homogeneous, national and democratic society. In the French model, the keystone of the system is the state.

The rise of the republican state and the perceived role of state institutions most probably did not occur as straightforwardly as we describe them here. However, it is clear that this rhetoric and portrayal specified frameworks, representations and modes of action that have given a sense of identity to French society, and to which French people remain strongly attached. This strong connection further accentuates the sense of crisis the French are experiencing. The diverse problems caused by globalisation, economic, social

and cultural transformations, and the scale of migration flows, are seen as symptoms of a deep-rooted social crisis and are calling into question the society and nation themselves. The weight of this mental portrayal probably explains the strength of collective mobilisation and demonstrations in response to attempts to reform schools, hospitals and public services. Although trade unions are relatively weak, mobilisations led by teachers, civil servants, and more generally workers and state employees succeed in bringing hundreds of thousands of demonstrators onto the streets. They do so claiming to defend a social model which is much more than a series of corporatist protections: this model is at the core of the French republican identity such as the French like to define it. However, for the past three decades these three pillars have been progressively crumbling, and the attachment to this republican model is one of an increasingly incantatory nature.

The place and meaning of work

Over the past 30 years, France has been facing an enduring employment crisis. Most studies stress the end of the wage-earning society. The mid-1980s mark the beginning of the break-up, with massive unemployment becoming common and some jobs being made precarious. From then on, social inequalities no longer just distinguished the haves from the have-nots, but made a distinction between those who are 'in' from those who are 'out' – and this is true even though the processes of 'disaffiliation' show that this in/out demarcation is often blurred. Studies (e.g. Dubet, 2006) have shown that people's perception of the social structure is profoundly marked by a negative internal boundary (in/out), related to one's social position.

Beyond this perception, the structure of society itself seems to be changing, moving away from the traditional class relations typical of the industrial society. In an evocative analysis, the American economist, Robert Reich (1993), distinguishes four major social groups in these societies 'of the centre' which are confronting the globalisation of economies. One group, itself experiencing class conflict, is that of professionals and successful, big companies directly present on the global scene. A second group is made up of those who are turned towards a local market and who, especially, perform outsourced activities for the first social group, thus externalising risks and uncertainties towards more vulnerable sectors. A third group draws its stability from its relations with the state and from its political influence. This is the public sector; the protected professions and sectors, usually strongly represented in trade unions and able to defend themselves.

The last group is the excluded group. This fourth group appears to be the most disadvantaged section of this structure. These individuals are no longer involved in the economic sphere. Individuals survive on a combination of social protection and marginal economic activity which is more or less strongly associated with criminal activities. This is the group which immigrants often join upon arrival in France, leading, of course, to wider problems of integration and participation in French society.

This representation, however brief, illustrates the fact that traditional class relations have become dislocated. This dislocation is due to the replacement of the bourgeoisie/proletariat confrontation moderated by the middle classes, with a multitude of confrontations and tensions. A large proportion of the workers, linked more or less directly to the state, remain protected. Others are excluded. Between these two groups, a growing number of workers feel vulnerable and threatened.

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A second important mutation of the French social model concerns the transformation of the social issue into an urban issue. This suggests that we are witnessing a kind of come-back of the nineteenth century ‘dangerous classes’, while at the same time those most privileged protect themselves from possible side-effects of social mixing, by taking over city-centres and some outlying suburbs. As the work done by Donzelot (2003) and Lagrange (2003) points out, segregation and spatial homogeneity indexes are more boldly marked from one census to another. What stands out is not only that there are more poor people; it is that these poor people are more and more concentrated. Above all, these poor men and women are labelled ‘poor’, before being ‘workers’, ‘exploited’ or the country’s ‘people’. Moreover, sociologists, journalists and social workers no longer know how to define them: working classes, disadvantaged or underprivileged classes, or residents of tough neighbourhoods? The truth is that the poor are less confined to a particular sector of society than they belong to middle classes too poor to really be middle class.

Transformations in immigration and in the nation

In the ‘French model’, the process of migration was supposed to follow three distinct phases leading to the making of ‘excellent French people’. First, a phase of economic integration into sectors of activities reserved for migrants and characterised by brutal exploitation. Second, a phase of political participation through trade unions and political parties. Third, a phase of cultural assimilation and fusion into the national French entity, with the culture of origin being, over time, maintained solely in the private sphere.

This mechanism for assimilation – presented in a simplified version here – seems to have broken down. This break-down raises

radical doubts about French society's capacity for integration. Furthermore, it transforms the economic and social crisis into a national and cultural one. Twenty years ago (Dubet, 1987), youngsters from the big suburbs in Lyon and Paris identified themselves as immigrants no longer able to find a place in the industrial society. The isolation of these neighbourhoods was mainly viewed and perceived in terms of social distance. Trust in institutions, amongst them school, was still high. The question of Islam was raised only in terms of a democratic renaissance, as a right to no longer pray in undignified conditions such as in cellars. Back in the 1980s, almost all of the experts highlighted that France was not threatened by communitarianism and the Anglo-Saxon model was unanimously rejected.

The urban riots in autumn 2005, and especially the reaction they provoked, can be looked upon as a crystallisation of the changes that have been taking place over the last two decades. Today, signs of a ghettoisation are much more visible. Whereas immigrants often refused to be confined to ethnic categories, these categories are self-evident and stand out as the most obvious modes of identification. It is as if, because of weakening and negative social auto-identifications ('jobless', 'penniless', 'without a degree'), youngsters were holding firmly onto a double identity – made up of the identity their appearance and race gives them, and the identity linked to their over-identification with the mass youth culture that dictates their looks and style of consumption. Of course, the more actors identify themselves in cultural and racial terms, the more they place their opponents within similar categories: white, French, or Jewish for example.

Besides a general 'secularisation' of Islam, with it becoming more of a private religion, small groups with more puritan and fundamentalist practices are forming around religious leaders. Whatever one might think, these religious men, more or less well

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trained and controlled, offer a moral perspective to those most lost and desperate. Once again, there is no need to frighten ourselves by seeing communitarianism everywhere. However, having said that, we have to acknowledge that the traditional character of the left-wing activist supporting the population's collective protest is disappearing behind the religious figure embodying the alternative route for a dignified and moral life in a city 'outside the real world', in a community protected from a society perceived as being impure. Ethnic, cultural, national, and sometimes racial themes dominate the public scene. The 2005 riots have led to other voices and speeches bursting onto the public scene: those of the 'natives of the Republic', those criticising colonialisms, those of a certain ethnic fundamentalism, and those of victims in competition with each other, to name but a few.

We are progressively witnessing the end of a 'French' pattern and process of migration. In this context, it is certainly this long and steady change, more so than the actual social difficulties, which is at the heart of our sense of crisis. Whereas the French believed they had an integration model profoundly different from that of the Americans, they are discovering that they are today encountering the same problems.

Disappointment linked to the state of the institutions

Marx observed that if the Germans see the world as philosophers and the English see it as economists, the French see it first and foremost in political terms. This is undoubtedly due to the fact that in our country it is the state – much more than culture and economic exchange – that created the nation. Hence, it is not surprising that the crisis of the institutions plays a major role in how we picture our problems in France.

The sense of crisis is particularly acute because the reach of social and public policies has not diminished, but institutions are failing and disappointing people. School is the most poignant example, with the proportion of students passing the baccalaureate school-leaving exam jumping from 35 per cent of overall students in 1987 to 70 per cent today. Though this can be read as being a success, this absolute democratisation has also been characterised by four processes.

First, segregational massification. School integrates but then suppresses, generating a strong feeling of frustration. Many pupils, especially those from immigrant families, see school as offering them a fool's game: school is indispensable to obtain a social position, but as soon as a child is not successful at school, this same school becomes a machine that rejects and excludes.

Second, school not only reflects social inequalities but to some extent accentuates them. This is seen as totally unacceptable in a society where school was considered for a long time to be at the core of integration, and even quite often where education was put forth as the answer to almost all of society's problems.

Third, broadly speaking, education faces a general problem of devaluation in the sense that the number of degrees awarded largely exceeds the number of qualified jobs. The length of studies does not guarantee a job, nor does it protect from disappointment resulting from obtaining a job well below aspirations shaped by the educational system. This fear of devaluation is at the heart of the student demonstrations.

Fourth, school as an institution is in crisis and this crisis is also a symbolic one. For a very long time, the republican school was perceived to be the seat of a common culture, both universalist and national. School was considered sacrosanct and a sanctuary protected from social disorder. Today, this institution is threatened

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by the competition of the media, which is playing an increasing role in educating individuals.

Migrants are particularly badly affected by this exclusion created by the school system, which prevents integration into the workplace and society. Regardless whether the social problems are caused by this process or are perceived as a state of crisis resulting from the failure of the French republican model, the traditional means of assimilating migrants into France are experiencing difficulties.

In France, arguments that the welfare state is crumbling are overstated – even though social protection is increasingly difficult to fund due to an ongoing high unemployment rate, an ageing demographic and a steady growth of health expenses. However, at the same time all these efforts contribute to the feeling of crisis of the republican model.

First, the welfare state fails to significantly reduce inequalities. As with school, inequalities remain stark in terms of health, life expectancy, and accommodation standards for example. The state is failing to find ways to resolve the pockets of extreme poverty that exist and to which the media draw attention.

Second, citizens feel that all the efforts undertaken fail to reverse these steady trends. Urban policies are failing to invigorate neighbourhoods; the construction of council flats is well below the required level; school policies have not reduced inequalities. Sometimes certain policies even have pernicious effects such as confining people to social benefits systems, into ‘traps’ that dissuade them from getting a job (Dubet, Véréout, 2001).

Third, it is clear that although it routinely asserts its ‘excellence’, the French social model has not overcome some major problems. After thirty years of crisis, many citizens feel that we have become unable to act, that institutions are powerless and that national economic policies inefficient. The issue of migration

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serves to highlight these issues, representing the crisis in the state and threatening the principles of both work and citizenship. Furthermore – and related to this – voters censure the various political majorities repeatedly rather than giving their support to specific parties or groups (Rosanvallon, 2006). This last issue paints a dramatic picture, considering that France is a country that believes salvation is first and foremost political.

What “agreements”?

In France, there is a ritual political exercise: that of defending the republican model as embodied by the nation, its traditions and social cohesion. When facing difficulties, politicians from across the political spectrum deliver a republican discourse which they think is the answer to all of our problems. Nevertheless, in reality there are a number of very different political scenarios that lie behind this appearance of republican political unanimity.

1. The first scenario stems from far-right ideologies taking root in the political landscape. Rather than a ‘fascist’ movement, we can identify it as right-wing populism. It is a call for the nation to withdraw into itself, against Europe and globalisation and against foreigners and immigrants who weaken the nation. Such populism summons people to focus on national traditions and on the unity of national culture and economy which have been destabilised by globalisation and the weight of immigrants. This discourse wins over those sections of the population that feel most threatened: sections of the small traditional bourgeoisie, of the working class, and of the farming population. All these groups feel left behind by urban transformations, the increasing liberalisation of morals and

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values, and the presence of immigrants. These groups dream of the rebirth of a national and republican France.

2. The second political scenario addresses the same social themes but resorts to a totally different political and ideological register. This scenario stems from extreme and republican left-wing positions. These movements, along with the extreme-right movements, drove France to reject the European Constitution project. This time, the dominating themes are anti-capitalism and anti-liberalism. Nevertheless, this radical discourse backing the republican model is heterogeneous: it is Trotskyist, communist, rooted in anti-globalisation, and sometimes Green. These movements, drawing their origins from different political traditions, are struggling to build agreement. However, the object of this agenda is more to reject a system and to found a 'new Left' than to cause a revolution. Those groups which identify with this approach are, in particular, the middle classes linked to the state. These sections of the population see the preservation of the welfare state as a condition of their survival and, beyond that, the defence of a republican and universalist 'civilisation' which is threatened by the market, by liberal policies and by the American superpower.

3. The third scenario is that of a republican reconstruction around economic liberalism. In France, this political scenario has always made headway undercover. The right has always struggled to assert a liberal economic programme. Gaullism believes in the state more than it does in the market, and it is often under cover of European requirements that liberal policies have been imposed as obligations and necessities. These policies have thus been imposed rather than being presented as political projects.

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4. There is a similar problem on the left of the political spectrum in France, with a social-democrat perspective not managing to affirm itself. This is because the socialist party remains attached to a left-wing rhetoric to which the state middle classes are very sensitive.

This difficulty of choosing and launching reforms, in either a liberal way or a social liberal way – the latter being the approach I support – generates a sense of paralysis. Nevertheless, it is absolutely necessary to choose. Defending the social status quo leads to the development of three opposing opinions: a world protected by the state or by one's performance on the market; a world of insecurity which extends so far that it has reached the middle classes; and a world of exclusion largely perceived as being foreign to the nation. In cultural and national terms, France is neither choosing to recognise such socially-defined opinions, nor is it choosing to defend a republican national model. With regards to institutions such as school, everyone accepts that there should be a reform but refuses any change that would alter the nature of the institutions. Such change is vital for the successful integration of immigrants, which will in turn increase the success of the French republican model through reducing social disparity and enhancing social solidarity, whilst reducing the pressure on the welfare state. The effective management of immigration and integration is a key part of the solution to France's social problems.

Conclusions

For the French, the issue is not one of choosing between the Republic and another regime, it is one of knowing how to stay republican whilst entering the new world of globalisation. Of course, France is entering this world, and at times in very successful

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ways. However, at the same time the French feel that these changes result in a loss of identity and their republican soul. Immigration is entirely compatible with the republican model and French identity under the model of complete cultural integration, but only when managed effectively. Although communitarianism is strongly rejected, it is in fact given much importance. Indeed, the work of the institutions and by local electoral representatives is such that by defining policies focused on communities, it is granting communitarianism an important place and role. In this respect, the French are more 'English' and 'Dutch' than they think.

For this reason, we are witnessing a significant gap between, on the one hand, political beliefs and political practices, and on the other, between political desire for change and the modesty of the reforms. This discrepancy encourages the development of radical political ideologies. However, these radical political ideologies are in reality less willing to change the order of things than to keep it as it stands. For now, France seems to be choosing neither a liberal adaptation nor a social democratic adaptation to the new social and economic world order. France is opting neither for republican rigour nor for community recognition. When the housing estates are aflame, when students are fearful about their future, when unemployment is rife, France remains persuaded that its future lies in the greatness of its republican model, thus adding a political and moral crisis to a social and national crisis.

Immigration in Spain and the Role of Europe

Consuelo Rumí Ibáñez

Migration is presently one of the most thoroughly analysed phenomena, from political, economic, social and doctrinal angles. Its significance as a global trend is indisputable – according to recent data provided by the United Nations, the estimated number of migrants amounts to almost 200 million people, or three per cent of the world population.¹ Virtually all states of the international community are therefore countries of origin, transit and destination of migration. As a consequence, achieving an efficient immigration policy is one of the main challenges presently facing governments. The obvious impact of immigration on destination societies, and its numerous social, economic and cultural consequences has made migration policy one of the main political priorities in many countries, particularly in Europe.

Spain, in common with other southern European countries, has been, until recently, an emigration country. Around two million Spanish nationals emigrated between the 1950s and 1970s. However, in a process that has occurred very quickly and within a very short period of time, Spain has become the tenth largest destination for migration, according to the United Nations. Thus, the presence of foreigners in Spain increased significantly in the second half of the past decade.

By the end of September 2006, Spain had 2,794,277 foreigners holding a residence card or authorisation. In 1992 they were only 393,100. This sharp rise in immigration equally led to a major increase in diversity. The largest groups were Moroccans (506,672 people), Ecuadorians (340,617), Colombians (211,808),

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Romanians (175,421), and British (169,788). In September 2006, the people of these five nationalities represented 50.28 per cent of the total foreigners holding a valid residence card or authorisation in Spain.

The effects of this process have been noticed in every field of public life, requiring the design and launching of public policies that provide an efficient answer to the existing challenges. The benefits of the increase in immigrant population in Spain are demographic, economic and cultural. As a result of immigration, we have experienced a demographic growth of 1.2 per cent, a higher birth rate, and a recovery in the fertility rate. From an economic point of view, it should be taken into account that up to 30 per cent of the GNP increase during the past decade have been attributed to the process of immigration, and that the Social Security contributions of foreign members consisted of 8,000 million euros in 2006. Furthermore, the presence of immigrants undoubtedly contributes to the cultural enrichment of our society.

Policy and institutions

Since 2004, the migration policy of the Spanish Government has focused on four main areas: the reinforcement of instruments to fight clandestine immigration; the orderly management of the migration flows; the integration of the immigrants; and co-operation with the countries of origin of immigrants. It is an approach that the Government has promoted in the international sphere and, particularly, as we will examine, within the European institutions.

From an institutional point of view, the new Government emerging from the elections in March 2004 assigned the responsibility for immigration policy to the new Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration, under the auspices of the

Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs. This ended a long tradition of the Ministry of the Interior being responsible for this portfolio. In addition, regulatory measures by the Government were based on two main priorities: the need to articulate a true national policy for immigration and the need to link immigration to the labour market. The regulations provide for legal entry into Spain only of those holding a work contract in their country of origin, of those coming under the quota or those coming for family reunions.

In April 2004 the new Government faced a paradoxical situation where, on the one hand thousands of immigrants were working and residing in Spain, making use of social, educational and health care services, and on the other hand, these foreign workers paid no taxes or enjoyed no rights as workers because of their illegal situation. In order to tackle this problem, after consultation with their social partners, the Government implemented a regulation process for those foreign workers who had come to Spain six months before the regulations entered into force and for those holding a real work contract. Thus, up to 577,923 foreign workers were able to legalise their position in the labour market and in Spain.

Finally, concerning the policy for the integration of immigrants, a specific General Directorate has been set up within the Secretariat of State for Immigration and Emigration, formulating the so-called Strategic Citizenship and Integration Plan 2006-2009. The Plan aims to boost social cohesion through the design of public policies based on equality of rights and duties for all citizens and on equal opportunities for both immigrant and Spanish citizens. For this purpose, it establishes on the one hand measures for the reinforcement of public services and for the adaptation of public policies to the diversity brought about by immigration and, on the other hand, the means to attain a better understanding of the migration phenomenon and to stimulate among immigrants the sense of belonging to the host society. Following this line, the

budget for the integration and reception of immigrants in Spain has been significantly increased since 2004.

Towards a common immigration policy of the European Union

The co-operation between Member States in the field of immigration has been identified as an issue of common interest in the first stages of the European integration process. However, the design of the so-called 'Common Immigration Policy' did not find a place in the Treaty of the European Community until the Amsterdam Treaty was concluded in 1997.

It is therefore important to remember that many of the competencies in the field of the immigration policy remain with the EU Member States. Generally speaking, this is true for 'labour immigration' as well as integration policy. The very fact that we talk about 'receiving countries of immigration' from 'third states' seems to suggest that the European Union perceived immigration as a threat against which it should defend itself. The present common policy for immigration is still captured by this perception. Hence, the Common Immigration Policy has been, and to a great extent remains, a common policy to control *irregular* immigration.

Yet in the last two years, other factors have entered the discussion of an EU immigration policy. The Conclusions of the informal European Council of Hampton Court in November 2005 opened the so-called 'Global Approach to Immigration', launched at that time and based on the need to apply an integrated and global approach to the management of migration. Necessarily, the first package of measures aimed to combat irregular immigration. In this context, the measures to reinforce the role of the European Agency for External Borders, concerning mainly the surveillance and

control of the Maritime Southern Frontier, should be highlighted. Furthermore, the development of the global approach has led to the inclusion of references to the management both of the labour immigration and of the integration of immigrants into successive Conclusions of the European Council.

Certain Council initiatives addressed the harmonisation of conditions for the entry and residence of nationals from third countries in the territory of the European Union. However, this harmonisation, based on Article 63.3 of the Treaty of the European Community, has only been partial. The issue of common regulation of the conditions for entry and residence of nationals from third countries coming to work has not been addressed in the European Union. A fundamental difficulty in creating a common set of rules is the possible conflict between the jurisdiction of the state and of Europe. Although the need for harmonisation is recognised, there are legal and technical issues which need to be resolved.

In addition, the Green Paper of the Commission on economic immigration brought about the opening of a debate in 2005, with the involvement of Member States, EU institutions and civil society. The Paper focused on two main points: determining the added value that could be obtained from the adoption of a common framework for the regulation of labour immigration; and determining the most appropriate rules to regulate the admission of economic immigrants. At the end of 2005 and based on the results of this consultation process, the Commission submitted an Action Programme for legal immigration.

If co-operation on matters of legal immigration has been far from the main objective of the common policy for immigration in the European Union, the situation can be described as paradoxical, concerning the integration of immigrants. Several EU budget lines have been funding Member States' integration of nationals from third countries². However, from the point of view of regulations, the

EU has taken virtually no action. Nevertheless, the need for such action has been claimed both by the Commission and by Member States in Conclusions of several different European Councils.

The Communication of the Commission on an open method of co-ordinating immigration policy³ establishes the need to develop integration policies for the nationals of third countries who are legally residing in the territory of the Member States. The Communication defines the priorities and the resources required for a global policy that ensures the integration of the immigrants in the receiving societies, as a critical element for the economic transformation and for the reinforcement of the social cohesion.

The Spanish contribution to the design of the European immigration policy

Spain has played a central role in the design of the incipient global immigration policy of the European Union. Counting on the support of the European Union for the management of irregular immigration has been a political priority. The first operational activity of FRONTEX has been the co-ordination of the maritime surveillance operation in the Canary Islands and in the African coasts HERA operation. Also concerning the control of borders, and with the purpose of analysing the possible design of a European model for the management of illegal immigration in the Southern maritime frontiers, Spain convened a meeting in Madrid in September 2006 of the eight Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of the Interior of the Mediterranean EU countries.

Apart from the fight against clandestine immigration, Spain, together with the Commission, has led the move in other fields of the common policy: it has been the main champion of the Legal Immigration Plan of the European Commission and of

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the Fund for the Integration of Immigrants. Both instruments are already in place and must now be developed. Furthermore, a Spanish-Moroccan initiative, immediately joined by France and the European Commission, was the origin of the Euro-African Conference on Immigration and Development held in Rabat in July 2006. The first Action Plan is already being developed.

1. Report of the United Nations Global Commission on International Migration, *Migration in an interconnected world: New directions for action*, Geneva, October 2005. <http://www.gcm.org>
2. The European Social Fund, the European Fund for Refugees, the so-called INTI actions, the Daphne Programme, the Community Action Plan to fight social exclusion and the Youth Programme can be mentioned in this regard.
3. Of 11 July 2001, COM (2001) 387 final.

Immigration and Integration Policies in Italy

Luca Einaudi

Many of the difficulties involved in integrating migrants take a long time to become evident and only present themselves after many generations of immigration. Economic issues for migrants often have far-reaching effects which are only realised well after their initial arrival. As the experience of countries with a longer history of immigration suggests, many of these problems are yet to fully appear in Italy. Issues of segregation in housing and schooling tend to develop over time, just as the uneven economic opportunities manifest themselves in the second generation. The challenge facing Italy is that of anticipating the emergence of such questions.

Until the 1970s Italy was primarily a country of emigration with less than 200,000 foreign residents – almost exclusively Europeans or US citizens – living here. Economic growth until the end of the 1980s and shifting demographics have rapidly changed this situation. In 2005 Italy had a foreign population of 2.67 million residents (4.5 per cent of the Italian population according to Istat, 4.2 per cent non-EU-25). Public opinion has become less hostile to immigration than it was in the late 1990s, but is not yet entirely convinced of the benefits of immigration and of the depth of integration.

In past years, the Italian policy debate focused more on issues concerning illegal migration and expulsions, quotas and immigrants' rights, rather than on integration. Given that the number of foreign residents tripled between 1996 and 2005 and that in the last few years the existing immigrant population has become a tangible

presence (in 2005, 4.8 per cent of pupils in Italian schools were non-Italians, 9.4 per cent of new births were from parents who were both foreign citizens, and 17.2 per cent of newly hired workers were immigrants), new debates have developed on integration. Issues of identity, the role of Muslim communities, citizenship and political rights, equal opportunities and access to public services have all come to the fore.

Since coming to power in May 2006, the Prodi Government has been developing new policies, but the long process of change has only just begun. The centre-left Government is generally favourable to immigrants, and intends to repeal most of the Bossi-Fini law passed under the Berlusconi Government. Key points of the new legislation introduced by this government include new mechanisms for facilitating legal entry for work to discourage illegal migration, faster access to citizenship, the introduction of voting rights in local elections, an integration fund, new institutions and the full extension of welfare rights to immigrants.

Some key characteristics of immigration into Italy

Labour-driven demand for immigrants in the domestic care sector, construction, agriculture, industry and the service sector has been the primary force driving immigration in Italy and Southern Europe over recent years. Such demand is fuelled by the effects of a long term decline in the birth rate and subsequently an accelerated ageing process which has transformed Italy into one of the oldest nations in the world. The fertility rate (number of children per woman) dipped well below the substitution rate in the second half of the 1970s and reached its lowest point in 1995 with 1.19 children per woman. Since then a minor recovery has taken place, but the current 1.33 children per woman is still well below substitution

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rate and the recovery is largely due to immigrant women (who have an average of 2.4 children against 1.25 for Italian women). As a result, 19.5 per cent of the population was over 65 years of age in 2005 and this proportion will rise to 33.6 per cent in 2050, if Istat's predictions are correct. Without immigration, the total Italian population would have already started declining in 1993, and today the 20-40 year age demographic would have declined in numbers at the rate of 275,000 people per year.

One effect of an ageing population is that it produces a massive demand for domestic workers to take care of the few children, of the old and sick and to increase female participation to the labour force. This demand often falls on immigrant labour and therefore encourages immigration through the creation of job opportunities for migrant workers. In 2005 there were close to 1.3 million domestic workers in Italy, mainly immigrants, and this was the fastest growing employment sector according to the Italian labour market think-tank Isfol. This has a positive impact on the public perception of migrants, as their presence in domestic or care-related employment contributes greatly to the reduction of hostility. This was the case in Italy between the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Substantial inflows are likely to continue, facilitated by high demand for foreign workers, coupled with an underground economy which accounts for between 16.6 per cent and 17.7 per cent of GDP (according to Istat), and provides temporary employment opportunities for illegal migrants while waiting for a work permit. Even if a growing number of immigrant entrepreneurs and autonomous workers are active (about 130,000 according to the National Confederation of Artisans) and nurses are in high demand, the most common form of migrant employment is unskilled employment in seasonal agriculture, the tourist sector, construction, the metal industry, services and transport.

For several years, excessively restrictive quotas in place in Italy were an attempt to reduce the number of immigrants. The result was an increase in illegal work and the dissatisfaction of Italian families and firms. The numerical ceiling to the inflow of non-EU workers (generally known as quotas) has been rising after public authorities realised the extent of the demand for foreign workers. From a limit of 11,500 non-seasonal workers in 2002, the quota was raised to 120,000 in 2006 by the centre-right government. It was increased further to 470,000 by the centre-left, after a corresponding number of applications had been sent by employers under the previous Government. The 2006 quotas are exceptional and will not be repeated, but adequate ceilings have to be established, taking into consideration both internal demand and the general condition of the labour market. The objective of the Government is to make it reasonably convenient to enter legally, rather than illegally.

In order to tackle the problems of immigration effectively, integration policies and institutions need to be focused in areas which experience most immigration. The uneven economic development in Italy influences the regional distribution of immigration and has substantial consequences on integration policies. In the north of Italy, the unemployment rate is below four per cent and immigrants represent more than six per cent of the resident population. In the south, unemployment is over twelve per cent and immigrants are between one and two per cent of the population.

Citizenship and voting rights

The acquisition of citizenship of course does not guarantee full integration by itself, but it is a necessary step for those wishing to settle permanently and integrate. Denying full rights to a

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large part of the permanently resident population in the long term can only serve to accentuate feelings of discrimination and alienation, planting the seeds of discord. A quicker acquisition of nationality could facilitate the integration process by lending long term immigrants a status which allows them to be perceived as more legitimate. Furthermore, voting rights help to undermine xenophobic or discriminatory behaviour at the political level, forcing mainstream parties to take into consideration the interests of migrants and abandon confrontational politics. Immigrants benefit from having a voice and the ability to participate in the political life of the country, whilst politicians benefit from a more inclusive and representative constituency.

When the second Prodi Government was formed, one of its priorities, as identified in the electoral programme, was a general reform of immigration policies. It began by facilitating family reunification, and reducing the number of years necessary to obtain permanent resident status through the *carta di soggiorno* from six to five. It then turned its attention to integration policies based on the extension of citizenship rights, defined both as access to the Italian nationality and to civic and political rights. The centre-left campaign promised 'new Italians' a fairer and faster access to nationality, recognising that they were not temporary hosts but rather permanent contributors to national prosperity.

Despite having almost three million legal immigrants in its territory, Italy still has one of the most restrictive laws in Europe concerning the acquisition of nationality. Currently citizenship can be acquired by non-EU citizens only after about twelve years of legal residence (ten to qualify for application and two for the procedure). *Jus sanguinis* is applied to children born in Italy to foreign parents. They can claim Italian citizenship at the age of eighteen only if they can demonstrate continuous residence since birth. The result of such procedure is that only 10,000 naturalisations

per year took place in the last fifteen years (20,000 in 2005 against over 100,000 in Germany, France and the UK), 90 per cent of which occurred through marriage. As far as foreign children are concerned, the 2001 census recorded 160,000 foreigners born in Italy and since then another 165,000 were born without obtaining Italian nationality.

The Prodi Government has introduced a legal project which adds an element of *jus solii* next to *jus sanguinis*, for children born in Italy from parents already resident for five years. The text also reduces from ten to five years the minimum length of residence needed for adults to apply for citizenship, simplifying additional requirements in terms of income and conditions of housing. At the same time some language requirements have been introduced together with measures against fake marriages.

The centre-right opposition decided to oppose this proposal, demanding the retention of the ten year requirement. The threat of the Northern League to leave the Berlusconi coalition was instrumental for such a decision, given that just before the election, Forza Italia was defending the reduction of the residency requirement to eight years in Parliament. An IPR opinion poll revealed however that 51 per cent of the Italians opposed shortening the residence requirement to five years and only 44 per cent supported it. Even the centre-left electorate supported the change only by a narrow 50 per cent to 46 per cent margin.

The electoral program of the centre-left also included a pledge to introduce the right to vote at local elections for non-EU citizens after five years of legal presence. The logic of such a move is that permanent long term residents who pay taxes and have a stake in the community must have a representation as well. The feeling of inclusion into society on equal terms is the expected outcome.

Identity, multiculturalism and Islam

The attitude of the native population to immigrants is important in the process of integration. A fear of Islam is persistent in large sectors of the population. Public opinion is deeply divided and while there is a generic openness towards migrants some specific fears persist, particularly on religious and cultural issues. Yet Muslims still represent less than two per cent of the Italian population and a minority of the immigrant population (about one million out of three). The dynamic of immigration is characterised by growing south-eastern European inflows in relative terms (Romanians, Albanians, Ukrainians, Serbians, Macedonians, Poles). Even if the landings on the Sicily of African or Middle Eastern illegal migrants and asylum seekers attract much media coverage, they represent a tiny fraction of actual inflows. The largest Muslim community is the Albanian population who practice a moderate form of Islam (350,000 residents in 2005), followed by the Moroccans (320,000), and much smaller communities of Tunisians (84,000) and Egyptians (59,000). Such national groups are not growing above average. Between 2000 and 2005 Muslim immigrants declined from 36.8 per cent to 33.2 per cent of the total resident foreign population, according to Caritas, and if Albanians were excluded from that calculation such figure would decline to around 22 per cent.

Whereas in August 2006, 51 per cent of Italians thought that immigrants would shortly become a resource for the country (and 40 per cent disagreed), a different poll in July found that 48 per cent believed that immigrants would ultimately steal jobs (47 per cent disagreed) and a third one in October indicated that 48 per

cent considered the Muslim religion to be a threat to the nation (46 per cent disagreed).

The fear of Islam is not directly related to a fear of terrorism, given that no attack has taken place in Italy for more than a decade. The supposed threat to Italian identity is more often expressed in cultural and religious terms. This spans from the extreme version of fear (the threat of invasion punctuated by the daily denunciation of mosque construction by the Northern League), to traditionalist wings of the Catholic Church who fear that Muslims cannot integrate because they want to remain separate and would dilute the Christian identity of Western Europe (as represented by the Archbishop of Bologna Cardinal Biffi and later his successor Cardinal Caffarra). Polemical debate regularly arises in schools on the exhibition of crucifixes, the representation of the nativity or on Christmas carols, because some strong defenders of multiculturalism considered these to be discriminatory against Muslim immigrants. Opponents of immigration have arisen immediately in defence of national identity. The former president of the Senate, from *Forza Italia*, attacked multiculturalism because it “created apartheid, resentment and second generation terrorists” and because “we would become half-bred”. Berlusconi added that he did not want Italy to become a multi-ethnic and multicultural country.

Identity cannot be taken as an immobile and unmodifiable element. It changes through time and continuously incorporates external influences. The reformist part of centre-left defended a weaker form of multiculturalism, often called ‘inter-culturalism’, implying that it refused to countenance the development of a separate society but defended, at the same time, an open and tolerant society. Migrants should not abandon their original identity but add to it, at the very least, with the constitutional bases of the host society. As Prodi stated during the 2006 electoral campaign, “tolerance does not require that we abandon our roots and traditions, but to

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explore and understand different worlds, cultures and religions, starting from the awareness of our identity. It is not by chance that we like mixed races and we do not fear contamination... For us, tolerance is welcome, encounter, discover and dialogue". This also means that no discrimination can take place against the religion of immigrants, or against the religion of Italians, for a misplaced fear of religious resentment.

One way of facilitating integration is through the institutionalisation of Islam within the destination country. However, this process is not unproblematic and needs to be handled with great diplomacy. In order to advance the integration of an institutional Italian Islam, in 2005 the Home Secretary Pisanu created the Advisory Group on Islam. His centre-left successor, Giuliano Amato, confirmed the group as an instrument of dialogue, in order to send a message to the Muslim community. The Advisory Group was consulted by the Minister on the new proposal for a citizenship law, but it tended to act as if it were a representative body rather than an appointed body of experts. The emergence of a more confrontational Islamic section of the Advisory Group forced a debate about which fundamental values had to be shared. Amato mandated the creation of a Chart of Values and Principles to be subscribed by all those living in Italy in order to foster integration. At the same time, in order to involve all the immigrant communities, regardless of their religion, the Government is studying the revitalisation of the Immigration Consultative Group and of the Commission for the Integration of Immigrants.

The variety of experiences with immigration depends on the existence of vital local traditions and the capacity to accommodate differences with a widespread tolerance, sometimes verging on indifference. However, this slows the transformation of experiments and projects into consolidated practices and services which are indispensable for a sustainable integration process. A clear Italian

integration model has not yet emerged. How much immigrants and Italians must adapt to each other is not clearly defined, but a purely theoretical definition could be detrimental. Integration in Italy is a pragmatic combination of practices developed on the ground by local authorities, trade unions and the voluntary sector (including a strong Catholic presence) within a moderate form of multiculturalism. Housing and schooling are highlighted here as an illustration of the current issues.

Housing

Housing policies are particularly difficult because of their high cost, especially in an era when spending cuts are necessary in order to adhere to budgetary targets. Immigrants face the dual challenge of a private rental market which is already extremely tight for the minority of Italians who do not already own their house, and the limited public supply of social housing. Only 11.8 per cent of immigrants are house-owners, against over 80 per cent of Italians.

In the early phases of immigration in Italy, foreigners were disadvantaged in gaining access to social housing programmes because they were latecomers. Today such disadvantage has disappeared and immigrants benefit from two factors when local authorities draw priority lists in favour of poor and large families. However, public resources for the construction of new social housing are particularly scarce and the public sector only covers five per cent of the housing market against fifteen per cent on average in Europe.

Despite the undeniable housing difficulties of immigrants, ethnic ghettos have not yet appeared in Italy, except in very limited cases. Two main factors explain such a situation. First of all, the extreme diversity of ethnic and national communities means that

no group is large enough to create a substantial enclave in a city. A second reason is that the weakness of public policies for social housing has prevented the creation of new immigrant *cités*, as seen in France.

Nevertheless, the situation is changing. The growth of migration acting in combination with economic mechanisms can concentrate communities against the best intentions of policy-makers. There should be no complacency. The fall of housing prices in areas where the settlement of migrants is above average levels can attract further migrant groups until particular areas become ethnic enclaves with a tendency to suffer from associated problems, such as school segregation and labour market exclusion. As recent episodes in Padova or Sassuolo have shown, portions of existing cities can rapidly become ghettos. The Chinese community is rapidly concentrating in some areas of Prato, Milan and Rome, in what some are starting to call “Chinatown”, and tension with pre-existing residents is appearing.

Local authorities are vigilant but the cost of desegregation, re-housing migrants elsewhere, and redevelopment are often too high for them. A special fund for the social inclusion of immigrants was therefore introduced in the 2007 Budget by the Ministry for Social Solidarity (50 million euros), aimed particularly at addressing these challenges.

Schooling and language

Immigrants and the children of immigrants tend to encounter problems in schooling and education. On average second generation immigrants have a higher dropout rate than other Italians, achieve lower grades and are more often sent to technical schools rather than on a path to higher education. Many children suffer from

poor language skills upon arrival in the country. Italian schools currently host half a million non-Italian pupils, a number which has been tripling every five years. Their geographical distribution follows the presence of adults and therefore northern Italy has the highest number of immigrant children. In northern historical centres, foreign pupils already represent more than ten per cent of the total school population.

In the north, the first signs of forms of ‘schooling segregation’ are already appearing: when the percentage of immigrants increases, some Italian families move their children away, fearing a less effective learning environment. A growing physical concentration of migrants in certain areas enhances the problem. The Education Ministry is recommending that local school authorities act to prevent the formation of schools or classes reserved for children of migrants alone, because segregated education reduces learning opportunities and prepares for exclusion on the labour market.

Although racist incidents occasionally take place in Italian schools, generally school authorities are very keen to support foreign students and follow a principle of respect for cultural heritage of foreign pupils and support integration through cultural and religious dialogue. To encourage this process a Scientific Committee has recently been created by the Education Minister for the integration of foreign pupils and for intercultural education. Another challenge is to increase the number of special teachers supporting newly arrived children with language problems.

Education policies should not merely focus on children’s education. Adult language courses play a significant role in integration too. In 2003 almost 120,000 foreign adults are enrolled in language courses in schools. They can aid linguistic and social integration and facilitate the acquisition of labour market skills which, in turn, promotes a greater inclusion in society. This

inclusion then promotes a more positive perception of migrants on the behalf of the native population.

Conclusion

The fast pace of contemporary migration has many benefits but also the potential to recreate spacial and social exclusion, despite the awareness of the problems encountered by both the French assimilationist model and the British multicultural one. With carefully constructed and implemented policies, such problems can be avoided or at least minimised. Current immigration flows show no sign of abating, due to the continuing economic disparity between nations and the demand for labour. Therefore, the emphasis must be on proper management of the migration flows. The Italian integration policies are going to change substantially in the near future as the centre-left steadily implements progressive policies based on the attribution of new rights and responsibilities to immigrants, and on systematic opposition to segregation in schools, housing, employment or religion. The Government faces the challenge to raise institutional awareness of such issues as well as promote in the wider public the knowledge of the general benefits of immigration and the necessity of harmonious and tolerant coexistence.

Path Dependent Problems – Quasi-Diasporic Migration Politics in Contemporary Hungary

Endre Sik

The path: history matters

Migration to, from, and through Hungary is both an old and a new phenomenon. Old since Hungary, due to its geographical centrality, has always been at a crossroads of history, from empires to émigrés, and from destroyed armies to nation-building new powers. At the turn of the nineteenth century Hungary was a country of emigration, sending millions of poor young males, mostly from the fringes of the Monarchy, to the United States. As a result of the peace treaties concluding the First World War, Hungary lost a substantial part of its territory and, as a consequence, an ethnically homogeneous population was created which was very receptive towards patriotic, even chauvinist or irredentist, ideologies. Ethnic Hungarians moved back in large numbers from the territories cut off from Hungary by the new state borders after 1920. The Second World War was again followed by large scale resettlement movements along ethnic lines. Ethnic Germans were expelled to Germany and their vacant homes occupied by ethnic Hungarians who had been expelled from Czechoslovakia. During the following four decades, communism transformed Hungary into a virtually closed country, with very limited and state-controlled inward and outward migration.

However, migration is once again a ‘new’ phenomenon, since Hungary was closed for four decades to dangerous ideas and goods (from bananas to high tech computers) and was entirely shut off

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from unorganised emigration. Even organised emigration occurred only twice between the end of the Second World War and 1989: once in the aftermath of the lost Greek revolution, and again following the destruction of Allende's regime in Chile, when small communist refugee communities from these countries settled in Hungary.

Due to its isolated nature during the post-socialist period, Hungary initially lacked both institutions (legal and organisational) and human organisation (experienced personnel, including bureaucrats or NGO activists). It was an 'untouched' environment, which for some months meant friendly public opinion, but also patriarchal exploitation, unpredictable bureaucracy and inexperienced, if enthusiastic, NGOs. However, it took less than a year to sign the Geneva Convention, to set up an Office for Refugee Affairs, to settle the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and International Organisation for Migration, to professionalise NGOs, and in effect to create a full-scale migration system – all without any conscious or systematic policy strategy.

The inertia created in the course of this fast and imitative institutional building still influences the behaviour of the actors in contemporary Hungarian migration policy. In addition, there are three further important characteristics of contemporary Hungary which should be taken into consideration in understanding the problems of immigration and integration policy. Hungary is:

- A very homogeneous country. Less than two percent of the population are immigrants, and the overwhelming majority of these are ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries
- A very xenophobic society. In all pan-European surveys Hungary is among the top three least tolerant and most xenophobic nations, usually sharing the title with Greece and the Czech Republic

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- Linguistically distant. Hungarians do not speak other languages and Hungarian is very difficult to learn. Consequently the Hungarian language acts as a 'natural barrier' to the immigration of non-Hungarians.

From the beginning, policy around migration and refugees has been both a demographic and a security issue. The former was reinforced organisationally with the establishment of a special committee focusing on the problems of an ageing Hungarian population and proposing targeted migration as an option¹. The latter was implicitly acknowledged when refugee policy became the responsibility of the Ministry of Interior². More recently, the highest level governmental authority on migration policy was set up under the auspices of the Security Cabinet of the government.

The aforementioned characteristics of Hungarian migration explain why the integration of refugees in Hungary is not, and very likely will never be, a major issue. First, refugees are a minority and it is highly unlikely that the size of the non-Hungarian refugee population will ever be large. Second, neither Hungarian society nor their politicians consider migrants a solution to the EU-conformity problems of Hungarian society (i.e. an ageing and shrinking population). Third, this issue is dwarfed by the politically much more pressing quasi-Diaspora issue of Hungarians beyond the borders.

The quasi-Diasporic nature of migration issues

The dominant discourse in Hungary regarding foreigners is very much focused on issues related to Diaspora, which are in turn closely related to the large Hungarian community just outside the border. Consequently, it is not surprising that the institutional and legal basis for integration is biased by Diaspora-related issues³, and

that the discourse on migration is always dominated by Diasporic concerns⁴.

The status of ethnic Hungarians living in countries adjacent to Hungary has always been part of the discussion on immigration policy. All Hungarian governments – more or less irrespective of their political stance – have attempted to solve the paradox; to encourage ethnic Hungarians across the border to remain in their place of birth whilst simultaneously giving them ethnicity-based privileges. Unlike the German or the Israeli cases, Hungary's Diaspora policy developed as a policy of shaping national identity and not as an immigration policy. This is partly due to its unconventional nature – Hungary's Diaspora was not created by migration – and partly due to the migrants' proximity to the borders.

In 2001 a special Diasporic institution emerged: the so-called Status Law. This instrument was ostensibly intended to be a set of legal and symbolic solutions to support ethnic Hungarians in neighbouring countries while falling short of encouraging them to return to Hungary. Although it stirred domestic and regional political debates in 2001 and 2002, in reality it failed to have any impact on migration because of the limited scope of benefits provided. The number of work permits issued under the provisions of this law is insignificant compared to the total number of work permits per year, let alone the dominant mode of employment for foreign work in contemporary Hungary – informal labour. According to both experts and the media, this is due to the fact that the procedure to obtain such a permit is extremely slow and bureaucratic.

The public and political debate about the status of ethnic Hungarians living outside state borders emerged again in late 2004. This time, the issue of granting Hungarian citizenship to those who request it and are able to prove their Hungarian origin was raised by the World Federation of Hungarians, a political

lobby group active both in Hungary, in the quasi-Diaspora, and in the Diaspora (that is among those Hungarians who left Hungary in 1956). The campaign, eventually endorsed by the nationalist parties and opposed by the socialist Government, ended in a public referendum in December 2004 when the majority of the voters rejected the granting of extraterritorial citizenship rights to non-immigrant, non-resident fellow Hungarians.

Needs differ, but the lack of solution is identical

Obviously, language is not a problem for those immigrants with an ethnic Hungarian origin, since Hungarian has always been spoken in their communities. For them, Hungary offers an opportunity to study, to leave behind their minority status and to use their mother tongue in their everyday lives. It should also be taken into consideration that these people are able to earn more in Hungary than in their countries of origin. For those studying in Hungary, there is a well-organised network that helps them by offering scholarships and accommodation.

The biggest problem facing the non-Hungarian immigrant population in Hungary is finding employment, due to intolerance and discrimination in the labour market. Unless they are able to rely on relatives and create a niche based on family business⁵, non-Hungarian migrants generally opt to leave for other EU countries where the language is less difficult to learn, the social climate is less intolerant, their compatriots are more numerous, and it is easier to earn a living.

To solve the problems of refugees and migrants, or at least to minimise the difficulties they encounter during the process of integration, there are several NGOs which aim to help migrants in Hungary. Around half of these organisations already deal with

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refugees and migrants, but mostly within the framework of projects funded by grants. When financial support runs out, the projects must be discontinued. For example, the Autonomía Foundation for Self-reliance focuses on the Roma minority, but also used to run a special micro-credit programme for refugees to help them to start small enterprises. The Hungarian Baptist Aid Foundation also marks refugees as one of their target groups, offering them shelter if necessary. At present, the Foundation is editing comics for secondary school students about refugees, aiming to reduce the prevalence of national stereotyping. The Foundation for the Development of Democratic Rights used to operate a community development and internet programme at their reception centres. However there is no specific, organised project focusing on the needs of refugees. The demand for migrant and refugee supporting facilities and services also seems to be decreasing.

Another form of civic society's involvement in supporting integration is the migrants' self-help association⁶. As described above, ethnic Hungarians from neighbouring countries form the overwhelming majority of immigrants. The most important of these organisations include: the Transylvanian Congregation which organises church services and cultural events and provides healthcare assistance; and the Association of Transylvanian Hungarians devoted to cultural activities as well as providing counselling facilities⁷. The Chinese, who have formed the second largest group of non-Hungarian immigrants over the last decade, created similar associations and organisations, facilitating the integration of its members, for example by offering elementary school education for Chinese children

Yet there remains a massive need for information for migrants and refugees in four main areas: education (especially Hungarian language courses), employment, housing and human rights. In this context, a central database including details on all relevant

organisations should be created. Even though there is a Hungarian Language School which provides courses for foreigners and free courses for refugees, every single NGO mentioned the need for efficient Hungarian language learning opportunities. A database of elementary, secondary and higher education institution, technical and vocational schools and other courses would be useful in this regard. Employment and housing are the most urgent needs of migrants and refugees. All organisations that provide social counselling highlighted the need for coordinated information on job opportunities and accommodation for rent.

African and Asian immigrants are in the most difficult position regarding language use although this varies by nationality and place of origin. While Chinese have their own well-developed system (including lawyers and translators) helping them in official procedures and in almost all areas of everyday life, the Vietnamese and African communities face significant obstacles in accessing information about settlement procedures in Hungary.

According to the leaders of the contacted organisations, employment and housing cause major difficulties for immigrants independent of place of origin or nationality. Databases on available temporary and long-term jobs, or jobs not requiring Hungarian language use, should be constructed in the languages of the significant immigrant groups. These databases should be built in co-operation with the community organisations following the example of the Association of Transylvanian Hungarians, which have already taken the initial steps to establish such a database. Also databases on cheap accommodation – both temporary and long term – should be established in these languages.

Education and healthcare also cause serious problems for the immigrants. Information on procedures related to accessibility of these services (free health care, reductions in medication prices; stipends for free education) is extremely important; a database on

native speaker doctors and nurses, or medical translators, and a database on native language education would also be required for each immigrant group.

The reasons for the non-existence of a Hungarian migration policy

So what is the trend of Hungarian migration politics, and why doesn't Hungary have a migration policy? In the aftermath of the failure of state socialism, the newly created authorities responsible for migration-related issues were preoccupied by the everyday requirements of managing a system-in-the-making, and were simultaneously trying to tailor it to meet an imagined EU conformity. A mixture of goodwill and corruption, organisational improvisation and imitation, postponement and quasi-solutions were the result of these efforts. However, there is hope that there will come a time when a coherent migration policy will emerge.

Meanwhile, three discourses exist within the non-existent migration policy: demography; security; and the Diaspora issue. The latter often dominated the discourse due to two reasons: the (non)migration of ethnic Hungarians across the state border has always been a high priority issue in Hungarian politics; and the overwhelming majority of foreigners living and working in Hungary have come from this quasi-Diaspora.

Current discussion about creating a migration policy in Hungary is ongoing, but there is less enthusiasm than in 1997. Small components of such a policy appear from time to time. For example, since 2004 a white paper has been prepared⁸, and there is an integration law in the bureaucratic pipeline. However, if we accept the path of dependent non-development and the Diaspora-biased nature of the Hungarian migration policy, we

should conclude that the near future of the Hungarian migration politics will continue to be a mix of ad hoc reactions to EU induced challenges, sometimes neglecting them and sometimes exploiting them to achieve domestic policy goals, and non-action.

1. An excellent example how Diaspora politics can be manifested even in statistics and demography is the forecast the Hungarian government commissioned to estimate the expected fertility, mortality, and migration trends of Hungarians in Hungary and of the Hungarian communities in the Carpathian Basin. The result of this venture was that on the basis of the linear extrapolation of the existing trends the overall volume of the Hungarian population in the Carpathian basin will shrink from almost 13 million to 11.5 million, and the proportion of those 60 years old and above will grow from 19.1 (1991) to 26.9 (2021). (Hablicsek, László, Tóth Pál Péter, Veres Valér (2005) A kárpát-medencei magyarság demográfiai helyzete és előreszámítása 1991-2021, NKI, Working Papers 78, Budapest).
2. The body responsible for the affairs of foreigners in Hungary (under the auspices of the Ministry of Interior) was the Office for Refugee Affairs [Menekültügyi Hivatal] between 1989 and 1993, the Office for Refugee Affairs and Migration [Menekültügyi és Migrációs Hivatal] between 1993 and 2000, and the Office of Immigration and Nationality [Bevándorlási és Állampolgársági Hivatal] after 2000.
3. Fullerton, Maryellen (1997) Hungary, Refugees, and the Law of Return. In: *From Improvisation toward Awareness? Contemporary Migration Politics in Hungary*. Eds.: Endre Sik and Judit Tóth, MTA PTI, Budapest, pp. 131-146.
4. Sik, Endre. Judit Tóth (2003) Joining an EU identity: integration of Hungary and the Hungarians. In: *Europeanisation, National Identities and Migration*, eds.: Willfried Spohn, Anna Triandafyllidou, Routledge, London, pp. 223-244.
5. The two most successful groups are the Afghans and the Chinese. Marton Klára (2001): In what ways are the Afghans different? In *Diasporas and Politics*. MTA PTI, Budapest, pp. 27-41. Nyíri Pál (2001): Expatriating is patriotic? In *Diasporas and Politics*. MTA PTI, Budapest, pp. 42-61.
6. The legal and social conditions and main characteristics of the migrant self-help groups in contemporary Hungary were the subject of a recent comparative project. See the country report: Hungary (2005) Sik Endre and Ildikó Zakariás) POLITIS Project, Country Report, www.uni-oldenburg.de/politis-europe/9812.html.

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7. Despite the term “Transylvanian”, ethnic Hungarians from any country neighbouring Hungary (mainly Serbia-Montenegro, Ukraine, and Slovakia) are the focus of their activities.

8. White Paper for The Integration of Refugees, Persons under Subsidiary Protection, and other Third Country Nationals (2006), Budapest, Ministry of Justice and Law Enforcement. The summary of the state-of-art of a Hungarian intergation policy goes as follows: no need (very small group), no intention (political or governmental), no legal background (whatsoever), no funds (Hungary faces with a very high level of budgetary deficit).

Integration and the Question of Social Identity

Alessandra Buonfino

For decades, the rising volume of migration has been considered by some of the European and international media as one of the most threatening trends of the twenty-first century. It is portrayed as something new and unprecedented – in the numbers involved, in its reach and in the cultural diversity it brings. Yet, migration has always acted as a key factor in creating, shaping and sometimes undoing civilisations from the great empires of Rome and Egypt to the commercial maritime powers of the nineteenth century.

Today it is estimated that out of a total population of 380 million in the EU, about 20 million are foreigners (i.e. those who are not nationals of their country of residence), which represents around five per cent of the total population.¹ The figure is much higher when we include EU nationals of ethnic minority backgrounds, which accounts for a further 13-14 million.² Immigration into the EU in recent decades has been primarily from the Maghreb, Turkey, the Indian Sub-Continent and West Africa. Its scale is still far smaller than the peak of international migration in the late nineteenth century, when some 17 per cent of Europe's working population moved to the New World, mainly to the United States, where 30 per cent of the population was foreign-born by 1910.

Yet undoubtedly the face of our cities is today changing rapidly. For example;

- In London there are 34 communities of foreign nationals with more than 10,000 members each. These include many Europeans, including 125,000 French

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people and an estimated 50,000 Swedes. More than 300 languages are spoken by London's schoolchildren.

- Immigrants living in the Stockholm region represent about 180 nationalities.
- Marseilles has the largest immigrant population of Algerians from the Maghreb: 34 per cent visible ethnic minority; 25 per cent foreign born. It has Europe's largest Jewish community.
- In Birmingham there is a 34 per cent visible ethnic minority; and sixteen per cent are foreign born. Nine neighbourhood wards in the city have a higher percentage of minorities than white indigenous people (between 57 per cent and 82 per cent).
- The city of Malmö, despite being relatively small (270,000 people), has a diversity unlike any other in Sweden – 34 per cent of its inhabitants have a foreign background. Many came from the former Yugoslavia, followed more recently by Iraqis and Somalis and by an increasing number of Danes.

Some cities are fast approaching the threshold of being a 'plural city', where no single ethnic group holds the demographic majority. Already many areas within some cities have visible ethnic minorities of over 50 per cent of the population, rendering labels such as 'minority' or 'majority' increasingly meaningless. Diaspora communities and global elites further complicate the notion of multiculturalism and integration, adding more dynamism to society and yet fuelling a more pressing debate about identity.

For some this is welcome. Immigration adds new vitality and in most cases provides a source of cheaper labour. Immigrant businesses are flourishing in many European cities and in the UK, for example, Home Office research suggests that immigrants pay £2.5 billion more in taxes than they take in benefits. For others however, this means a crisis of belonging and in economically vulnerable areas, a marked loss of jobs or housing. Irrespective of the view one takes, there is no doubt that diversity and immigration have already transformed the feel of politics, identity, belonging and jobs.

The pressing question for Europe now is no longer whether it should come to grips with diversity and global movement of people but how to learn how to live together and *how to make the most of it*.

This is not happening as yet. Much of the discussion around immigration is still largely driven by short term views of single issues; the fear of religious diversity; distrust of ‘alien’ values and the perception of injustice and unfairness towards long standing residents and nationals of a country. However, the challenges for policy makers are bigger than that – they are not merely concerned with tackling perceptions and public opinion or reducing fears of cultural take-over or economic competition. They are about understanding what integration should mean in the twenty-first century and creating a good framework for dialogue and for approaching the complex task of living together.

The challenge for politics

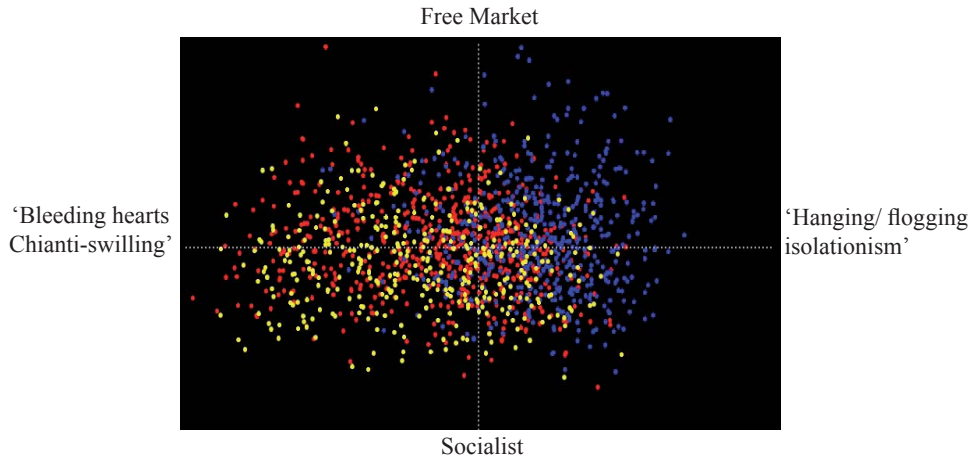
For most of the last century, international migration was an important issue for only a handful of countries. Today, the phenomenon touches the lives of more people and looms larger in the economic,

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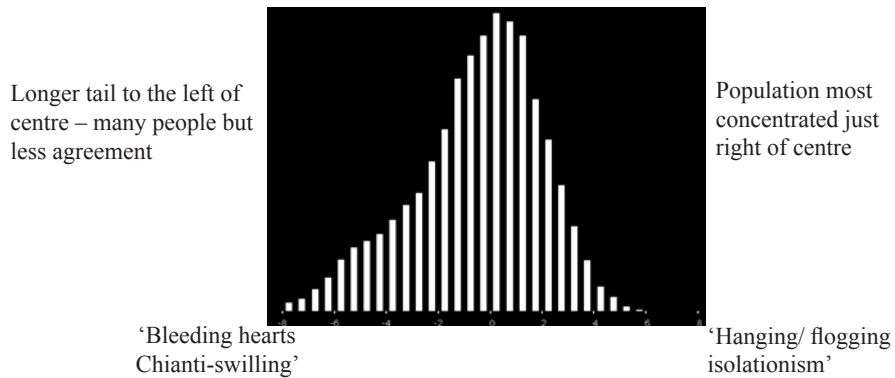
social, and domestic policies and international relations of more nations than at any other time. Immigration has been a feature in Britain and France for centuries; it has shaped their culture, the people, the food, and the music for a very long time. Even traditional countries of emigration – such as Italy, Ireland or Greece – are now relatively ‘seasoned’ countries of immigration and countries such as Poland or Finland are also becoming more diverse. Migrants are coming from an increasing range of countries, creating a diverse and complex web of exchange of cultures, information flows and people. As the world becomes more interconnected, as travel become easier and as cities continue to control much of the world’s wealth and growth, there is reason to believe that diversity will become even more prominent in the decades ahead.

Part of the inability of politics to deal with the issues and public fears surrounding immigration and integration is related to the increasing significance of culture in modern politics. Politics today is no longer played along the traditional socialism and free market spectrum, but around a different axis – one where culture even plays a more significant role than economic concerns.

In Britain, for example, detailed investigations by pollsters shows that the main axis of disagreement amongst the British public is no longer between left and right, but between two cultural poles: what the authors Lightfoot and Steinberg call ‘hanging and flogging isolationism’ on the one hand and ‘Chianti-swilling liberalism’ on the other. It is on this latter axis that opinions are more fractured and where people supporting the three main parties (Conservative – Blue dots; Labour – Red dots; Liberal Democrats – yellow dots)³ disagree the most.



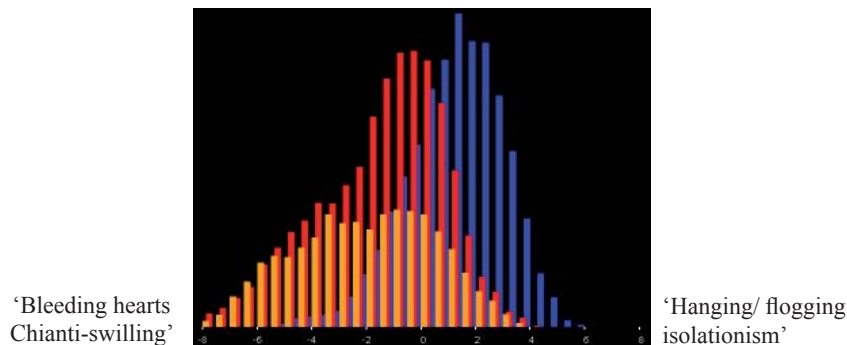
The axis of 'culture' becomes the principal dividing line between people within the UK – a trend that appears to exist in many other European countries. Jacques Delors once said that “future conflicts will be sparked by cultural factors rather than economics or ideology”. This is not just true for conflicts but also for the re-making of politics. Today, a political party’s position on immigration, crime or EU enlargement may at times matter more to people than the level of taxation or redistribution.



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The clustering of the British public just right of centre of the ‘culture-axis’ goes a long way towards explaining the public success and resonance of tabloid newspapers and policies which are somewhat tough on crime or anti-social behaviour and strong on sovereignty. Just after Romania’s entry into the EU in January 2007, headlines read: ‘Romanian invasion begins’ and ‘Romania migrants: we open the door’. This should come as no surprise – these discourses are far more effective in reaching the public today more than pro-immigrant political speeches are.

This re-making of politics along less traditional lines is neither surprising nor sudden, as cities such as Manchester, Marseilles and Malmö become even more multi-ethnic. Mapping voting intentions as well as opinions on single issues, the pollsters reveal a map that is increasingly familiar across Europe – one whereby the huge overlaps of opinion between voters of the three main British political parties reflect a population struggling to understand the changed political environment and frequently voting from habit or loyalty to a particular political party rather than a real alignment with a party’s policies. It is no surprise that a generation ago, 3.5 million Britons were members of a political party. Today the figure is nearer 500,000. A generation ago nearly half of all electors identified “very strongly” with a political party; today the figure is less than one in six.



Hence, the challenge for political parties and for the progressive left in particular, is how to re-capture hearts and minds and produce effective ways of discussing diversity and facilitating integration. Confusion, short-term strategies and an overlap between mainstream parties have led to the opening up of the political spectrum to small and medium radical right parties in Europe. These previously insignificant parties are now able to exploit and fragment the axis of culture by articulating polarised discourses on immigration to an audience ready to listen.

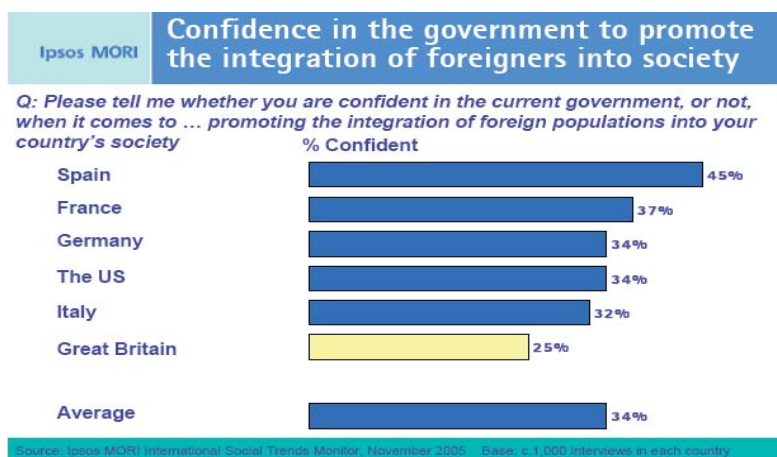
What the public think

The readiness to listen to and absorb anti-immigration discourses delivered by charismatic populist leaders in Europe is not necessarily caused by racism towards foreigners. Opinion polls all over Europe disclose considerable public uneasiness over immigration. Fuelled by sustained and often negative media attention on migration-related issues, the proportion of people identifying immigration and race as the most (or one of the most) important issues facing Europe has reached new levels. Year on year, pan-European research conducted by the polling agency Ipsos Mori identifies immigration control as one of the greatest concerns amongst the European public, worrying respectively 40 per cent and 39 per cent of British and Spanish people in 2006.

While concern over migration is shared throughout Europe, there are also some significant differences in emphasis: In Britain, concern over immigration has steadily risen since 2000 while in other countries it has fluctuated. To the assertion 'most immigrants are a cause of insecurity in society', more than a quarter of Norwegians 'agree on the whole' and more than a quarter 'disagree on the whole', revealing a divided concern over the question of

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whether immigration is a threat. When it comes to European comparisons, public opinion in different countries show different priorities: Germany is seeing a steady increase in people regarding immigration as a ‘cultural danger’ and also a rising concern over immigration as a ‘threat to public order’. France has relatively low rates of concern with ‘only’ nineteen per cent of public opinion seeing immigration control as a priority, and Italy less concerned than in previous years with immigration as a ‘threat to public order’ but gradually more concerned with its perceived ‘threat to employment’. Difference across Europe is also reflected in the rates of ‘confidence in government to promote the integration of foreign populations’. While immigration control was the highest priority in Spain and Britain according to a MORI study in 2006, confidence that the government would do ‘something about it’ differed dramatically with only 25 per cent of Britons declaring confidence in the current government as opposed to 45 per cent of Spaniards.



Part of the big dilemma for governments and society is the low trust in government to provide an answer coupled with high public concern about immigration and its effects on local employment prospects, national identity and public order. How do we respond to fears while creating long term policies on immigration? And more importantly, what do we mean by an integrated society and how do we 'build' it?

What is *good integration* and how do we measure it?

Multi-ethnic and multi-religious societies have been thriving and living in harmony since ancient times. In the middle ages, diverse cities like Genoa or Venice prospered in their commercial power and the Moorish civilisation emerged in Andalusia from a hybrid of three powerful cultural forces: Islam, Judaism and Christianity – a rare moment in history when members of the three great monotheistic faiths worked side by side to build a sophisticated society. This was not unique and today, many places with very diverse populations experience little or no conflict or extremism. A 'clash of civilisations' is not an inevitable fact of modern society, as some have argued. It is more the complex result of a variety of interconnected factors: anxiety over belonging and identity, conflicts abroad; the behaviour of institutions; a widespread fear that familiar things are taken away; feelings of powerlessness and perceptions of being treated unfairly or not being listened to.

Yet multiple belonging is possible; many surveys show that the place where people live is still by far the most important locus of identification for both ethnic minorities and white Britons, alongside a feeling of belonging to their family's country of origin and their country of residence. Questions of 'who we are' are often intimately related to questions of 'where we are'.

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Much of the challenge of immigration and integration is how to enable and shape the formation of multiple loyalties – it is about how to respond to diversity, rather than about diversity itself. Solidarity is something that needs to be cultivated rather than taken for granted. Anxieties, tensions and resentments are an inevitable fact of life but it is how nations learn to deal with them as well as how they provide a framework for belonging and feeling at ‘home’ that matters the most.

So what does it mean for a society to be integrated? Thomas Meyer once talked about ‘identity-mania’ and its dangers. Static forms of identity can hinder integration but in order to have an integrated society, people need to be able to retain and celebrate their specific identities. As social beings, everyone needs some form of identity to feel that they are part of something bigger, to be respected, to be understood, to be supported, to be part of history. A society that denies this identity is storing up trouble. An individual who constructs his or her identity with a closed mind can also constitute a challenge. An open-minded character forms a social and personal identity that withstands tensions, stays receptive to changing situations and consequently need not experience divergences in the social environment as a threat and a source of crippling fear.

It is not essential that everyone should have the same values. Harmony is perfectly feasible even with the existence of very different values, so long as the same processes for making decisions are respected and there are clear rules that help us to live together.

Nor does everyone need to lead similar lives, which has become almost impossible in open and diverse cities like London or Paris. Diversity means that sometimes societies will have to make asymmetric decisions – such as allowing Sikhs not to wear crash-helmets, by making special provision for halal foods, by allowing special housing provision for Hasidic families – although

these allowances will only work if their importance is effectively communicated to the rest of the population.

And nor does integration imply sameness: instead society is becoming increasingly more complex in the best sense of the word. As many social scientists recognise, social identity involves a compromise between two opposing needs: the need for assimilation and the need for differentiation.

An integrated society is something much subtler than all of that: it is a society without much conflict; without decisive gulfs; where opportunities are not hoarded by the few but spread widely; and a society where there is at least a minimum of mutual understanding. Integration is a learned competence and as a result, integration policies should be dynamic processes through which, over time, newcomers and hosts form an integral whole and learn to live together.

Different countries have employed different models of integration to suit their needs. France's model of assimilation emphasises the cultivation of and loyalty to a national identity but can give rise to feelings and perceptions of injustice. Britain's multicultural model encourages a multiplicity of cultures and identities but has been amply criticised for failing to provide a strong framework for the exercise of diversity often creating back-to-back communities or 'sleepwalking to segregation'. There are even more versions of integration like, for example, the Dutch post-multicultural model, the Canadian mosaic model or the German *Gastarbeiter* model. Yet, in an age when talk of majorities and minorities is increasingly meaningless, questions of integration are steadily becoming more complex and problematic. Beyond models and general public attitudes, there is a need to re-think what it means to be an integrated society, and think realistically about the goals – where we want to get to and what we want to become.

It becomes important to understand where we are getting it right with integration and where our attempts (or lack of attempts) fail. If there is no universal model of integration, then much care is needed to understand the ‘symptoms’ of bad integration or to make the most of ‘good integration’. Often, moments of great stress such as riots or terrorist attacks reveal local good practice, can generate unifying responses and can be used for shaping a stronger sense of belonging.

1. Are riots an indicator of bad integration?

More than 25 years ago, the riots in Brixton in London and Toxteth in Liverpool highlighted the challenges of integration of the black community living in London. These were not so much race riots but rather, as Lord Scarman put it, the results of “racial disadvantage that is a fact of British life”, marginalisation, and practical questions of unemployment, housing, poverty and discrimination. Bradford, Burnley and Oldham, the Lozelles area in Birmingham and some Paris suburbs went through similar violent disturbances, some in 2001 and some in 2005, and violence sparking from the cartoon controversy touched many European countries with confrontations between white, black and Asian youths, riot police, burning cars and barricades.

Riots and disturbances are certainly an indicator of bad integration because they point to the deeply rooted marginalisation of some ethnic communities in Europe. The link between poverty, class and ethnicity that can be found in many areas of our cities can give rise to deep anxieties and resentments. In Britain, almost two-thirds of black communities live in five urban areas (London, Bradford, Leeds, Manchester, Birmingham), with almost half living in London and 42 per cent living in the 50 most deprived districts

of England, as compared to 22 per cent of white communities. This is not unique – and resentments can easily spill to violence.

Riots are great moments of stress where problems in national and local integration come to the fore. Yet as indicators of bad integration, they only reveal part of the picture. The question: ‘why were some areas spared?’ is not often asked. How is conflict contained and prevented in areas where diversity and marginalisation are present? While thirty French cities and towns suffered from violence in 2005, the city of Marseilles was spared. It was not due to lack of diversity in ethnicity and religion, nor for lack of marginalisation and poverty amongst white majority and ethnic minority. Rather, conflict was cushioned by a stronger sense of allegiance and belonging to the city than to the nation; the leading role of local institutions like the Marseilles Hope (a committee of clerics who meet whenever trouble arises); the popularity of the city’s multi-ethnic football team as well as the inclusive practices of City Hall all played a significant role in reducing tensions.

From examples of ‘bad integration’, good examples and practice can emerge. Riots and conflict should not be the only indicators of the quality of integration – looking at events at the local level, the actions that local institutions take to avert conflict, and the approach and messages of community leaders, agencies or the media are often more indicative of ‘good’ or ‘bad’ integration than riots.

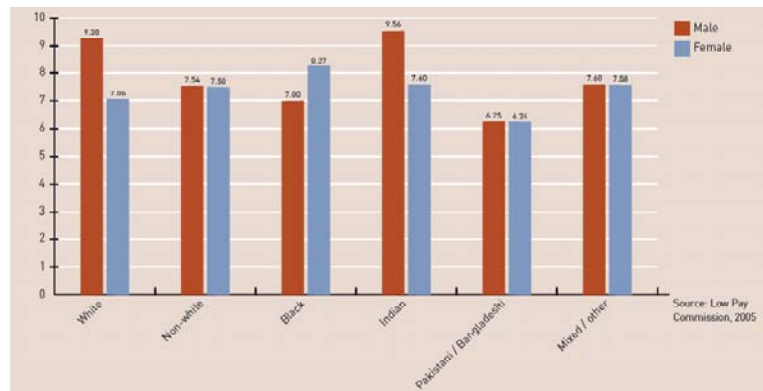
2. Integration in the labour market as an indicator of integration?

At the beginning of the twenty-first century, the Netherlands had an unemployment rate among the so-called *Allochtonen* four times higher than in the native population. In Germany, by contrast, the unemployment rate was ‘only’ twice as high. In

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Marseilles, unemployment reaches up to 30 per cent and affects mainly young people, disproportionately Maghrebian youth. Most migrants in London earn less than the amount deemed the living/minimum wage for London by the Greater London Authority and three-fifths of them received no maternity or paternity leave. Yet many countries' economic growth is underpinned by reliance on this low paid, insecure group of workers – not only in cities but, increasingly, in rural areas.

But we live now in a far more complex society than we have ever been – where the top end of the London housing market is dominated by so-called 'Russian oligarchs' and Arab royalty and where on average Indian men have better employment and pay records than white men in Britain, while black and Pakistani/Bangladeshi men fare worst.



In this context, just to talk about racism and discrimination misses much of the point. The unequal integration of ethnic groups in the labour market is often not simply the straightforward result of diversity, but the result of poor life chances and aspirations. Where you live often matters as much as – if not more than – where you come from, although all too often the two go hand in hand.

We now live in a world of variable geometry where there are many kinds of exclusion and many kinds of discrimination, many forms of disrespect and marginalisation and where class is every bit as important as race. Good integration should encompass national policies encouraging equal opportunities in the labour market as much as fine-grained, targeted policies on housing, schools, jobs, and the family which are able to tackle micro-processes at the local level.

3. Is social and economic segregation an indicator of bad integration?

Many have spoken of the dangers of segregation in neighbourhoods and schools, and there is no doubt that in many of our cities, we are living increasingly separate lives.

According to Dorling and Rees' analysis of the 2001 census, the white population in Britain became more spatially polarised as, in general, the proportion of the population labelled as 'white' declined most where it was the lowest to begin with and actually rose in a few areas (where it was very high to begin with). All other ethnic groups in Britain became more geographically mixed as compared to whites in the 1990s. The pollsters MORI report that 32 per cent of white British people over 65 do not mix with others of a different ethnic origin and fifteen per cent of this group equates whiteness with Britishness. Bristol University and the London School of Economics found that levels of ethnic segregation in Britain's schools are high, particularly for pupils of Indian, Bangladeshi and Pakistani origin. They found that areas of particularly high segregation for Asian pupils coincided almost exactly with the locations of the 2001 disturbances. In the London borough of Tower Hamlets in 2002, seventeen schools had more than 90 per cent Bangladeshi pupils; nine schools fewer than ten

per cent. Even if this was not always a result of parental choice (but rather a product of residential segregation and class), such a lack of contact can be dangerous.

Misunderstandings and prejudices can be produced which – if reinforced through far-right activity, rallies, racial abuse or active campaigning by far-right activists – can lead to open conflict. Following Miles Hewstone's contact theory, creating the opportunity for contact can lead to friendships between segregated ethnic groups which in turn can lower prejudice and decrease the opportunity for conflict.

4. What about integration at the ballot box?

In most European countries, the representation of nationals of non-white backgrounds in national parliaments is still extremely low. In the United Kingdom for example, following the 2005 general elections, only 2.3 per cent of Members of Parliament are from a non-white background, the majority from the labour party and two from the Conservative party.

While this is familiar to many other European countries, the local picture is often very different. At the most local level, representation amongst elected members of different communities is strong. In London's borough of Tower Hamlets, for example, 65 per cent of councillors are Bangladeshi. In Hackney, half the councillors are from black or minority ethnic backgrounds, including Turkish, Kurdish and Vietnamese people.

Integration and representation at the local level is happening fast in most European cities – this is not yet matched by integration at the national or European levels. While forcing integration is not the way forward, good integration is a matter of voice. All too often conflicts and resentments happen when groups feel ignored or not

listened to. Representation and flexibility in institutions still needs to go a long way towards encouraging openness.

5. Is inter-marriage a good indicator of integration?

Integration is often taking place more in the private than in the public sphere. While discourses of segregation highlight separation of cultures, religions, class and ethnicity, one look at the sphere of human relationships would reveal how blurred boundaries really are. By 1997, already half of black men and a third of black women in relationships had a white partner.

Today nearly a million Britons would be described as bi-racial, or in some cases tri-racial and there are as many African-Caribbean Britons under thirty with a white parent as there are with two black parents. Studies show that a twenty per cent of Asian men and ten percent of Asian women opt for a white partner, indicating that 'relational' segregation is breaking down – creating a number of new identities, variable geometries of belonging and loyalties. Static identities no longer reflect the society we live in and as a result, what we mean by multiculturalism has to evolve. There is little use in definitions which freeze identity rather than recognising it as fluid, undergoing constant generational change.

Changing the terms of the debate

As societies change and become more diverse, there is an increasing need for an improved framework and a better way of discussing integration. In many areas, good integration is already happening either as a unified response to a tragic event, or in the private sphere or in the successful performance of some ethnic minorities in education or employment. Yet conflict and tensions are often

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still looming in the distance and lack of mutual understanding when it comes to cultural values, perceived preferential treatment or ways of thinking are still significant obstacles to our ability of living together in harmony.

Achieving an integrated society is never easy, but it has become one of the most important needs of our time. The picture has become more complex. In some respects communities are moving apart, pulled by their own choices or sometimes pushed too. We now need smarter policies and new political strategies for dealing with changing identities and changing patterns of belonging.

Beyond models and policies, good integration should be underpinned by a number of essential requirements:

Agencies, politicians, community leaders, and journalists should learn to discuss and communicate success as well as deal with failure. The way we discuss and portray issues can change opinions, create prejudices, encourage misunderstandings and increase tensions. Discourses portraying immigration as a burden, Islam as an intolerant religion and segregation as something ‘that ethnic minorities do’ have the effect of hindering success, making integration more difficult to achieve and favouring the rise of populist far-right parties.

Institutions should be innovatively designed to determine whether the inevitable and many potential divides that exist in any society are accentuated or downplayed. If dominant institutions like political parties, trade unions, or voluntary organisations, are divided on racial or religious grounds then there will be more of a risk that leaders will try to accentuate the divisions. Equally, if schooling, housing strategy or even arts and cultural funding encourages communities to segregate then it is likely to work against integration. The emphasis of social design should be in bringing people together through day to day encounters: more often than not, an exchange of words, contact or a smile can be

enough to decrease prejudice and can be simple but strong forces of integration.

An integrated society is also a *matter of skills* – the skills of teachers, community leaders, police, politicians or employers, first port of call when integration is happening and when conflict arises. Integration is a learned competence and these subtle skills determine whether events escalate or dampen down. They are about knowing what to say and what not to say, when to be firm, when to turn a blind eye, when to find a compromise. In abundance, they can help a society cope with great shocks but where they are lacking, small issues can become big crises.

Laws and institutions should be designed to *provide incentives* (and disincentives) as often the most successful forms of integration are those that happen if the incentives available to people and communities encourage mixing and encounters and when responsibility and social design of institutions make that possible.

Integration should be underpinned by *law and universal rights* and the ability to expose hypocrisies where these are not lived out. Integration should also be about setting clear limits where claims and demands are felt to cause too much resentment or when they contrast with national values.

Integration should be *encouraged both at the national and the local levels* – as the local level of the neighbourhood or the street can often provide an ideal space for innovative encounters, for negotiating new forms of neighbourliness and local belonging. Often, integration that wouldn't seem possible at the macro level of national policies or institutions is already widely happening in neighbourhoods and streets around Europe. Learning and scaling up good practice and existing success might lead us in the right direction.

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The debate on immigration and integration is currently of the highest priority and it is giving us a chance to think about new and smarter ways of looking at a more diverse Europe. There are successes out there but the hardest work will be to stay ahead of the curve. An integrated society is hard to achieve and requires constant hard work on many fronts. We will need to get many things right in tandem, working simultaneously on many areas and in cooperation with other agencies and countries. Although there is a great resilience, one of the lessons of history is that even the best things can unravel much more quickly than they can be put together.

1. The European Commission, Eurostat
2. The Migration Information Source of the Migration Policy Institute
3. <http://www.politicalsurvey2005.com>

Immigration and the challenge of economic integration in the UK

Richard Pearson

Introduction

Immigration is now a major political issue. The popular debate combines – but often fails to distinguish between – issues of population growth, ‘overcrowding’ and demands on housing and public services; the economy’s demand for skills; asylum and humanitarian protection; illegal immigration, trafficking and illegal working; and racial, ethnic and religious harmony. This paper focuses on the issue of immigration and economic integration in the UK. It first sets out the broad pattern of migration into the UK, the government’s latest migration policy, and the UK’s limited integration policies. It then discusses the evidence on economic integration, before drawing some conclusions as to the impact of immigration on the economy.

Migration into the UK

The UK is a nation born of immigration going back to before the Roman era. Immigration linked explicitly to economic needs also goes back many hundreds of years and includes merchants in the fourteenth century, sailors and artisans in the seventeenth century, unskilled labourers and more latterly skilled workers from the eighteenth century onwards. The immigration of the 1960s and 70s prompted a high degree of public debate and tension about immigration, integration and race relations, and immigration rules

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were successively tightened, with increasing emphasis being placed on the country's need for skills.

The expansion of the EU and the creation of the single market opened the border to unregulated migration from within the Union and associated countries in the 1980s, culminating in a rapid increase in migrants with the accession of eight new countries (the A8) in 2004. The decision to open up the UK labour market to nationals from the new accession states in 2004 – a decision that was taken by only two other EU countries, Ireland and Sweden – was prompted by the demand for skills from the booming UK economy which has had over ten years of steady economic growth. In parallel with these developments, the UK has been the destination for successive waves of refugees over the centuries, and an unknown level of, highly politically sensitive, illegal immigration.

The changing nature of the migration regimes over the years meant that by 2005 there was a proliferation of different schemes under which people could enter the UK to work (see below). In that year over 400,000 people entered the UK to work, with the main employment categories being set out in Table 1. New Zealand, Spain, Ireland, Austria, and Germany, however, all have larger overall inflows per capita, while Ireland took more A8 nationals per capita (nearly 200,000, or a ten per cent addition to the workforce) than the UK did.

One in three migrants entering the UK in the years immediately prior to 2004 came from 'developed' countries, and one in eight from the Indian subcontinent. The latter accounted for one in three of those coming in through work permit and highly skilled routes, with Americans accounting for one in ten. The largest groups of working holiday makers, who could enter for a limited stay, were Australians (35 per cent) and South Africans (34 per cent). Those entering via the sectoral and seasonal schemes, where entry is

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organised by the now regulated ‘gangmasters’, again for limited periods, came predominantly from the Ukraine, Bulgaria, Russia and Romania. The overall number of A8 migrants was far greater, by a considerable magnitude, than the early estimates which suggested less than 15,000 would arrive. In the period since May 2004, over 600,000 people have come to work in the UK from the new accession countries, with two thirds of these coming from Poland. The figures are widely believed to under-represent the actual migrant flows as numbers from the A8 depend on voluntary registration, while the numbers from the European Economic Area (EEA) are based on a limited passenger survey at the major ports of entry. The migrants are predominantly young, with 80 per cent of the A8 migrants aged under 34, as are 60 per cent of other migrants since 1998.

Table 1 Migrants entering the UK to work in 2005 (i.e. excluding children and family members and those not seeking work)

A8 countries*	195,000
EEA	35,000
Work Permits	86,000
Highly Skilled	20,000
Working Holiday Makers	20,000
Seasonal/sector Schemes	23,000
Domestic Servants/au pairs	12,000
UK Ancestry	8,000
Ministers of Religion	500
Refugees	10,000
Total	411,000

* excludes the self- employed and an unknown number who work but did not register under the Worker Registration Scheme

Sources: various

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Changing rules make the flows difficult to track, but we do know that the number of foreign-born workers fluctuated from around 800,000 to 1 million in the early years of the 1990s, and then increased sharply from 2000 onwards, to a total of over 1.5 million in 2005, almost six per cent of an overall work force of 28 million. In addition there are believed to be over half a million illegal or irregular migrants living and working in the UK. The majority of these are believed to be those overstaying their visas, such as holiday makers and students, rather than those arriving illegally, although it is clearly difficult to be precise about the overall number. The flow of illegal migrants is expected to be reduced by the opening of borders to the A8 countries.

Migration does not occur, of course, in only one direction. The nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries saw large scale emigration from the UK to the 'new world', most notably North America and Australasia. During this time there were far more people leaving the UK than arriving. It was not until the mid 1980s that inward migration exceeded emigration. The *net* inflows are, therefore, somewhat smaller, as some 360,000 people left the UK to live overseas in 2005. Of these, two thirds were UK nationals, a significant proportion of whom have moved to 'retire' overseas. Indeed, almost half of all overseas born immigrants left the UK within five years of arrival between 1981 and 2002. Nearly half of the A8 entrants, however, said they were coming to work for less than three months. Thus the net inflow of employed people in to the UK in 2005 was probably around 200,000. Finally, if current patterns are maintained, migration is expected to account for over half of the projected population growth to 2030.

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Managing migration – The UK government policy

The emphasis of the UK government's policy is on migration and border control, rather than integration. Until very recently, there were over 50 schemes under which people could enter the UK to work. These are seen to be overly bureaucratic and lacking in transparency, and new policies are being implemented which aim to "facilitate easier migration for the skilled, to limit entry by the less skilled, and to boost public confidence in the migration system". The government argues that the expanded EU can provide an accessible and mobile workforce, closing many skill gaps experienced by employers, and that employers should therefore look first to recruit from the UK and the expanded EU before seeking to recruit from outside the EU.

Entry from outside the EU will be based on a new five tier, points-based approach, similar to that adopted by Australia and Canada. It will focus primarily on bringing in migrants who are highly skilled or perform key roles that cannot be filled from the domestic or EU labour forces. Tier one is for highly skilled individuals, entrepreneurs, innovators and those who will contribute to growth and productivity. Tier two is for skilled workers to fill gaps in UK labour force as identified by a planned Migration Advisory Committee (MAC)¹, where those employers will be able to demonstrate that the applicant is not displacing a worker in the domestic UK and EU labour market. Both tiers will have an English language requirement and are routes to long term settlement. Tier three is for limited numbers of low skilled workers required to fill specific temporary labour shortages, again as identified by the MAC. Tier four is for students and tier five is for youth mobility, inter-company transfers and temporary workers to satisfy primarily non-economic objectives. Points will be allocated for attributes which predict a migrant's success in the labour market such as age,

education and previous earnings, while control factors, relating to whether someone is likely to comply with the conditions of entry, will also be considered. The government also argues that those who benefit, including employers, must play a part in helping ensure the system is not abused. The plans for tougher enforcement are proving controversial with employers and colleges who recruit non-EU nationals.

Integration policy

Economic integration depends on the skills and capabilities, as well as the expectations of migrants. For example, some refugees plan to return to their 'home' country when conditions allow, while other migrants come to the UK for a short period. Integration also depends on the opportunities and attitudes in their host community and work place. Integration clearly has many different dimensions. At its most basic level, this involves registering for work (and in due course access to the welfare system) through the acquisition of a national insurance number, finding a job, opening a bank account, and finding somewhere to live.

At the next level there is the need for suitable English language skills, an understanding of the culture and customs of the UK workplace, the job search and application process, an ability to work with colleagues and customers, to understand workplace related legislation such as health and safety, anti-discrimination laws, and minimum standards for working conditions, hours, holidays, and the minimum wage.

There is, however, concern about both legitimate migrants, and the large number of illegal migrants, who are paid less than the minimum wage, work excessive hours, and are not properly covered by health and safety and other legislation. Examples are

found especially in low pay, poor management sectors such as basic agriculture, food supply, cleaning, catering, and 'self-employment' in construction, as well as the illegal and unregulated world of prostitution. For some jobs, for example related to working with children, there is a need for workers to pass a criminal background check, while in others, mostly professional jobs, there is the challenge of getting overseas qualifications and work experience recognised by employers. This all needs to take place in broader context of the support and attitudes in the workplace and society.

As already mentioned, the Government's focus is primarily on managing entry at the borders. There is no comprehensive policy framework to support the integration of migrants, leaving integration as a responsibility of the individual, supported by a range of selective services and voluntary groups. The state job service, Jobcentre Plus, helps the unemployed, including migrants, and for the skilled and professionals there is a fee paying service to help migrants and employers assess the standing of overseas qualifications. A Government helpline also helps employers check and understand immigration documentation. Legislation also prohibits discrimination on the grounds of race, and is complemented by a number of equality of opportunity initiatives.

The most explicit Government activities to support economic integration are those for new refugees. Plans are currently under way to update these services, but at present they include prioritisation of the needs of refugees by Jobcentre Plus in helping with the job search; case worker support for the first year; a mentoring service; and support from more than a thousand refugee community support organisations. A number of indicators of integration were developed in 2004, but these have proved controversial and have not been widely used, while data relating to the integration of refugees, and indeed all migrants, remain sparse.

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The only other explicit attention given to the integration of migrants is for those seeking citizenship. The Advisory Board on Naturalisation and Integration (ABNI) provides independent advice to the Government on its citizenship and integration programme to encourage those who are settled in the UK to play a full part in their wider community and to take up British citizenship. After an appropriate period of residency, those seeking citizenship have to pass a citizenship test to ensure new citizens speak English and understand British society. Support is available through (heavily over-subscribed) college based English language courses, which often embed citizenship elements.

A number of employers explicitly support the integration of migrants into the workplace. In some cases these have been focused on the needs of refugee communities, often working in conjunction with refugee and community organisations, targeting job advertising and recruitment campaigns, and the provision of English language classes in either the work place or local colleges. However, the attention of some of these employers is now on recruits from the accession countries. Recruitment agencies and 'gangmasters' who bring groups of migrants to work in agriculture, food processing and related industries on a temporary basis, sometimes also provide basic support to help short-term settlement.

One in four employers were expected to have recruited from overseas in 2006, with several having major recruitment campaigns focused in Poland. Skills and language training are being given by some companies to potential migrants prior to their entry into the UK. For example, a transport company is training bus drivers in Poland for work in the UK, and a taxi firm is training taxi drivers in the Czech Republic, teaching routings in key British cities, as well as teaching English with the relevant city dialect and vernacular.

The Government's recent high profile promise to crack down on employers who employ illegal migrants is, however, thought to be

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discouraging some employers from recruiting migrants. The trade unions are increasingly playing a role in providing information to migrants on their rights in the work place, lobbying for better regulation, and recruiting and representing new migrants, with particular campaigns now being targeted at newly arrived Polish migrants. Local national and ethnic community organisations also provide advice and support on workplace issues.

Economic integration

There is no clear set of indicators by which we can assess the integration of migrants into the economy. The key indicators for the wider population relate to the employment and unemployment rates. Some migrants – most notably some refugees – suffer from multiple disadvantages so that it can be hard to disentangle the extent to which their poor economic integration is due to their status as a migrant or refugee from, for instance, their lack of relevant workplace skills, or poor health.

Looking at the employment profile of migrants, the leaders of many major UK companies and institutions are now, or have recently been headed by foreign nationals i.e. migrants. For example, British Airways is led by an Irishman, and previously an Australian; GlaxoSmithKline (a Frenchman), the London Business School (an American), the Office of National Statistics (previously a New Zealander), the Royal College of Nursing (an American) and Vodafone (an Indian). It is assumed that their integration was not a significant issue.

There are high concentrations of migrants in finance (particularly Americans), IT, hospitality, agriculture, and the health and education sectors. Those entering via work permits and related schemes are, by definition among the most highly skilled migrants;

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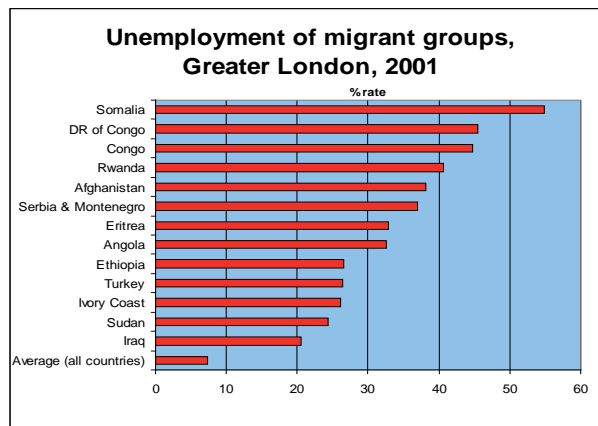
the main occupations they entered in 2005 were nursing, software, management and business. Half of the new nurses in 2002 were (mainly non-EU) migrants, as are ten per cent of all current nurses, sixteen per cent of dentists, 25 per cent of doctors, 60 per cent of those working in London hotels and restaurants, and an estimated 90 per cent of those in low-paid jobs in London.

Interestingly, while the A8 entrants have an employment rate of 80 per cent, the employment rate for other migrants who have arrived since 1998 is only 65 per cent, well below the 75 per cent for the indigenous workforce, although overseas students may account for this discrepancy. The A8 entrants, who are younger, are far more likely to be in lower skilled jobs (61 per cent) as are other recent migrants (almost 30 per cent) than the indigenous population (nineteen per cent). A8 migrants are working throughout the UK, not just in London and the south east where skill shortages have been most intense. The largest single occupations, where known, are process operatives (37 per cent), warehousing (ten per cent), catering assistants (nine per cent), packers (nine per cent), cleaners and domestic staff (eight per cent), and other low skilled jobs. These are not occupations for which there have been significant skill shortages outside of London, and are low paid with most earning under £6 per hour, close to the minimum wage, and often with poor working conditions. Many of the A8 migrants are believed to be more highly qualified than is required for these jobs. However immigrants (A8 and other) in professional jobs earn substantially more than the indigenous professional workers, while those in the lowest skilled occupations earn less than their UK counterparts.

Adequate English language skills are a major barrier to economic, and indeed wider, integration. One particular pressure point is the limited supply, relative to demand, of English language courses for non-English speakers. Among Londoners of working age, 80 per cent of those whose first language is English are

economically active, while this falls to 60 per cent of those for whom English is not their first language. The unemployment rate among those for whom English is not their first language was 14 per cent in 2003, twice that of those whose first language was English, while those in work were far more likely to be in lower skilled jobs. Among refugees, unemployment rates are high, with unemployment rates of over 40 per cent being experienced by the Somali, Congolese and Rwandan populations in London (most of whom are believed to be refugees) in 2001.

Table 2 Unemployment of migrant groups, Greater London, 2001



[Source: GLA calculations based on 2001 census]

The barriers facing the economic integration of such migrants are many and diverse, and will vary between groups and individuals. For example, some refugees arrive traumatised, or with major health problems. Some sustain severe language barriers, either being slow or unwilling to learn the English language, the latter is believed to particularly include some Muslim women, and those

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from the Indian sub-continent who are expected to live domestic, home-based lives and who may have little contact with the local population.

Others have what they see as more pressing needs of finding suitable accommodation and accessing welfare benefits and children's schooling, and for them these take precedence over employment considerations. Some arrive and live in areas with poor local, accessible employment prospects, while others will have little or no experience of the Western-style workplace and working methods. For example, Somali refugees whose only working experience is of subsistence farming, will necessarily lack relevant workplace skills. Some prefer to live on welfare benefits and or work in the illegal economy. Some of these barriers relate to communities in certain areas, such as the Bangladeshi community in parts of east London, and can start to be addressed by community-based approaches and help schemes, while in other cases they need to be tackled on an individual basis and may reflect the need to address multiple disadvantages.

The key challenge is to disentangle the problems which reflect their 'migrant' backgrounds, and those that affect the local, indigenous population, e.g. poor skills or the lack of local employment opportunities. The needs of the latter are increasingly being addressed as 'joined up' local challenges by the government through schemes which target deprived communities such as its *Fair Cities* initiative. Other approaches include locality-focused initiatives which seek to co-ordinate the work of the many diverse, and often disparate, community-based initiatives, such as has been happening in areas such as Leicester and Glasgow.

Conclusions

Migrants form a very diverse group of participants in the labour market. Some who arrived many years ago still have very poor skills and are not in any, let alone sustainable, employment. More recent arrivals are usually either highly skilled, or are here for a short period; many having come from other parts of the EU, and more recently from the A8 countries. As such migrants' skills, capabilities and expectations vary enormously, as does their pattern of economic integration. Overall, there is great diversity in the occupational and employment profile of the migrants, co-existing with significant pockets of unemployment and under-employment.

Assessing migrants' wider economic impact can be difficult to ascertain given the limited data, and lack of any control or reference group. However, some preliminary conclusions may be drawn. First, migrants have made a significant addition to domestic labour. Against a background of sustained economic growth, the government has estimated that immigration makes an annual net contribution of £2.5 billion to the economy, and that a one per cent increase in inward migration is associated with an increase of GDP of over one per cent. The Bank of England has said that migrants are holding down inflation by reducing wage growth. In one south coast city with a history of skill shortages, wages in the construction sector have been said to have halved with the arrival of the A8 migrants. As the majority of migrants are young and employed, their short term demand on the public services are low.

Second, despite the continuing growth of the economy, and the Government's *Welfare to Work* policies which are seeking to move more people from unemployment and other benefits in to work, unemployment rose steadily between 2004 and the end of 2006, including among young people. It is not clear how much of this rise in unemployment is attributable to the steep increase in inward migration, most notably the A8 migrants from 2004 onwards, as

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the overall employment level has also continued to rise. However, the anxiety of the Government is shown by its decision to restrict access to the UK labour market by Romanians and Bulgarians, whose countries joined the EU in 2007. This policy has also been adopted by many other EU member-states.

Third, while migrants have clearly helped alleviate often longstanding skill shortages, they have also filled many low-skilled jobs, often at very low wages, which may be displacing, and reducing the incentive on employers to recruit and train lower-skilled indigenous workers. The UK has large numbers of the low-skilled workers who could, as a consequence, become or remain increasingly marginalised from the labour market, adding to the demands on the welfare system.

Fourth, migration also reduces the incentive for employers to reallocate work outside of the crowded south-east of the country, and may limit career prospects for more junior indigenous staff, reducing the incentive for others to train for and enter such occupations. The number of junior doctors from overseas who are allowed to stay and continue their training has recently been reduced because they are limiting the job prospects of indigenous junior doctors.

Much of the concern about sustained levels of unemployment, co-existing with skill shortages, is focused on the poor education and skill levels of parts of the work force, particularly among the young. The latter, in particular, have been the focus of many major, but not always successful education and training initiatives. Thus the rise in migration while easing skill shortages, adds to the pressure on the government to review and rethink not only its *Welfare to Work* policies, but also its education and training strategy for the least skilled.

Looking ahead, the government and indeed the other main political parties agree that immigration is necessary to meet skill

demands. The ‘managed’ migrants are, however, only a part of the inflow, given the free mobility of workers within the EU. While the points system and changes in the rules determining entry will help identify potentially valuable economic migrants, it does not negate the need to identify the numbers who might be allowed to enter for the long term. The Government has said its planned Migration Advisory Committee (MAC) will advise on such issues in terms of the economic need.

Yet forecasting longer term skill needs is not possible for many reasons. More critically, the MAC will have to factor in the likely extent and impact of not just immigration from the EU, emigration, and migration within the UK, but also other regular labour market adjustments such as changes to wage levels, investment in training, occupational change, and productivity. This is particularly the case given the many major national skills initiatives that are taking place whose aim is to alleviate the very shortages that migration might otherwise resolve. At best the MAC will be able to develop forecasts with wide margins for very broad occupational groupings. The Government will then still have the responsibility of translating these ‘shortage occupations’ into points, and more importantly setting the numbers able to enter in any one period. To complement the work of the MAC, the government has said it will also establish a Migration Impacts Forum (MIF), which will look at issues related to the social dimension of migration, collating evidence about the impact of migration, and identifying and sharing good practice in managing transitional requirements. Given that entrants to tiers one and two will have the potential for longer term settlement, consideration will have to be given to longer term needs and commitments well beyond the time horizon of any realistic forecasts, as settlement will impact on population growth, education, health, housing and other aspects of the infrastructure for decades to come. Other considerations, outside the remit of the

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MAC and the MIF include the impact of migration on the countries of origin.

Issues of population growth, social integration, access to public services and welfare benefits for 'new' migrants are now high on the public agenda. The challenges facing the MAC and the MIF will be profound, as will be those for the government who will then have to turn their evidence in to a politically workable migration policy, as issues relating to the economic and social integration of migrants will continue to rise on the agenda, fuelling the debate over the nature of our multicultural society.

Populism against Globalisation: A New European Revolt

René Cuperus

Western Europe is in the grip of a political identity crisis. The disrupting effects of globalisation, the permanent retrenchment of the welfare state and the development of a 'media audience democracy' are accompanied by fundamental changes in the political party system: the triumph of the floating voter, the unprecedented rise of electoral volatility, and the spectacular rise of neo-populist movements in the political arena

A tormented wave of anti-establishment populism is sweeping through Europe. Populist parties are managing to enter the political centre stage. This is partly the result of the drift to the right in the European political discourse concerning issues of immigration, Islam and the concept of a multicultural society. In Europe, new populism not only comes from the right, but increasingly from the anti-liberal protectionist left as well. This essay argues that in Europe the populist wave points at a deeper rooted crisis of the political and societal system at large.

The traditional mass parties that have ruled the region at least since the end of the Second World War have lost members, voters, élan, and a monopoly on ideas. Because they are the pillars of both the party-oriented parliamentary system and the welfare state, their slow but steady decline affects European societies as a whole. Due to changes in labour, family and cultural lifestyles, the Christian Democratic (conservative) and Social Democratic pillars of civil society are eroding, leaving behind 'people's parties' with shrinking numbers of people. The traditional emancipatory mass parties are losing their masses.

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The second ingredient of the European crisis is the question of ethnic diversity. Intellectual discourse was long characterised by a post-Holocaust and post-colonial political correctness which praised multiculturalism and ‘the foreigner’ as enriching society while turning a blind eye to the *de facto* segregation and marginalisation of many new immigrants, as well as the stress they placed on the welfare system in many nations. The potential cultural conflict between Europe’s liberal-permissive societies and orthodox Islam was also ignored.

A third ingredient of the crisis is widespread unease about the process of European integration. What should be a proud achievement of post-war cosmopolitan co-operation between nations has instead become a cause of increasing insecurity and national alienation. This discontent with the European Union propelled considerably by the uncertain, unintended effects of the ‘big bang’ enlargement to include the new central eastern European Member States, and by the (perceived) neo-liberal set-up of the internal market and monetary union.

The fourth component is the fact that much of this discontent was channelled through the rise of far right or radical right populist movements and in Europe, unlike American, populism is more or less associated with fascism and Nazism, the pathologies of the ‘voice of the masses’.

The new global world order

There is a massive level of unease in many Western countries; trust in institutions and politics is at a record low and there are crises of confidence and of political representation.¹ The disturbing thing is that this great distrust and unease can be encountered not only in countries which have experienced difficulties as a result of reform

postponement (the German and French ‘disease’), but also in countries which have actually carried through reform programmes, such as Denmark, Austria and the Netherlands. The ever-growing pan-European presence of right-wing and left-wing populist movements, which often appear following controversial reform of the welfare state, remains an alarming and grimy reminder of the general unease in the population and the crisis of confidence which besets the established political scene. In the process of reform and adaptation to the new global world order, there has been a fundamental breakdown of communication between the elites and the general population.

The pressures of adaptation in the new globalised world are particularly directed, in terms of technocratic policy discourse, towards those who do not ‘fit in’ to the new international knowledge-based economy, i.e. the unskilled and the low skilled. The discourse of adaptation and competitive adjustment – applied to the EU as a whole (vis-à-vis China and India), to the level of specific countries, or to companies and to individuals – has a strong impact upon and bias against the low-skilled, the ‘ordinary people’, the lower middle class, and the non-academic professionals. This bias is the root cause for populist resentment and revolt. Policy and political elites are selling and producing insecurity and uncertainty, instead of showing security and stable leadership in a world of flux. With the exception of some Scandinavian countries, European policy elites do not show welfare state pride stability in times of change and reform. This ambivalence about the very foundations of the European welfare state models is in itself producing populist unrest.

Unease and distrust in contemporary European society is located at more levels than just that of welfare state reform. We are experiencing a shift right across the board: the magic of the post-war period seems to be all used up, the post-war ideal of

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European unification, the post-war welfare state model and the post-Holocaust tolerance for the foreigner all seem to be eroding and under pressure. The whole process of internationalisation (globalisation, immigration, and European integration) seems to produce a gap of trust and representation between elites and population on questions of cultural and national identity.

A pan-European populist revolt

Anti-establishment populism is conquering Europe. Populist parties of left and right are increasingly successful in local and national elections. The new right-wing populism that emerged in the last decade of the last century can be called populist because it claims to represent 'the people' and to be mobilising them against a domineering establishment. It can be classified as right-wing populist because it claims to be defending and shielding national, cultural or ethnic identity against 'outsiders' or external influences. In this sense there are connections to xenophobic, racist or far-right parties and political ideologies. Some of the parties have their origin in extreme-right quarters or did house neo-Nazi or fascist party activists (the Haider Party in Austria and the Vlaams Blok/Belang party in Flanders, for example). Most of these parties tried to transform themselves into democratic 'normality'; however, other parties cannot be associated with this 'black European history', especially the Pim Fortuyn Party in the Netherlands, which has been called 'postmodern populist' because of his *bricolage* of right-wing and left-wing ideas.

One could call this kind of new populism as was espoused by Berlusconi (Italy), Blocher (Switzerland), Hagen (Norway) and the late Pim Fortuyn, a 'third way of the right', a middle road between the democratic and the undemocratic right, between traditional

conservatism on the one hand and the antidemocratic extreme right of the past on the other. 'Populism can be read as a fever warning which signals that problems are not being dealt with effectively, or points to the malfunctioning of the linkages between citizens and governing elites'.

The core characteristic of this so-called new populism is that groups and movements no longer identify the structural conflict in modern society and politics as one between left and right, but between 'the people' and 'the elite', both perceived as homogenous groups. However, there is a greater underlying complexity. We can differentiate between at least three faces of populism. In the older sense, populism has been exclusively associated with right-wing populist movements, populism being a euphemistic word for radical right aggressive xenophobia, expressed in a demagogic style. A second type of populism can be labelled 'media populism' or populism as a new style of communication politics. In the new information society and 'mass media democracy', with diminished ideological party differences, populism is increasingly becoming the dominant style of politics. Through election campaigns and permanent communication strategies (spin doctors) political leaders are trying to connect to a mass audience for vote maximisation and popular approval. In a way, modern democracies are doomed to be populist in this sense. In the third sense – and this essay concentrates on this dimension – the new populist revolt must be characterised as a revolt against the new world as conceived and promoted by the mainstream political, cultural and economic elites, the new global world, and as driven by the international forces of economic liberalism and cultural liberalism.

It has been common practice in Europe to identify populism with the new radical right parties. But one of the actual problems is that the new anti-globalisation populism is no longer restricted to the relatively small 'home constituencies' of the far right

parties. The populist discontent with established politics and with the perceived disruption of internationalisation (global neo-liberalism, mass migration, the destruction of national borders) is extending to great parts of the middle class electorate. Therefore, it might be more appropriate to link the trend of neo-populism with a broad, cross-class appeal to protest voters, to the so-called *Modernisierungsverlierer* (losers from the process of modernisation). Populism is also conceived to be the main trigger of the no-vote in the French and Dutch referenda on the European Constitution. Moreover, a populist discourse and agenda is taking over mainstream politics in many European countries, not the least in post-communist central Eastern Europe. It is also the case in Western Europe that establishment parties, especially on the right, are copying populist themes and messages; a cocktail of cultural conservatism, nationalism, euroscepticism and latent or manifest xenophobia.

Winners and losers

The ‘new populist European revolt’ in this last sense has recently been empirically demonstrated by a research team from the University of Zurich and the University of Munich, under the academic leadership of Prof. HansPeter Kriesi.² In a comparison of six European countries, they observe a structural opposition between so-called globalisation ‘winners’ and ‘losers’, leading to a new cleavage transforming the basic national political space. “We consider those parties that most successfully appeal to the interests and fears of the ‘losers’ of globalisation to be the driving force of the current transformation of the Western European party system”.

Kriesi et al. assume that “the processes of increasing economic (sectoral and international) competition, of increasing cultural

competition (which is, among other things, linked to massive immigration of ethnic groups who are rather distinct from the European populations) and of increasing political competition (between nation-states and supranational or international political actors) create new groups of 'winners' and 'losers'. The likely winners include entrepreneurs and qualified entrepreneurs in sectors open to international competition as well as all kinds of cosmopolitan citizens. The expected losers, by contrast, include entrepreneurs and qualified employees in traditionally protected sectors, and unqualified employees and citizens who strongly identify themselves with their national community".

Kriesi et al. formulate an interesting paradox of national boundaries: "The lowering and unbundling of national boundaries renders them politically more salient. As they are weakened and reassessed, their political importance increases". They therefore expect globalisation losers to support protectionist measures, stressing the importance of national boundaries and independence. On the other hand, winners who benefit from the increased competition tend to support the opening up of the national boundaries and the process of international integration. The new antagonism between winners and losers of globalisation is labelled *the conflict between integration and demarcation*. Kriesi's main argument is that this conflict represents a new political cleavage emerging from the process of denationalisation, which influences the political space, the supply side of politics. The traditional left/right-class conflict around socio-economic politics, the traditional cultural conflict around religion and the libertarian post-materialist values plus identity issues of the new social movements are now extended and complicated by the new opposition of integration versus demarcation. The new demarcation/integration conflict will be embedded into the two-dimensional basic structure, as Kriesi testifies.

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“On the social-economic dimension, the new conflict can be expected to reinforce the classical opposition between a pro-state and a pro-market position (...) The pro-state position is likely to become more defensive and more protectionist (...) On the cultural dimension, we expect enhanced opposition to cultural liberalism of the new social movements as a result of the ethnicisation of politics: the defence of tradition is expected to increasingly take on an ethnic or nationalist character (...) The demarcation pole of the new cultural cleavage should be characterised by an opposition to the process of European integration and by restrictive positions with regard to immigration; these are issues which correspond to the new political and cultural forms of competition linked with globalisation”.

Kriesi et. al. assume “that in Western Europe, a) mainstream parties will generally tend to formulate a winners’ programme (i.e. a programme in favour of further economic and cultural integration), but that b) mainstream parties on the left will attempt to combine the economic integration with the preservation of the social protection by the welfare state, while mainstream parties on the right will tend to reduce the role of the state in every respect (...) Left wing mainstream parties may also face the dilemma that market integration in Europe (and more globally) poses a threat to their national social achievements. In those countries where mainstream parties tend to moderately opt for the winners’ side, we face an increasing political fragmentation, with the strengthening of peripheral actors, who tend to adopt a ‘losers’ programme: i.e. on the right a culturally more protectionist stance, on the left a socially and economically more protectionist stance. According to the convergence thesis, the convergence of the major parties has been compensated for by the emergence of new parties.³

The radical left’s opposition to the opening up of the borders is mainly an opposition to economic liberalisation. The populist

right's opposition is protectionist on the cultural dimension, to preserve the national identity. The main characteristics of this 'national-populism' are its xenophobia or even racism, expressed in a fervent opposition to the presence of immigrants, and its populist appeal to the widespread resentment against the mainstream parties and the dominant political elites.

A world in flux

I arrived at the same conclusions of populism as the protest vehicle of the losers of the current modernisation process. Populism, protectionism or the 'politics of demarcation' may be analysed as reactions of fear and discontent to globalisation, denationalisation or detraditionalisation; a revolt against economic and cultural liberalism; the ideology of the modern internationalised professional elites; a revolt against the universalistic; or a cosmopolitan global village without boundaries and distinctions. In essence, this is what the new populism is all about, both in its moderate version (conservative protectionism) and in its nasty version of xenophobia, racism or aggressive nationalism.

Indeed, we live in perilous times. History teaches us that acceleration in a modernisation process is often accompanied by counter-movements, not infrequently of a very dangerous nature. The process of modernisation is a story of trends and counter-trends, movements and counter-movements. It looks as if we are now once again in a period of hypermodernisation. All the signals are set for change, for transition and transformation. These include globalisation, European unification, immigration and the rise of multi-ethnic societies, environmental degradation, and international terrorism linked to political Islam. This points to a world in flux: society, the economy and politics have entered an accelerated phase;

traditional institutions and attitudes are under great pressure. Such a process of change produces both optimism and pessimism; fear and unease alongside a sense of adventure and spirit of enterprise. A fairly harsh division is appearing between winners and losers, in particular within countries: young academic double-earners in the 'exposed' private sector against older, less well-educated industrial *Facharbeiter* and immigrants who are discriminated against in the labour market. New inequalities and polarisations are being produced. The transformation is particularly strong in questions of identity, issues of national, cultural and ethnic identity.

There are some who like to dismiss the German electorate, or the Dutch and French no-voters in the constitution referendums, as xenophobic nationalists, as frightened enemies of the open society, and as deniers of globalisation and immigration. But these critics are wide of the mark. There is a great danger involved when a cosmopolitan post-national elite carelessly argues away the nation state and national identity, just at the moment that the nation state is for many a last straw of identification to cling to in insecure times.

Identity issues: Europe and the multicultural society

The problem cluster of social unease and distrust regarding the reform of the welfare state, in addition to the demarcation line between future optimists and future pessimists can, to an important extent, be assigned to the issue of a 'threatened identity'. First of all, on the continent the welfare state is a strong identity issue in itself. This strong sentiment may be described as 'welfare chauvinism', which is a 'civil religion' of communitarism associated with national solidarity of welfare state arrangements in countries like Sweden, Denmark, and, to a much lesser extent, the Netherlands.

In Europe we thought that with the European Social Model (the sum of national social welfare states), we had realised something resembling Francis Fukuyama's *end of history*: the apogee of human civilisation, the social paradise on a human scale, the final stage of social politics. This self-assurance is suffering a nasty hangover now that the holy welfare state is coming under serious pressure (from within and without). This isn't just a question of slimming down but now involves its very foundations, its sustainability and thus its continued existence. The self-image has been shaken so strongly that even the contrast with the American second rate social-capitalist model is no longer proudly and unanimously supported any more.

This is causing identity problems. The consequences of globalisation, modernisation, Europeanisation and immigration for the well-being of the welfare state have repercussions at the level of national identity and societal self-image. For this reason alone we cannot afford to ignore feelings of national identity in the debate on the European Social Model. Only in this way can we understand the unease which is spreading so alarmingly in Europe and acting as a political and mental block to reforms, be they necessary or not.

Centre-left and social-democratic parties have long been embarrassed by this type of cultural theme. However, it doesn't seem wise and advisable for progressives to deny the 'lived reality' of national identities and thus to allow this issue to become the monopoly of the right. In fact it is the task of progressives to develop an open, hospitable, non-xenophobic, non-ethnic definition of national identity: *a greater Us*. National solidarity – the moral foundation of a social welfare society – can't survive without this in the long run.

The perception of an undermining of national identity is related to a 'double integration issue' which results from the headlong

process of internationalisation – in which a confrontation occurs between cosmopolitan, highly educated elites and the population at large – the integration of the nation states in the European Union, and the integration of immigrants in the nation state.

The multicultural society: a disrupting concept

“It seems clear to me that the entire concept of the multicultural society has been a serious mistake. What has been achieved is not something like a liberal society, but a collection of groups who don’t talk to each other. You can’t call that a nation”, remarked Francis Fukuyama during a recent visit to the Netherlands.⁴

The term ‘multicultural society’ – however inviting it may be intended to be for newcomers – has produced a lot of unnecessary confusion and resentment for the “insiders of the host society”. Moreover, it appears to be at odds with the quite successful integration, acculturation and assimilation patterns in terms of employment, equality, social and political inclusion, which we can observe over generations in true immigration countries such as America and Australia.

The concept of multiculturalism, as used by post-national cosmopolitans, suggests that the autochthonous population is no more and no less than one of the ‘multi-cultures’, a minority among the minorities. In this respect I share the view of *Prospect’s* Editor in Chief David Goodhart: it is disproportional to imagine “that Britain must radically adapt its majority way of life or reach out to meet the newcomers halfway (...) But in the nature of things most of the adaptation will, initially, be on the side of the newcomers who have chosen to live in an already existing society with a majority way of life and at least some sense of itself (...) It’s important that newcomers acknowledge that Britain is not

just a random collection of individuals, and that they are joining a nation which, although hard to describe, is something real.”

Goodhart still errs on the side of caution. It is the breakdown in communication regarding the core idea of multiculturalism between the politically correct elite of experts, minority experts, highly educated representatives and immigrant organisations on the one hand, and the general population on the other hand which has (perhaps unnecessarily) caused much damage. Prompted by legitimate feelings of guilt about Western colonialism, racism, apartheid and the Holocaust, the counter-reaction has taken the form of exclusive attention and respect for the cultural ethnicity, individual qualities and group culture of minorities/immigrants, accompanied by a total denial – if not indeed demonising – of the group culture and ethnicity of the autochthonous majority.

It is this multicultural illusion, constituting a clear and threatening deviation from lived reality, which drives many ‘ordinary people’ into the arms of extremely dubious parties, luckily initially to a very small extent towards extreme right-wing, racist parties (which in the 1980s agitated against the idea of multiculturalism), but later towards large populist right-wing movements such as those of Pim Fortuyn in the Netherlands, Hagen in Norway, and Kjaersgeld in Denmark. Now mainstream politicians, experts and social scientists (with an unheard delay of twenty years) have finally arrived at this position regarding multiculturalism. However David Goodhart is still forced to conclude, “at present there is a large conceptual and linguistic space between racism, at one end, and liberal cosmopolitanism, at the other. Most people reside in this middle space but it is empty of words for us to describe our feelings”.⁵

Nevertheless, one should still not underestimate the fact that in many European countries we are faced with a creeping revolt by parts of the autochthonous population, deep into the middle

classes, a stubborn peat moor fire, against the optimistic idea *and* the segregated practice of the multicultural society. This revolt is not always expressed in political voting patterns; due to the nature of the electoral system (as in the UK), due to a massive historical burden (as in Germany) or due to a lack of corresponding parties to vote for (as in the Netherlands, where no anti-multicultural party has appeared on the left of the spectrum). But make no mistake: voter research in the Netherlands for instance shows that a large (70 per cent) majority rejects full multiculturalism and believes that minorities should (to a certain extent) adjust to ‘the Dutch culture’. The great majority of the Dutch population is, in contrast to what the obligatory terminology has prescribed for decades, ‘uniculturalist’.

A snapshot of the Dutch case

There was a dramatic shift in the Netherlands in the last decade of the twentieth century. First there was a strong climate of political correctness. For a long time, shame about the colonial past and the memory of the Holocaust guaranteed a high level of tolerance and respect in dealings with ethnic minorities. This situation was rudely destroyed in the eighties by the rise of small extreme right, racist parties propagating xenophobia and hatred of foreigners (*Centrum Partij* or *Centrumdemocraten*). The established democratic parties reacted to these parties with a *cordon sanitaire*. Migrants were, above all, perceived as victims of racism and discrimination. What was also done, and turned out to be a serious mistake, was putting a *cordon sanitaire* not only around these nasty racist parties, but also around the topics of these parties: the problems of integration and segregation; high unemployment and crime rates, ‘multicultural

discontent', especially within the constituencies of the social-democratic people's parties.

Political correctness turned a blind eye to the shadow sides of immigration and the multi-ethnic society and to the people who experienced this transformation day-by-day in their neighbourhoods. The final blow came from the Pim Fortuyn Movement, a populist revolt of citizens, directed against the political correct taboos of the political elites, especially the social-democrats, and against the potential threat of (non reformed) Islam for a progressive-libertarian society as the Dutch.

The climate changed drastically. Where these issues are concerned, you could speak of a pre-Fortuyn era and a post-Fortuyn era in the Netherlands. In terms of Kriesi et al.: "the emergence of a populist party on the right gives rise to a move of the centre of gravity of the party system in the direction of cultural demarcation/protectionism".⁶ The new Post-Fortuyn consensus could be characterised as: a) limiting (unskilled) immigration; b) fostering integration by all means (*inburgering*; Dutch citizenship programs); and c) fighting discrimination and racism.

Nevertheless, Dutch politics and society did not strike a good balance yet. Instead of being perceived as victims of racism, migrants were now perceived as a burden, a social problem or a danger. The center-right Balkenende/Verdonk governments were one-sidedly communicating repression, distrust and law and order. This caused a terrible climate of 'us against them' which is completely counter-productive for what is so urgently needed for genuine integration.

Progressives in the long run have the task to construct a *greater Us*. This is necessary not because of outdated and naive political correctness, but as the only way to maintain the European tradition of solidarity. There is also an urgent need for a 'greater Us' for reasons of state security and individual security: anti-terrorism

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prevention. Therefore a giant plan should be put into action to improve employment, education, housing, and social and political participation for migrant communities. The new mission of social democracy is to start the classical emancipation process all over again. There is no other way to progress.

But the price to pay for these noble ideals and ambitions is to say goodbye to the concept of the multicultural society. That's a hard choice to make, but I think that the concept of multiculturalism has caused a lot of harm and confusion, both for migrants and for the native population. We can only win the trust and backing of all people in society for such a 'investment in emancipation' plan if there is a fundamental trade-off between migrants and native inhabitants in terms of a committed and 'loyal' orientation toward the host country by migrants at the one hand, and acceptance of a multi-ethnic and multi-religious future for Holland by native Dutchmen at the other hand. But the concept of multiculturalism stands in the way of this.

In short, there is a great and increasing urgency for an anti-segregation offensive, against separated parallel societies, leaving in tact the 'multicultural society' in the private sphere (as long as it is compatible with the laws of constitutional liberal democracy) but urgently looking for ways to marry ethnic and cultural diversity with a common national identity. Islamic fundamentalist terrorism results in increased calls for a mutual approach and co-operation between immigrant communities and the autochthonous population. As Goodhart writes, "the biggest question in all in modern Europe is how majorities can express their local and national identities without alienating minorities? How can outsiders be made to feel at home without making insiders feel that they have become strangers in their own home?"⁷

The migration of highly skilled labour à la cosmopolitan London is essential for a creative economy such as the Netherlands, but

broad public support for this can only arise (again) if we are really clear about what integration is and is not, about the boundaries, rights and obligations of ‘fellow citizenship’ and if the process falls into line with what the great majority of people see as fair, civilised and reasonable.

Multiculturalism may even be considered as an ideology of segregation. This points to the core problem that multicultural segregation through collective group formation along ethnic, cultural or religious lines is strongly at odds with the model of a Western, emancipated, individualised society, where individuals are not forever ‘overlapping’ with their ethnic and cultural traditional communities. One of the main battlegrounds between Western culture and non-Western culture, the clash between individualism and traditional collectivism, is ill-addressed by the concept of multiculturalism, to put it mildly. Is multiculturalism in its final consequences not the ideology of apartheid?

Moreover, if multicultural segregation, despite all theory, practically results in ghettos of the deprived, these must surely be an intolerable cultural and socio-economic scandal for European social democracy, to be prevented by all means.

Concluding observations

This essay examined unease and popular distrust, with particular reference to the issue of threatened national identity. In dealing with the theme of national identity I ventured onto tricky terrain, certainly for centre-left progressives who mostly prefer to sing a post-national cosmopolitan and laconic multiculturalist melody. National identity is understood in a broad sense, because it seems typically European that it is precisely the social model of the post-war welfare state and the social market economy which form a

substantial part of the positive self-image of various European populations. The unease is to be found in the perception of threat and undermining of national characteristics through processes of internationalisation.

On the one hand, there is the globalisation of the production of goods and services as well as capital markets and the apparently boundless European unification, and on the other hand a seemingly uncontrollable immigration and the development of multi-ethnic societies with problems of integration, segregation and multicultural 'confusion'. Research shows that immigration, except for Britain until 2005, has become the most salient and much polarising issue since the 1970s. In some eurosceptic countries (Switzerland, Britain and more recently the Netherlands), the question of European Unification is also part of the new political-cultural conflict. According to Kriesi c.s., this cultural dimension has become the primary basis on which new parties or transformed established parties seek to mobilise their electorate.⁸

Contrary to the gospel of the ultra-modern pundits who advocate the self-abolition of the nation state in favour of new regional power centres, instable and dislocating undercurrents in European society require not only prudence in modernisation and innovation but also the rehabilitation of and return to the nation state as a forum for restoration of trust, as an anchor in uncertain times, as a renewed test case for socio-economic performance, as a source of social cohesion between the less and the better educated, between immigrants and the autochthonous population. A restoration of trust between politicians and citizens will have to take place at the national level, as will the creation of a harmonious multi-ethnic society. The EU must facilitate this process, and not obstruct it. In other words, the future of the EU, the European Social Model and harmonious multi-ethnic societies lies with the nation state. The motto for the coming period of transition is therefore: *How nation*

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*states must rescue the European Union and the multicultural society.*⁹

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3. A. Abedi, "Challenges to established parties: The effects of party system features on the electoral fortunes of anti-political-establishment parties", in: *European Journal of Political Research*, 41 (4), 551-583.
4. Interview in *de Volkskrant*, 17 September 2005.
5. David Goodhart, 'Britain's Glue', in: A. Giddens and P. Diamond (eds.), *The New Egalitarianism*, p. 170.
6. Kriesi, op. cit, p. 945.
7. David Goodhart, p. 170.
8. Kriesi, op. cit., 950.
9. Alan Millward, *The European rescue of the nation-state*, 1992.

Race, Class and Migration: Tackling the Far Right

Jon Cruddas

Over the last few years, many of our communities have experienced extraordinary rates of change – primarily driven by mass migration, changing patterns in the demand for labour and the dynamics of the housing market. The policy issues thrown up by these forces have been difficult for the state to comprehend; not least because many of the people affected by the changes do not show up in the census and therefore do not exist for the purposes of public policy making.

Moreover, the communities undergoing these rapid demographic changes are often the most poorly equipped to do so, and maintain high levels of poverty, social immobility and poor public services. Poorer, low-cost housing areas, primarily in urban settings, are taking the strain in managing migration flows. The impact of migration on the labour and housing markets has triggered tensions and threatened community cohesion. In particular communities, the local population grows at a faster rate than the state's refinancing of public services, as decisions on funding are based on an out-of-date formula for resource allocation.

These issues demand an adequate response from the state that must be based on the empirical realities of modern Britain. It means a return to issues of class, race, poverty and migration. It means that we have to construct a real-time demographic picture upon which to build such an adequate response. It is through such a response that we can construct a framework for addressing the material conditions which aid the far-right in exploiting these issues.

Yet the configuration of the electoral system pushes politicians into dangerous territory when addressing race and migration. The preferences and the prejudices of the swing voter in the marginal constituency retain a disproportionate influence within our political system. As such, the modern politician seeks to neutralise – or triangulate around – difficult political terrain. There is no better example of this terrain than the current debates around race and demographic change.

Those negatively affected by migration perceive government efforts to tackle immigration as being woefully inadequate, as the issues which concern them are not sufficiently reported in the media and therefore are not commonly understood. This under-reporting, combined with the strain placed on existing services by the recent expansion in migration, has led to disillusionment and caused voters to seek populist answers. The economic losers from immigration are becoming increasingly alienated from their traditional Labour representation.

This essay explores this fundamental economic and political rupture. On the one hand, the current situation has created a contest of tough policies on migrants. Due to the lack of a visible and coherent Labour policy, right-wing political parties (both mainstream and more extremist) have garnered support from traditional Labour voters. Immigration is a contentious issue which will increasingly determine electoral outcomes. On the other hand, migrant labour has contributed to the economic prosperity enjoyed by Britain. Migrants bring an enormous range of benefits to the British economy, and many low-skilled workers are filling gaps in the UK labour market.

The combination of migration and economics can also result, in the worst cases, in racism and extremism. With reference to my own constituency in East London, I offer an insight into the way these forces combine and the consequences of the rise of

extremist political forces. This article argues that what is required is a response grounded in the material conditions of disadvantaged communities, in order to remove the forces that are feeding extremist political movements. Public perceptions must be tackled in order for the government to receive credit for its policies, but simultaneously, these policies need to be more responsive to the actual situation on the ground.

Changing labour markets and the demand for labour

Globalisation and the information and communication technologies have been widely cited as the key contemporary levers of change that are reshaping the labour markets of the future. Yet, the fundamental problem with this conception of the ‘new knowledge economy’ is one of evidence. On the basis of both the empirical changes over the last ten years and the best projections for the future, it is clear that we are witnessing an ever more pronounced polarisation within the labour market – and wider society – often described as the ‘hour glass’ economy.

On the one hand, there exists a primary labour market – the knowledge economy. On the other, there is an expanding secondary labour market where the largest growth is occurring – in service-related elementary occupations, administrative and clerical occupations, sales occupations, caring, personal service jobs and the like. In terms of absolute employment growth since the early 1990s, the fastest growing occupations have been in four long-established services (sales assistants, data input clerks, storekeepers and receptionists); in state dominated education and health services; and the caring occupations (care assistants, welfare and community workers, and nursery nurses). In short, employment

growth has been concentrated in occupations that could scarcely be judged new, still less the fulcrum of a 'new economy'.

New Labour's political strategy has been driven by the dynamics at work at the top end of this hour glass – the political inference being that those who occupy the bottom half will always stick with Labour as they have no other viable alternative. For purposes of political positioning, the worldview has developed which renders the working class invisible and downgrades the needs of working class communities. Yet paradoxically, New Labour has overseen an economic strategy characterised by the expansion in the demand for relatively low waged work. In short, empirically it has brought about the development of a thriving bottom of the hour glass. This mix has tended to create a brittle tension between the narrative of New Labour and the empirical realities of the modern world.

New Labour presents a picture of immigration in England for both the purposes of policy and public relations which is necessarily wrong because of the evidence on which it is based. This clashes with the experience of British people, whose experience of immigration is concerned with how daily life is affected by migration, and who see only the gap between Labour policy and migration issues. This gap needs to be bridged in order to confront the problems caused by migration and show the public that these problems are being addressed in a serious way. Furthermore, the benefits of immigration must be emphasised.

This tension also characterises the politics and the economics of migration. On the one hand we triangulate around migration and race given the prejudices of the swing voter in the swing seat. Thus the importance of the swing voter lies behind the portrait painted by Labour: tight control over immigration and a protection against the negative aspects of these population flows. The presentation of Labour policy thus becomes of the greatest importance.

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On the other hand, migrant labour – regulated and unregulated – has in reality been the cornerstone of government economic strategy, fuelled by the demand for relatively low-waged labour. The best illustration of this collision between rhetoric and reality is the data regarding the minimal prosecutions for those employing un-regularised migrant labour. Given the rate of inward migration alongside the lack of market regulation, it is impossible to conclude anything other than that migrant labour is seen as a key driver in tacitly de-regulating the labour market in order to reproduce this flexible low waged economy.

Migration: the numbers game

Rapid change is occurring in the British economy and wider society. According to the Office of National Statistics (ONS), the population is growing at its fastest pace since the early 1960s despite record emigration. The ONS estimates the population of Britain to be some 60.2 million in June 2005 – a year-on-year rise of around 0.6 per cent or 375,000. According to research 235,000 of the 375,000 rise was due to net migration, with the remainder made up by the growing gap between births and deaths. In the same year net outward migration rose to 114,000 – the highest figure since records began in 1991. The ONS has announced a programme to improve on these estimates given an acknowledgment that increasing numbers of people are on the move at any one time.

This review is a tacit acceptance that these figures understate the real demographic changes at work within the UK – despite the record numbers contained in the estimates. The data assumes only a net migration of 74,300 from the new accession states. The government has recently announced that some 427,095 people from the new EU countries had registered to work here over the

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two years from May 2004. However, the self-employed, students and dependents and legal 'non-working' residents do not register. It is a common estimate that at least 600,000 new EU nationals have now migrated to the UK over the last two years. The initial government estimate of the inflows was between 5,000 and 13,000. When we begin to scrutinise the details of this migration interesting information emerge. Most of them have come from Poland – 264,000. 82 per cent are young, aged between 18 and 34 and have no dependents. Most jobs performed are relatively low waged and low skilled jobs.

In short there appears to have been a massive demographic movement into the UK driven by demand for certain forms of labour. Yet many of these families do not appear on the radar of public policy-makers, who remain attached to an out of date census that cannot encompass the sheer demographic dynamic that has developed over the last few years.

Demography, race and class: a case study of New Labour and the BNP

The Local Election results in May 2006 saw the British National Party (BNP) make significant electoral gains in specific parts of the country. Overall, the BNP gained 33 new councillors bringing their total to 48. BNP candidates were elected or polled over 25 per cent of the vote in over 100 council wards across the country. These gains built upon earlier electoral gains. The BNP polled 808,000 votes in the European elections and would have secured several MEPs and London Assembly members were it not for the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP). At the last General Election the BNP saved its deposit in 34 constituencies and made inroads within some of Labour's traditional working class communities. In

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London the BNP polled 4.9 per cent in the Assembly elections. They had averaged some 35 per cent in five council by-elections over the last two years in Barking and Dagenham. Here, in September 2004, they won their first council seat in London for 11 years.

This performance is significant not least because over the last few years there has been a sustained campaign against the BNP on the ground. At local level a new 'Popular Front' politics has been forged through anti-fascist groups and churches together with local union branches and voluntary and political groups coming together to defeat the far right.

How then are we to understand the BNP vote? This is partly accounted for by the ability of the BNP to become the depository of anti-Labour feeling in a number of wards given the limited alternatives available to vote for any other mainstream Party. Across the borough Labour stood 51 candidates, the Tories 23, UKIP 17, the BNP 13 and the Liberals 4. This psephological analysis does not account for the material forces that underpin the BNP presence in the borough.

The key forces at work relate to extraordinary demographic shifts that occur against a legacy of poverty and sustained underinvestment in public services and infrastructure. The key driver of the demographic transformation is the relatively low cost private housing market. Yet this consequence of 'the right to buy' has also heightened demand for social housing given sustained house price inflation over the last five years.

The major demographic changes are off the radar of public policy-makers who remain attached to census data that offers diminishing returns in terms of understanding the day to day realities of life in the borough. Major population changes have occurred since the census data. Yet public policy making assumes a stable – indeed slightly declining – population of 164,000 for issues of resource allocation with a static ethnic make up for every

year since 2001. As such, formal state decision making assumes a stable demography. Yet the borough retains the lowest housing costs across the whole of London and as such it has developed a magnetic pull for all those in search of such housing.

The only data set that begins to uncover the demographic shifts that every resident is aware of is year-on-year data regarding school rolls. This shows up both a rapidly growing head count but also dramatic shifts within that total. For example, between 2003 and 2005 the percentage of white children on the school roll fell by some 9.1 per cent – three quarters of this change was accounted for by black African children – as the influx of migrants radically changed the demographics of certain areas. Immigration is occurring in ever greater numbers.

One of the key factors behind the emergence of the extreme right is this breach between the formal state perception of the borough and the day to day dynamics at work within the locality. The incremental investment in public services by the state on the basis of out of date population statistics cannot begin to deal with concerns that demographic change is occurring whilst resources are becoming scarcer. Therefore, this has helped to form the perception that these changes are actually reducing the social wage. This perception could be expressed in terms of growing health inequalities, or reduced access to social housing or even declining hourly wage rates as the dynamic of migration triggers a race to the bottom of working conditions.

As such, issues of resource allocation are seen by many as issues of race - which becomes the prism through which, for example, health, housing and wage inequalities are viewed. The most acute politicisation of resources concerns housing. Yet it is considered to be driven by race rather than systematic failure to provide low rent social housing units.

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It is here that the issue of working class disenfranchisement comes into play. New Labour has quite consciously removed class as an economic or political category. It has specifically calibrated a science of political organisation – and indeed an ideology – to camp out in middle England with unarguable electoral successes.

Yet the question remains as to whether the policy mix developed to dominate a specific part of the British electoral map actually compounds problems in other communities with different histories and contemporary economic and social profiles. It is not just about social housing, although this is the most concrete manifestation of the core problem. It is about the ability of the state to anticipate and invest in the poor urban communities that take the strain of rapid demographic change. These communities are themselves the least able to navigate through such change as they retain the legacies of previous periods of political and economic failure. It is across this seam of class, race, poverty, public service inequalities and the demography of urban Britain that the question of Labour renewal might be considered when cast alongside the rise of the BNP.

The policy remedies are actually easy to identify – housing strategy, labour market reform, sustained education investment, the removal of health inequalities, use of brownfield land, a creative approach to demographic change in real time – including a regularisation of illegal migrants so as to properly quantify population growth. In many respects, although unfashionable, the remedies are often self-evident. In reality, it is an exercise in political will. Such remedies would, in turn, allow us to return to the class disenfranchisement issues contained in current present strategy and the associated triangulations of New Labour, especially regarding race.

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Conclusion

The way we have sought to neutralise negative political issues regarding race, immigration and asylum has been particularly damaging. The government has never attempted to systematically announce a clear set of principles that embrace the notion of immigration and its associated economic and social benefits. Yet at the same time it has tacitly used immigration to help forge the preferred flexible North American labour market. Especially in London, legal and illegal immigration has been central in replenishing the stock of cheap labour across the public and private services, construction, and civil engineering.

Politically, the government is then left in a terrible position. We triangulate around immigration and collude in the demonisation of the migrant whilst relying on the same people to rebuild our public and private services and make our labour markets more flexible. Immigrant labour is the axis for the domestic agenda of the government yet we fail to defend the principle of immigration and by doing so we reinforce the isolation and vulnerability of immigrants. We aid the process of stigmatising the most vulnerable as the whole political centre of gravity moves to the right on matters of race.

The wages of many of my constituents are in decline. House prices appear to rise inexorably upwards, whilst thousands seek nonexistent new social housing. Public service improvements fail to match localised population expansion let alone the long term legacy of underinvestment. At work their terms and conditions are under threat as they compete for jobs with cheap immigrant labour. In terms of access to housing and public services and their position in the workplace, many see immigration as a central determinant in their own relative impoverishment. This remains

unchallenged whilst the media and political classes help demonise the immigrant.

Those communities that must accommodate the new immigrant communities are the ones least equipped to do so. They themselves have the most limited opportunities for economic and social mobility. Yet they remain disenfranchised due to the political imperatives of middle England whilst political elites ramp up tensions in these very communities due to the way they triangulate around race.

It is this mixture of class poverty and race, together with policy issues around housing, public services and the labour market which has created such a rich seam for the BNP in many parts of the UK, especially when we see a national debate around race and immigration that heightens tensions in our community.

To date, the debate around migration has been fundamentally dishonest in that it has tended to discuss the issues through a focus on the relative strength of the government's immigration policy, rather than the actual material conditions experienced by both the migrant and the community within which he or she comes to reside. A renewed focus on the material conditions within these communities would hopefully provide a more robust policy platform from which to manage population flows.

The Challenge of Multiculturalism for the Centre-Left

Jürgen Krönig

Introduction

In Europe and America, parties of the centre-left have been on a steep learning curve over the last ten to fifteen years. They have had to accept some difficult lessons. More often than not this has been a painful process. Dearly held convictions were challenged: about the welfare state, about the appropriate response to crime, about family breakdown and the causes of social exclusion. Progressives have had to accept some bitter truths, not least about the ambiguity of human nature.

To this day, many on the left still prefer to hold on to their belief in Rousseau's "noble savage", despite all the evidence to the contrary. In the mid-nineties, the remark of a leading Labour politician that there should be an end "to the paternalistic, well-meaning acceptance of low-level crime, vandalism and anti-social behaviour" was met inside the party with unease, if not open resistance. Eventually this approach won the day and led to the slogan "tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime", but it still proved to be controversial because of the first part of the sentence. Though it could not be denied that it was, and still is, foremost the clientele of social-democratic parties – the core supporters of parties of the left – that have suffered and continue to suffer the consequences of crime and various forms of antisocial behaviour. They understandably felt excluded and turned their back on their parties. They demanded tougher laws here and now and preferred not to wait for the time when the 'perfect society' had been achieved – if that is actually possible at all.

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For many on the left, politically socialised in the sixties and seventies, this more realistic attitude was difficult enough to swallow. But the need for revisionism did not stop there. New Labour and its German equivalent, *Die neue Mitte*, as the reformed and modernised Social Democratic Party called itself at the end of the nineties, also had to accept that the welfare state can create perverse incentives. Moreover, in the words of a former Labour Minister for welfare reform, overdue and unavoidable reforms of the welfare state could only succeed, if based on the realistic assumption that the “driving force of human nature is self-interest, not altruism”.

Now parties of the left are faced with a new challenge which turns out to be at least as difficult and painful to deal with as previous ones: the challenge of mass immigration in combination with the tensions inherent to multi-ethnic, multi-religious and multi-cultural societies across Europe. Added to this list is an even more difficult task: how to respond to the rise of totalitarian Islam and its influence especially among young Muslims, who grew up in the European Diaspora, who are much more radical than the older generation, as research has shown, and who are, to quite a worrying extent, willing to use terror and violence.

Together, these challenges demand an even harder look at policies hitherto used and a readiness to discard them if they are found wanting. Recent seminars, organised by *Policy Network* and the *Friedrich Ebert Foundation*, asked how centre-left parties should react to the competition of right-wing populists. Some participants, quite rightly in my opinion, have argued that it is too early to concentrate on this question and take political action. Instead, they highlighted first and foremost the importance of concentrating on a frank, fearless debate.

Responses of the centre-left: the need to move on

Such a debate must indeed be the first priority. Without an honest discussion about the problems our societies are facing and the response necessary, no convincing action can be taken. Most policies of the seventies and eighties are not suitable any longer for the task. Many of the old recipes have proven to be outright wrong or at least completely unhelpful. As Dieter Wiefelspütz put it, “social democrats lost the ability to combine tradition and modernity”. René Cuperus speaks of the “cultural and spiritual crisis” of European societies. The “magic of the post-war period” had vanished, given way to “joyless growth, insecurity and the rise of religion”, creating a new crisis, that is pitching “the higher educated against the lower educated”, while everything is seen through the distorting prism of the ever more “hectic media democracy.” In addition to this, it seems clear that what is urgently required is, as John Denham, Chairman of the House of Commons Select Committee for Home Affairs emphasised, “a new, modern identity for the traditional white working class”, exposed to the “pornography of permanent change” (Cuperus).

It is still hotly debated among the centre-left how these interconnected problems are to be addressed and the centre-left parties across Europe are far from reaching a consensus. Take immigration and integration. Parties of the centre-left have different experiences. Some are not fully prepared to accept the extent to which multiculturalism has failed. Of course, this will remain a controversial point.

Ideology vs. reality: the paradox of multiculturalism

However, it is worth clarifying the different uses of the term ‘multicultural’. Mass immigration across Europe has undoubtedly given rise to many positive examples of minorities living in harmony with their host society. Furthermore, there are ethnic minorities who have adapted well into Western societies, Indians and the Chinese for instance, without losing their own, distinct identities; they contribute to the diversity politicians are keen to celebrate. The majority of people are happy enough to get on with others, regardless of the colour of their skin or their religion. Yet most people, apart from cosmopolitan liberals, do not see any reason to celebrate differences of culture or race. What can and must be expected is tolerance and individual friendships.

What has failed is the ‘ideology of multiculturalism’. This should not be misconstrued as a rejection of a multicultural society itself. It is a reality, with many positive features. And it is here to stay anyway regardless of such discourse. Sometimes this vital difference between welcoming a multicultural society – or perhaps more accurately ‘multi-ethnic’ or ‘multi-religious’ – but rejecting the ‘ideology of multiculturalism’ is being confused, perhaps deliberately so, in order to defend the failed ideology itself. Rejecting multiculturalism has nothing whatsoever to do with denying that we are living in multicultural societies.

Yet across Europe it seems clear that multiculturalism has not only failed in its proclaimed aim to create a harmonious, more integrated society; in fact it turned out to have had exactly the opposite effect. By emphasising, and even underpinning, differences between different communities, it helped, in the name of diversity, to create an ever more deeply divided society. The great experiment of multiculturalism damaged society as a whole; it emphasised separate identities; it opposed the idea that there

should be an overarching national identity based on the culture of the host society, which it nevertheless regarded with hostility, pursuing some cosmopolitan dream of a ‘universal culture’ that might render national cultures obsolete; it refused to see the danger of fragmentation and ignored, if not outright rejected, the need for common values.

As Trevor Phillips, Chairman of the Commission for Racial Equality in Britain, warned back in 2005, multiculturalism is responsible for having created a dangerous situation. We are, he said, “sleepwalking” towards a separated, ghettoised society. Multiculturalism as an ideology might have been born out of good intentions, but during its ascendancy through European countries a mixture of other motives soon began to gain influence: postcolonial guilt, cultural relativism and a misplaced sense of respect for cultural and religious differences. At the end of this process we are confronted with what David Goodhart, Editor of *Prospect*, calls a “self-inflicted” wound. Goodhart rightly emphasises the need for an “overarching national story”, something the left leaning liberal elites have forgotten, and suggests “re-legitimising” the idea of the nation state and defining new civic rights.

Multiculturalism allowed another trend to flourish and remain unchecked for a long time: possible tensions between ethnic minorities and virulent racism. These tensions are rarely mentioned in our societies, even though Britain and other European are affected by it to quite an extent: Pakistanis against Indians, West Africans against Somalis to name but a few examples. Hostile feelings between these groups are quite often aggressively expressed and can, as various disturbances in recent years showed, quickly lead to an outbreak of violent inter-ethnic riots. It has been, out of reasons of political correctness, rarely mentioned in the media or by politicians.

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It is telling that members of the immigrant communities themselves are the ones who dare to speak out and mention the inconvenient facts. Archbishop John Sentanam warned that social cohesion between communities could only be achieved if the “failed strategy of endlessly talking about diversity” was ended. Darcus Howe, an immigrant from the Caribbean, was one of the few who dared to show the extent of hatred and antagonism between different ethnic minorities in a television series for Channel 4. He remarked, that the “multicultural establishment” and the “race relations industry” – human rights lawyers, politicians and most of the media – still prefer to talk about “white racism”, ignoring the existence of a quite vicious inter-ethnic racism.

The common European dilemma

There is one dilemma most European countries share, namely the successful integration of their Muslim minority. Whatever path was chosen, multiculturalism or assimilation, European societies appeared to fail in their aim to integrate immigrants coming from the Islamic world. To a varying degree, this is the case in Britain as well as the Netherlands, Germany and Sweden. At the same time, the example of France, with its pursuit of colour-blind assimilation, assuming that there was no need for some form of extra help or ‘positive discrimination’ for a transitional period, was similarly unsuccessful.

Muslim immigration will be the biggest of all the challenges facing Europe for a long time to come. It may take twenty years or more. Modern liberal democracies rightly demand tolerance for different religious beliefs and convictions. At its core is the idea that individual freedom should prevail and that the state does not have the right to curtail one’s liberty. However, multiculturalism created

a new problem: the right to individual freedom is in conflict with the rights of groups of people to uphold their religious traditions. As Francis Fukuyama wrote, “too much authority was ceded to cultural communities to define rules of behaviour for their own members”.

But liberal democracy cannot be based on the right of groups, because not all of them uphold liberal values, and, as in the case of Islamists and conservative Muslim groups, openly reject the principle values of liberal democracy, if they are not actively trying to destroy them.

The awkward, extremely difficult debate about Muslim integration is accompanied by a disturbing phenomenon, widespread among the hard left, many left leaning liberals, and the *bien pensants*: the spread of the culture of western self-hatred, that expressed itself in an alliance between various hard left splinter groups and totalitarian Islamists, George Galloway’s Respect Party and the Trotskyite Socialists Workers Party, who both allied themselves with totalitarian Islamism because they see it as the only credible ‘revolutionary’ force that is able to bring down their hated enemies, capitalism and liberal democracy.

Even beyond this extreme fringe, mainly in cultural and media institutions of the West, you can find the view that our civilisation, and the political and economic system it instituted, is guilty, oppressive, not worth defending. Therefore integration into such a system is not considered valuable by immigrants. From there follows the conclusion, that the last thing we should do is try to impose values and rules of our liberal democracy on people from other cultures and communities, who want to stay here and live in our countries.

The internal conflict of the West

Here, fault lines of a deeper, internal Western conflict become visible, a conflict that is an integral part of the present culture wars about identity and religion. This conflict threatens to become ever fiercer in future. Cultural dispute will dominate the political debates in Europe for the foreseeable future and will be a decisive factor in determining the outcome of elections. These cultural disputes are, after the external threat of communism has faded into the background, about a new definition of Western civilisation. For a while we assumed that whatever happened, the new definition would be our decision alone and not imposed on us from the outside. After a brief pause, in the wake of the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the conflict resumed with a vengeance, producing not only a new, dangerous challenge from outside in the form of Islamism, but intensifying at the same time the battle fought within.

This internal conflict of the Western world has always been with us. Samuel T. Karnick writes in his essay “The two streams of Western Civilisation”, that Western history contains the record of intellectual turbulences created and sustained by two currents, based on two opposing views of the human condition. One sees humanity’s immutable limits, restraining itself to limited attempts to deal with it, where as the opposite view sees humanity “as requiring and able to accommodate a transformation to make us fit a rational social system, devised to solve all our problems”. The Western world has always vacillated between the two, with one stream sometimes sweeping history in its direction and sometimes the other predominating.

The frontline of this philosophical conflict is running right through the left too. Progressives tend to instinctively share the aims and hopes of the second current; but they should be wary and never

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venture too much in the direction of ‘transformation’. Centre-left parties should not forget the catastrophic disasters of communism and other ideologies espousing the perfection of human nature. The wish to create a better, fairer society should always be tempered by realism and the knowledge that every previous attempt to bring about paradise on earth has ended in disaster.

Furthermore, the centre-left parties have to be prepared to admit past mistakes and learn from them. Jan Larsen, a former minister of the social democratic government in Sweden, admitted that his party’s accusation that the opposition party’s demands for immigrants to learn and speak Swedish were “racist” had contributed to their own election defeat. It was in his opinion a “stupid” mistake. Furthermore, to denounce everybody as “right-wing extremist” who disagreed with multiculturalism, was despicable; he called it “shameful left-wing populism”. This example illustrates how important it is to free parties of the centre left of the hold, multiculturalism and political correctness had over them in recent decades.

Lessons not learnt

This hold was responsible for far-reaching policy mistakes, and our societies now have to deal with the fallout. The left cannot rely on the excuse that it has not been warned, as a shameful episode in Bradford during the 1980s illustrates. Ray Honeyford, head teacher at a local school in an immigrant area of the city, was smeared as a racist, shouted down and eventually driven out of his job by a concerted campaign, organised by the trade unions, members of the Labour party and the media. What had he done to attract such vicious condemnation?

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Honeyford had argued in an article that the Muslim minority of Bradford's population – 20 per cent at that time, now near 45 per cent – needed, for their own sake and for Britain's, to be fully integrated into British society. If their children were to participate in the nation's life, they needed a good education that stressed the primacy of the English language, along with British culture, history and traditions. He criticised local authorities for allowing Muslim children to be taken off school for months, sometimes for years, to be sent to madrassas in Pakistan, and drew attention to the widespread practice of arranged marriages that helped to increase separation even further; Honeyford was also one of the first to draw attention to the plight of a new, mostly ignored minority in some British cities – the children of the white working class, who were taught in schools, where 90 per cent of pupils did not speak English at all. Most other head teachers in Bradford privately agreed with him. Muslim shopkeepers in the area did so too, but nobody dared to come out and defend him publicly. The shopkeepers feared for their business and safety. Everybody bowed to the pernicious influence of multiculturalism and the demands of politically correct discourse.

Today, a good twenty years later, similar views are beginning to be accepted as common sense. But when a Labour minister announced the plan to introduce English tests for immigrants five years ago, this demand was greeted in some quarters with the accusation of "racism". Just recently, the President of the National Teachers Union said in a speech that teaching 'Britishness' in British schools would fuel racism. The response from the Secretary of State and his officials was refreshingly direct: they did not, as would have been the case not long ago, obfuscate; they called this accusation "nonsense".

The Bradford episode is an example which stands for many mistakes and errors made in the past decades. Not only does it

highlight a chapter of the left's past that it cannot be proud of. It illuminates the dangers of not saying how things really are, of not calling "a spade a spade", to use an English phrase, and in doing so, risk alienating their traditional supporters. Fallacies and errors of the past need to be corrected because it is right and necessary to do so. But there is an additional reason for a change of strategy that should make it easier to convince those on the left who are hesitating: self-interest. Parts of the left do not want to let go of a multiculturalism that gives them the pleasant feeling of moral superiority. Yet if parties of the left don't change their course, they may lose their ability to win majorities and govern for the foreseeable future.

The challenge for New Labour

In Britain, the Labour government was for a long time in a state of denial too, avoiding, for instance, tough action against preachers of hate or extremist organisations. In the last six months or so, the British government has dramatically changed course. It decided to back a proposed law against enforced marriages. Tony Blair called the veil a "symbol of separation" and demanded the acceptance of democratic rules and "our values" – "or else don't come". The police and the courts took action against Muslims, who so far seemed to be able to call for mass murder and justify terrorist atrocities without having to fear any legal consequences. The funding of the Muslim Council of Britain also was ceased; money will go instead to Muslim organisations, among them the newly founded Sufi Council, who are seriously trying to do something against the radicalisation of young Muslims.

The reason for this change is simple. New Labour in Britain wants to avoid the fate of the Australian Labor government under

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Prime Minister Paul Keating, which holds a valuable lesson for other centre left parties in Europe too. Keating's strategy was similar to the one New Labour pursued: He combined the economics of the right – free markets, deregulation, privatisation and a steady flow of immigration – with the policies reflecting the cultural and social trends of the left. As John Lloyd pointed out, according to astute Australian observers this proved to be a “deadly combination”. Labor, despite being economically successful, with steady growth, low inflation and despite growing prosperity, lost the last three elections against John Howard's Liberal Party. The Australian Labor Party was swept from power by a shift in public opinion, which was associated with with identity, nation and security.

There are signs in Britain and elsewhere in Europe that this course of recent history might repeat itself. It could be a similar combination of resentments and fears that will work against the centre-left. Sweden's Social Democrats got a foretaste of it. The Dutch Labour party, despite being back in power, had limited success at the last election. One factor which seems to come into the equation is the relentless pace of immigration, equally applauded by business, because it keeps wages down and provides the desperately needed workforce, and left leaning liberals, because it fits into their vision of a universal, cosmopolitan culture.

However, it is far less appealing to the wider working class and especially semi-skilled workers on lower wages. They are worried not only about the extent of immigration, which shows no sign of slowing down; they are feeling the pressure on wages, benefits and the distribution of social housing, real or assumed. Add to this the growing number of people, as indicated by opinion polls, who are irritated, fearful and angry about Islamists and Muslim extremists and pushing permanently for new rights and privileges, who demand censorship, the introduction of the Sharia in parts of the law and do everything to extend Islamic influence in the liberal

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democracies they despise and threaten with violence. If a minority behaves as confident and aggressive, what will it be in a time when the population balance has shifted more into their favour?

In some European countries, extreme right-wing parties might profit from a voter revolt that might erupt if a new terrorist atrocity happens in Europe. In others countries, such as Britain and Germany, the Conservatives will be well positioned to gain from such a shift in the collective mood. The parties of the centre left must decide how to respond quickly and decisively.



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This book argues for renewed debate among the European centre-left on issues of immigration and integration, including multiculturalism, citizenship, identity and the cause of rising populism. It challenges traditional stances on immigration by acknowledging past mistakes and promotes a new approach to managing contemporary trends. The contributors make a fresh case for progressive parties to address popular concerns, while defining effective integration policies and better communicating the benefits that migrants bring to our economy and society as a whole.

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