

Integration of migrants: towards effective integration policies

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1. Introduction

Immigration and integration have become important issues in policy debates and especially during election times across a number of countries in Western Europe. In some Northwest European countries the debate is mainly concerning *international* migration and integration issues regarding especially migrants from Moroccan, Turkish or Algerian origin. In countries such as Turkey and Morocco itself the current integration debate is more focused on *rural-urban* migration and the problems stemming from huge rural migration into large cities. The debate about immigration and integration is not always very rational in some of the European countries (especially during election time!) and often focused on specific problems regarding employment, crime or housing of specific segments of the muslim minorities. The interesting thing is that also sometimes similar issues are found within Turkey regarding the integration of the former rural population in the urban areas. Often popular sentiments and fear tend to dominate the discussion regarding international migration in some of these European countries. In this article I will plea that rational policy evaluation and impact assessment of immigration and integration policies can help to bring the policy debate to a higher and more rational level and could improve policy making in these fields.

This article starts explaining some policy concepts and will focus especially on the recent introductory programmes for immigrants such as implemented in the Netherlands, UK and Denmark. It will then describe a policy evaluation undertaken for the Dutch introductory citizenship programme for immigrants ('inburgering'). The article will show that policy evaluation is possible and presents a measurement tool for assessing costs and impacts (benefits) of integration policies. Finally, some lessons will be drawn, both for the integration policies for international immigrants in Western Europe and for rural-urban migration in the perspective of regional and social development in Turkey.

2. How to define immigration and integration policies?

International migration is a very long trend of movement of people from certain regions in the world to other nations. Already in the middle ages quite substantial immigration to the Netherlands took place for example from Scandinavia. In the history of Turkey vast migration took place from central and eastern Asia towards the plains of Anatolia and further West. In this context immigration is nothing new! However, the migration to the Netherlands of people from Turkey and Morocco is more recent and stems mainly from the sixties when there was a large need for workers. Whereas in history, climate change, disasters and hunger were important motives for long distance migration, nowadays economic reasons and political asylum requests are important motives for migration (also due to more strict immigration policies in many developed countries).

The concept of rural-urban migration is also not new in many countries, but is more recent such an important phenomenon in developing countries such as Turkey (since the seventies or eighties). The economic rise of cities offers attractive pull factors for people working in low paid agricultural and rural activities.

While rural-urban migration within countries such as Turkey is in principle different from international migration, some integration issues are quite similar: high unemployment among the migrants (compared to original natives from the receiving region), lagging educational performance, language problems and illiteracy compared to the original city population. Moreover, the immigration to cities can result in social, housing and utility and infrastructural challenges for the migrant receiving municipalities. In the table below an overview of the magnitude of rural-urban migration is presented for Turkey. As can be seen in about 80 years the share of the urban population increased from a quarter to almost three quarters of the population in Turkey in 2009.

Table 1: Share of rural and urban areas in total population and annual rates of population increase in Turkey, 1927-2009

Years	Total Population (1000)	Share of Rural Population (%)	Annual rate of increase (%)	Share of Urban Population (%)	Annual rate of increase (%)
1927	13,648	75.8	2.22	24.2	-
1935	16,158	76.5	1.73	23.5	1.75
1940	17,821	75.6	0.91	24.4	2.67
1945	18,790	75.1	2.14	24.9	1.51
1950	20,947	75.0	1.74	25.0	2.24
1955	24,065	71.2	1.95	28.8	5.56
1960	27,755	68.1	1.71	31.9	4.92
1965	31,391	65.6	1.25	34.4	3.97
1970	35,605	61.5	1.37	38.5	4.73
1975	40,348	58.2	1.32	41.8	4.17
1980	44,737	56.1	-1.05	43.9	3.04
1985	50,664	47.0	-0.55	53.0	6.26
1990	56,473	41.0	-	59.0	4.31
2000	67,844	35.0		65.0	-
2009	72,561	31.0*		69.0*	

Source: DPT 2000 and Turkstat. * own estimation for 2009.

Data sources in Turkey on the socio-economic situation of the rural-urban migrants are scarce. There is an interesting article from Zafer Gurler et al (2007) which provides insights in the characteristics of a group of migrants from Tokat based on a survey. From this survey it becomes clear that pull factors (mainly employment opportunities) from the cities are the most important motive for migration. Furthermore, the migrants are faced with high unemployment, low education levels and problems with integration in the urban life.

In the Netherlands the socio-economic situation of the people with an ethnic origin is still worse than the performance of the natives on many respects, although improving over the years. Whereas the unemployment of minorities with an ethnic background was 20% in 1997 (compared to natives of 5%), in 2007 the unemployment is reduced to 10% compared to unemployment of natives of 4%. Also the educational level and scores are lower of the ethnic minorities, but the situation of the second generation is more favorable than the original (first generation) migrants. In the table below some key figures from the yearly report on integration of Dutch Statistics (CBS, 2008) are presented.

Table 2 Population and socio-economic situation of minorities with ethnic background in Netherlands, 2007

	Population (*1000)	%	Unemployment (%)	Graduation VWO lyceum %
Total	16405,4	100%	4%	92
Turks	372,7	2,3%	9%	79
Maroccans	335,1	2,0%	11%	79
Surinam	335,8	2,1%	8%	82
Antillian/Aruban	131,8	0,8%	10%	93
Other	590,2	3,6%	12%	86
Native Dutch	13190,0	80,4%	4%	93

Source; Year report Integration 2008 (CBS)

Integration policies aim to tackle these problems. According to the European Council integration is a 'two-way process'. This process is about the mutual rights and corresponding obligations of immigrants *and the receiving society*.¹ Integration policies aim to generate equal rights, clear obligations, opportunities and outcomes where migrants (or people with a foreign background) could obtain an equal status and results (eg. in education, labour market) compared to those born in the country or region (the natives). Acknowledgement of diversity and cultural rights and differences is an important element of this process. Integration covers a variety of policy fields such as education and labour market integration, access to public services (ie. education, housing and health care), access to social security, anti-discrimination policies etcetera. Social inclusion and political participation are other important domains of integration policies. Because of the wide variety of policy fields involved, *mainstreaming* of integration policies in these fields is the key word (see for example the Swedish integration policy for the 21st century).

3. Quite some policies implemented, but hardly any real evaluations or impact assessments undertaken...

Since the nineties integration of migrants became a more important topic in policies in a variety of countries in Western Europe. This was also due to the fact that the often neglected problems of migrants and the native population since the sixties and seventies needed serious attention. The political discourse also created this necessity. Apart from stricter immigration policies, many

¹ Council Conclusions of 4/5 November 2004, annex I; see also COM(2003) 336 final, COM(2005) 389 final.

countries such as the Netherlands, UK, Denmark, Sweden etc started with introductory programmes for migrants with language courses and citizenship concepts. Below a short overview is presented of some integration policies in several countries.

In *Sweden* mainstreaming of integration policies is undertaken in a variety of policy areas. Important actions are: supplementary training for people with foreign qualifications, improving Swedish language education and adult education, stimulation of multicultural activities, public health, national action plan to counter racism, xenophobia and discrimination, measures for gender equality and girls at risk.

In *Denmark* the Ministry for Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs invests a significant amount in integration efforts. Important elements of the approach consist of flexible labour market measures with a special focus on immigrants and mentoring programmes. It includes funds for special projects for ethnic minorities and removal of barriers to the employment of immigrants and refugees, grants for on the job related courses in Danish, urban policy initiatives and cash assistance to youngsters conditional on educational participation. Moreover, municipalities have to activate all recipients of cash benefits who have not been activated in the previous year. Under the 2004 Integration Act municipalities are obliged to offer newly arrived immigrants an introduction programme with language courses and labour market integration measures lasting 3 years! These programmes are far more extensive than the introductory courses in the Netherlands or UK.

Integration policies in *Germany* are more and more regionally differentiated. The reason is that the situation regarding immigration and integration varies quite substantially between the regions in Germany. Depending on the problems and structure of the immigrants and cities, larger cities in Germany offer different sets of policies in urban development, education and labour market measures. Interesting to mention is the case of Stuttgart (see also Focus Migration, Policy brief May 2008). This region offers a set of measures in the fields of: language and education support to migrants and parents, language support in pre-school education of children, living and neighbourhood support, integration in the workplace, interreligious dialogue, political participation etc.

From the *UK* it is interesting to note a more community based bottom up partnership approach to integration of especially migrants from South, Central and Eastern Europe. In districts such as West Lancashire District or West Wiltshire District a community oriented approach was implemented. The concept consists of practical welcome information packages and information and problem discussion meetings for newcomers, involving local players (district councils, employers) and accommodation support. In the approach a number of regional agencies (such as local authorities, regional development agencies, citizen groups etc) are involved and mainstream integration policies in their activities.

The citizenship courses in the Netherlands

Some years ago the integration scheme in the Netherlands has been changed. Since the migration of huge number of labour migrants to the Netherlands in the sixties there were no systematic integration policies. This changed only since the nineties mainly due to the political debate. The parliament adopted some years ago two laws: the "integration abroad law" (WIB) and the "integration law" (WI). The purpose of these new laws is to integrate minorities in the Netherlands

by requiring them to attain a certain level of knowledge of the Dutch language, history and society characteristics. Municipalities implement the integration law and provide so called citizenship courses to the residents with a foreign background. In principle all persons with a foreign background are called, but the programmes are not obligatory.

Regarding the integration abroad law, the obligations are much more stringent. Migrants that wish to apply for a residence permit (visum) to the Netherlands must firstly in the country of origin complete the citizenship exam successfully. If they do not succeed this exam, then they do not obtain permission to reside in the Netherlands.

4. Why evaluation of immigration and integration policies could be useful?

As can be seen since the nineties a number of integration policies have started in a variety of countries. These policies require substantial resources (finance, implementing staff, time of participants etc.). However we hardly know the effects or benefits of these policies and if the costs are out weighted by benefits. Moreover, there is the question if we could formulate the policies in a more effective and more efficient way (alternative policies). In order to derive lessons from the initiatives and from other countries evaluations can be very useful for better policy formulation.

For example questions are relevant such as: should we have a stricter immigration policy or less stringent policy? Should we have more flexible immigration policies depending on the target group? What about international coordination in immigration and integration policies? What are the benefits and costs of these policies and for whom? Answering these questions could provide useful information for policy formulation and could rationalize the present 'emotional' political debate about immigration and integration policies in Europe.

Recently the citizenship courses have been evaluated for the city of The Hague by the audit authority (rekenkamer) of de municipality of The Hague. Important outcomes of this evaluation are that the language education level of courses is evaluated by the participants as poor and not well targeted at the (different) levels of the participants. About 30% of the people who receive a call do not show up in the courses. Only 9% of the participants graduate and the evaluators find limited effects on the probability to find a job.

5. Can we measure the impacts of integration policies?

However, integration policies could result in a broader range of impacts than those mentioned on language and employment. In this regard it is worth mentioning the 'Migrant Integration Policy Index' (MIPEX) as developed by a consortium of 25 organisations and led by the British Council and Migration Policy Group. The MIPEX is a set of indicators which aims to measure in an objective way the participation of migrants in European societies. The indicator set covers the following policy domain influenced by integration policies: labour market access, family reunion, long term residence, political participation, access to nationality and anti discrimination. This set of indicators is mainly used to compare and monitor in time the situation regarding integration in EU countries.

The shortcoming of MIPEX is that it lacks a sound connection with a theoretical framework in which the needs or capabilities of individuals are central and that it is not developed for impact assessment (or evaluation of policies). In the end integration policies aim to improve the opportunities of the migrants and not so much of policy fields by itself. The scope of potential effects of integration in society is wide, including the improvements in the very fabric of society itself (social benefits).

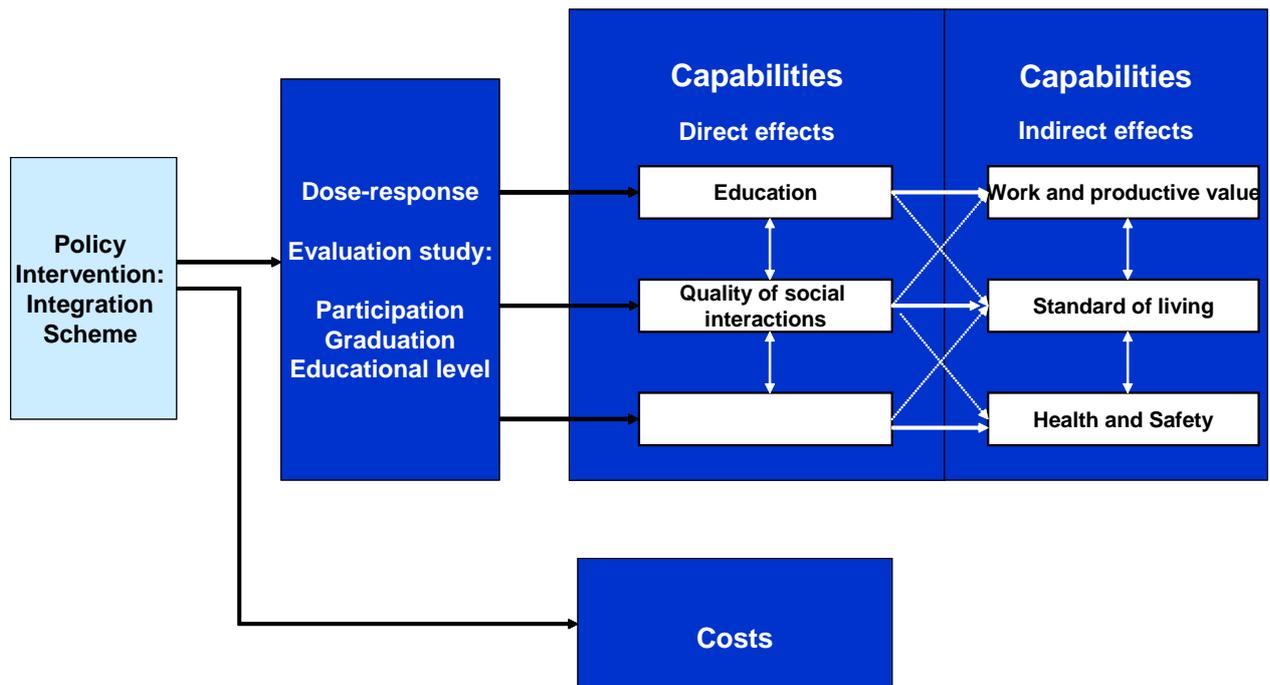
Therefore, we propose a broader framework for impact assessment, namely the so called 'capability approach' as developed by Amartya Sen (Sen, 1999). This approach is related to the holistic paradigm of human development and is developed for UNDP and widely used in development economics. Core idea is that the quality of life that people can reach depends, according to Sen and Nussbaum, on the capabilities (or opportunities) that they can use for development or attain. Sen defines nine main capabilities relevant for human development. These are: health, safety, education, standard of living, productive and valued activities, quality of social interactions, environment, culture and entertainment and basic rights. The advantage of these capabilities is that they offer a *comprehensive* and *complete* framework for impact assessment related to human development of individuals. Canoy et al. (2008) and later van Bork and Canoy (2009) have developed this approach into more operational indicators for measuring the impacts of social policies.

For integration policies the following capabilities are relevant for impact assessment or evaluation of integration policies:

- 1) *Health and longevity*: to be measured by age, QALY's and no. of diseases of the direct target group;
- 2) *Safety*: crime figures etc;
- 3) *Education*: educational scores of target group/migrants etc;
- 4) *Standard of living*: income before and after integration policies or before and after migration;
- 5) *Productive and valued activities*: employment, job satisfaction, social status;
- 6) *Quality of social interactions*: social participation in terms of memberships, visits and political participation (representation in politics and membership political parties)
- 7) *Human rights*: anti discrimination, equality and the right to move or migrate).

The direct (immediate) effects of integration policies are mainly on educational performance of the target group, productive and valued activities (employment and work satisfaction) and the quality of social interactions (social participation in society). Because of these immediate effects indirect impacts on health, safety and standard of living can be obtained. For example migrants that have followed a successful integration course are in principle more likely to get a job (direct effect) as a result of which they probably will be more wealthy and healthy and less likely to be criminal. The integration abroad law also has negative impacts: migrants who do not pass the exams are restricted to migrate and cannot improve their situation (in terms of standard of living or other factors). This second law should for that reason not only be considered as an integration policy but also as an immigration policy with negative social impacts for the migrants themselves.

In principle the effects of policies on these indicators could be measured by either performing evaluation surveys or comparing a test group (with policy intervention) with a control group (without integration course). These causal impact relationships are presented below.



The framework implies that in principle the effectiveness and efficiency of immigration and integration policies could be evaluated. However, quite some research has to be undertaken. Especially dose response ex-post evaluation studies (surveys etc) or comparison of intervention groups with a control group would be necessary to really quantify the impacts for the target groups. Besides for measurement of indirect impacts literature and indirect ex-post measurements of impacts would be needed.

6. What does this imply for integration policies in the Netherlands?

First of all, the framework for evaluation or impact assessment of integration policies provides policymakers a tool for policy monitoring and improvement. Secondly, the evaluation by the audit institution of The Hague shows that at least for the domains education and work the existing citizenship (language and society) courses are not very effective. This has several reasons. The first is that the courses are not obligatory and not well targeted to the start educational level of participants. The second reason is that the language courses are at a very basic level, not enough for normal job requirements to write decent letters etcetera. Moreover, even if the language level improvement would be more substantial, the effects will be limited for employment, because language is only one of several factors relevant for employability. Motivation, other skills and non discrimination of the employers are at least as important for the success of minorities on the labour market.

The international integration initiatives offer some interesting lessons for the Dutch policies. First of all integration policies should be integrated (mainstreamed) in all relevant policy domains.

Educational courses are only a very limited part of the story. From the Danish and German integration policies it can be concluded that labour market integration measures, incentives and anti discrimination policies are important other components of good integration policies. Secondly the citizenship courses could be improved in the following ways:

- A more obligatory approach (up to a certain age, for people of 60 years and older an obligation might be less feasible and political justifiable)
- Approach, intake en selection of participants could be improved: target the courses to the level of the participants (in order to avoid that illiterate people are in the same group as high educated people!).
- Follow up courses after the introductory course could be effective for some groups,
- The quality of the language courses has to be higher (according to the survey of audit chamber of The Hague, zie Rekenkamer Den Haag (2009)),
- Add labour market reintegration measures (coaching, traineeships, vocational training etc) and anti discrimination policies (especially targeted at the employers)
- Monitor and evaluate the performance of municipalities, private providers and participants
- Incentives: contributions in the price of courses, total cost payment in case of no show or providing vouchers for language courses, etcetera.

7. What does this all imply for integration policies in Turkey?

Although the concept of rural-urban migration is in principle different compared to international migration (as was described before) some characteristics of the problems are quite similar. The problems of migrants regarding unemployment, skills and educational performance and standard of living are quite comparable (although the magnitude of migration or specific problems will be different). The rural-urban migration in Turkey has a substantial different magnitude compared to international migration. Just to give an example: every day about 3000-4000 migrants enter Istanbul from other parts of Turkey. For this reason (and some other reasons) the urban problems for receiving cities in terms of (illegal) housing construction, spatial planning, utility and infrastructure needs etc. are completely different in scale and scope, because the international migration figures are much lower (also relative to the existing population).

Still there are some important implications of the international practices and existing evaluations for integration policies in Turkey targeted at the rural migrants to cities. Possible policy implications and recommendations for local authorities are:

- It is important that Turkish cities receiving substantial amounts of migrants develop and integrate integration policies in their regular policies;
- Integration policies of municipalities could cover a wide range of policy fields: welcome packages, introductory courses in urban society and services, housing&spatial planning policies, labour market integration services and vocation and educational trainings projects (by ISKUR);
- Specialized services provision to the newcomers: introduction & welcoming brochures, health and housing information (eg. see the UK policies);

- Entrepreneurship support (as many rural-urban migrants start a business in the informal sector such as small scale restaurants, shops etc);
- Information to potential migrants in rural areas to avoid misconceptions and disappointment;

8. Conclusions and recommendations

In this chapter some similarities between international migration and rural-urban migration have been described from the perspective of receiving society problems and integration issues. Both types of migrants have problems regarding social integration (inclusion) in a variety of fields such as labour market, education, social & cultural exchange and political participation. From the analysis in this chapter several conclusions can be derived:

- 1) *Migration and integration of migrants is both relevant for international migration, but as well relevant for rural-urban migration in Turkey.* Newcomers often lack skills, education and have difficulties to find jobs and integrate socially in the new place of living. Integration policies in a wide range of areas (education, labour market, health, cultural issues etc) can play an important role to improve the position of these groups.
- 2) *The international practices in integration policies show some interesting approaches.* From the Swedish approach the mainstreaming in all relevant policy domains seems useful. In Germany more regionally oriented integration policy concepts are recently developed by some large cities. The UK community based approach and welcome packages for newcomers could be interesting for Turkish communities in the large cities receiving migrants. Mentoring, individual coaching and cash assistance for migrants are interesting concepts from Denmark.
- 3) *Policy evaluation with impact assessment of immigration and integration policies could help to gain insight in the effectiveness and efficiency of policy measures.* In the article a framework for impact assessment of social policies is developed based on the human development approach of Sen and UNDP. The impact assessments should cover all factors relevant for well-being of migrants and others in society and should not limit itself only to employment and income effects. Impact assessments of social and integration policies could help to rationalize the debate on immigration and integration.
- 4) *Dutch citizenship programmes consisting of language and society courses for newcomers and people with a foreign origin do not seem to be very effective based upon recent evaluations.* The graduation success rate is low and effects on language skills and employability of the target groups are limited.

The findings lead to some recommendations. First of all the recommendations relevant for stakeholders in Turkey are mentioned. Finally some remarks might be relevant for the Dutch policymakers.

- 1) The Turkish government and local authorities could develop more systematic integration policies for rural-urban migrants on the basis of experience in other countries.
- 2) Policy evaluation and impact assessment could be stimulated both regarding immigration policies and integration policies.

- 3) The Dutch citizenship programmes should be reviewed based on the recently published evaluations. Important elements for improvement are more specific targeted higher quality courses, provision of incentives for participants to participate and graduate and linking the courses clearly to labour market integration and job placement measures.

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