RUNNYMEDE

What Works With Integrating New Migrants?

Lessons from International Best Practice

Zubaida Haque

About Runnymede

Runnymede is an independent policy research organization focusing on equality and justice through the promotion of a successful multi-ethnic society. Founded as a Charitable Educational Trust, Runnymede has a long track record in policy research, working in close collaboration with eminent thinkers and policy makers in the public, private and voluntary sectors. We believe that the way ahead lies in building effective partnerships, and we are continually developing these with the voluntary sector, the government, local authorities and companies in the UK and Europe. We stimulate debate and suggest forward-looking strategies in areas of public policy such as education, the criminal justice system, employment and citizenship.

Since 1968, the date of Runnymede's foundation, we have worked to establish and maintain a positive image of what it means to live affirmatively within a society that is both multi-ethnic and culturally diverse. Runnymede continues to speak with a thoughtful and independent public voice on these issues today.

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Contents

Foreword

When Michael Howard's bid for election in 2005 included the slogan 'It's not racist to talk about immigration' it caused some pause for thought among anti-racist and fairer immigration activists. There has been a historically close relationship between organizations concerned with promoting race equality and those who advocate for a fairer immigration system. Runnymede is proud of its close work over the years with organizations such as Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants (JCWI), Migrants' Rights Network, the Refugee Council, and many others. Somewhere along the line, however, we seem to have forgotten how our work supports each other and what relationship immigration policy and practice has to efforts to promote race equality.

As an increasing proportion of the Black and minority ethnic population has a more distant relationship to experiences of migration (for example only 30 per cent of Black Caribbean people in the UK are migrants) it has been argued that issues of race equality can be more readily divorced from the discussion about migration. It is understandable that there should be some attempt to establish a distance as the immigration debate continues to be highly controversial and contested. This is understandable, but not desirable. As Zubaida Haque highlights in this Runnymede Perspectives Paper, the way in which we manage immigration has a significant impact on the way in which multi-ethnic communities operate. The successful integration of migrants in particular is a key determinant in creating successful multi-ethnic communities. The extension of the immigration borders to our high streets, hospitals and schools[1] has the effect of making visible ethnic minorities more likely to be targeted by immigration officials, while resentment of migrants leads to further motivation for discrimination. Migration policy has an impact on minority ethnic Britons regardless of their own immigration status.

Some have sought to capitalize on the perceived differences in concerns of migrants and minority ethnic groups in the UK by arguing that more restrictive immigration controls would lead to a diminution in racial discrimination. Opinion polling of Black and minority ethnic people in the UK highlights that many believe that there is too much immigration and too many migrants in the UK (the Commission on Cohesion and Integration (DCLG, 2007) found that 47 per cent of Asian and 45 per cent of Black respondents believed this to be the case, compared to 70 per cent of White respondents). The Communities and Local Government Select Committee concluded in its report on community cohesion and migration (July 2008) that, 'the Government needs to take immediate action to address public concerns about migration, and to defuse tensions before they lead to disturbances'.

It is clear then that immigration policy is a race issue. Unfortunately one of the unintended consequences of changes in the machinery of government which saw responsibilities for race equality shifted to the Department of Communities and Local Government and the Government Equality Office, while immigration remained with the Home Office and UK Borders Agency, has been a narrowing of the space for immigration and race equality organizations to continue to work closely. The third sector has splintered into organizations supporting those seeking sanctuary and refugees, supporting migrants, and supporting 'settled' minority ethnic communities.

In this paper, Zubaida Haque sets out what we know about what works in integrating migrants and highlights the clear overlap between race equality and immigration concerns. Michael Howard was right to point out that it is not racist to talk about immigration; this does not mean, however, that 'race' has nothing to do with immigration, or that talk about immigration is never racist. Runnymede will continue to work in partnership with immigration-focused organizations because without a fair immigration system, we are unlikely to reach our shared aim of a successful multi-ethnic society.

Dr Rob Berkeley
Director, Runnymede
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1   Flynn, Don (2005) `New Borders, New Management: The Dilemmas of Modern Immigration Policies', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28: 463-90

Executive Summary

There has been a long term and substantial upward shift of new migrants coming to the UK (and emigrating from the UK) in the last decade. And whereas in the past, immigrants from a few countries came to stay on a permanent basis, the new migrants come from a wider range of countries and are more short-term and circular in their movements. And this rapid churn of migrants has an impact on local communities and neighbourhoods where immigration is experienced the most.

Interestingly, research shows that it is not necessarily the 'ethnic diversity' within neighbourhoods that is causing tensions (Citizenship Survey, 2006), but the rate of increase amongst new migrants – and more specifically – the lack of adequate policies and structures in place to help manage the integration (Audit Commission, 2007). And this is a major issue because whilst successful integration should entail getting the maximum benefits out of immigration it should also focus on minimizing the transitional impacts on local communities (DCLG, 2008a).

This report focuses on what type of interventions work in integrating new migrants into new societies. It looks at international lessons, drawing from best practice examples in countries across Europe, and within the US, Canada and Australia. The report attempts to draw out key drivers of integration by undertaking a thorough review of integration approaches by different countries, and it attempts to highlight integration interventions that work for particular groups in a variety of circumstances.

The findings show that two of the key drivers of integration (in terms of having a broad impact across several dimensions of integration) are employment and fluency in the native language. But integration is argued to be an inter-connecting and a cross-cutting issue (in other words integration cannot be achieved in one area without meaningful integration across other areas). This means that whilst employment and native language acquisition are crucial levers in the integration process, they cannot be completely achieved without 'meaningful' social relations with existing settled communities (both white and ethnic minorities), and without greater provision of accurate and succinct information for new migrants and the groups and institutions that they come into contact with.

The literature on how to benchmark integration gives us a useful reference of which indicators we can use to measure success in integration (i.e. indicators in employment, housing, education, health; measuring social connections; language acquisition, cultural knowledge of host society; safety and stability of immigrants; rights and responsibilities of immigrants and attitudes of the recipient communities). A major caution in this work would be around the validity of indicators, and the need to ensure that indicators of integration are actually measuring what we think they are measuring.

From this review it is clear that immigration and integration policies are highly connected – a well-managed immigration programme would include provisions for integrating newcomers. It is also apparent that for integration to be meaningful it needs to take place across all spheres of daily life, and be measured both in the short term as well as the long term (in terms of monitoring the integration of both newcomers and their children). And for integration to succeed it needs to include the experiences of the receiving communities. Finally, the review shows that no amount of integration interventions will be successful unless we take account of some of the issues around disadvantage, discrimination and social exclusion in deprived inner-city and rural areas (where most migrants settle).

Introduction: Immigration and Integration

There has been a steady increase in migration to the UK in the last ten years with figures showing some 6.5 million immigrants (people born overseas) resident in the year to June 2008 – an increase of 290,000 from the previous year (ONS, 2009)[1]. But it is not just the size of migration that has changed in the last ten years; the origin and composition of migrants has changed substantially too. Before the 1980s immigration mostly consisted of one-off moves to the UK, but since the 1990s there has been a substantial increase in more short-term and circular migration. There is some evidence – from arrival data and national insurance registration data (NINos) of slow down of in-migration[2], but it is still significantly higher than in the past. Immigrants are also coming from a wider range of countries than in the past.

What is also of interest is that 'work-related reasons' are increasingly accounting for (OECD) migration to the UK[3]. The 2005 International Passenger Survey figures show that 43 per cent of all respondents gave work-related reasons for migrating and this figure rose to 85 per cent for all A8 migrants[4]. And whilst A8 migrants are a relatively small component in the whole migration process (most new migrants are still from the New Commonwealth countries), they comprise a substantial proportion of workers in the food processing, agriculture, construction, hospitality and domestic services industries within the UK. Recent figures suggest that 8.2 per cent (2.4 million) of the UK labour force (29.4 million) are non-UK nationals (ONS, 2009)[5]. In addition, since the mid-1990s, the UK-born working-age population has been declining.

We are also seeing a significant growth in immigrants' children in the UK: In 2007, 28 per cent of children born in England and Wales had at least one foreign-born parent, rising to 54 per cent in London (Sommerville and Sumption, 2009).

Research undertaken in the UK (Citizenship Survey, 2006), however, shows that it is not the actual numbers of newcomers that are necessarily creating problems (although there is some evidence to suggest that generally there is a gross overestimation by UK residents), but the level and rate of churn in local areas which is more important. This, of course, has implications for local authorities where immigration has the greatest impact.

What is also important to consider are the views amongst UK residents about the impact of immigration and integration. Immigration is still high up the public's perception of important issues facing Britain, third after economy and crime (Ipsos MORI, 2008) and recent surveys show that 45 per cent of people (amongst 1013 adults) disagreed that immigration was good for Britain (Ipsos MORI, 2007). When asked why they considered immigration to be a big problem, people identified the following reasons:

- Abuse/burden on public services (46%);
- Pressure on job/employment (27%);
- Lack of controls/policies (26%);
- Community tension/lack of integration (19%);
- Crime/ASB (10%).

Other important findings in recent surveys are that the majority of people (82% of 2072 GB adults aged 15+) think that newcomers should be made to learn English (June 2008), and 67 per cent of people polled (2072 GB adults aged 15+) believe that migrants should not have full access to benefits until they become citizens.

These findings from current surveys are important, not only because they identify concerns by the British public, but also because they highlight some of the information gaps about new migrants living and working in the UK.

Background to the Study

From the literature on new migrants (see for example, Spencer, 2006; Robinson and Reeve, 2006) we know about some of the gaps – information packs about how to live in the UK including rights, responsibilities and knowledge of UK laws; lack of language and other employment skills; access to appropriate ESOL classes; difficulty in converting qualifications; lack of opportunities to interact with existing population; public and media hostility, and ignorance and restrictions linked to immigration status – that

are preventing migrants (refugees, in particular) from fully integrating into the country and into neighbourhoods. But the evidence is weak when we look for the effectiveness of interventions to promote integration across different levels for different groups of migrants.

The aim of this research is to review evidence from Europe, the US, Canada and Australia about 'effective' integration interventions for new migrants and their host communities. The objective is not to define integration as such, but to ascertain what is 'successful' or 'meaningful' integration by examining the approaches to integration of migrants taken in different countries and across different spheres (legal, political, social, economic and cultural). The aim is to provide a more rigorous evidence base for what works in integration for local authorities, practitioners and policy makers.

Whilst rapid evidence review was initially considered as an approach, it was subsequently rejected as very few studies met the rigorous methodological standards required for a rapid evidence assessment. There was a significant lack of good quality studies on the integration of new migrants (particularly at the local level); therefore, it was difficult to robustly evaluate 'good practice.' Very few studies evaluated the outcomes of interventions (and hardly any compared experiences at the beginning of interventions compared to after the interventions). In addition, there were just a handful of outcomes from national studies (mostly in the employment and language tuition areas) that could be compared in any meaningful way.

A major obstacle in reviewing integration research is that international studies define integration differently (in some cases 'inclusion' means the same as 'integration'), measure it in diverse ways and define migrant groups very broadly. So new migrants are defined either as 'foreign-nationals', 'foreign-born', 'immigrants' or 'minorities' (some of which include naturalized ethnic minorities in the host country), with almost no differentiation by nationality, ethnic or faith group. Of those studies that do distinguish groups, nationality is the only variable. This makes it very difficult to assess the integration outcomes for migrants (particularly once they become naturalized) from different backgrounds, as well as identifying specific challenges for each group.

This literature review also focuses mainly on first generation new migrants. 'New migrants' are defined as those people who have been in the receiving country for less than five years. Some texts on refugees have been included (as the interventions were considered useful in terms of 'lessons learned') but research on asylum-seekers has been excluded. This was because asylum-seekers are more likely to require specific or targeted intervention measures (e.g. psychosocial counselling or trauma-related services) that are not applicable to other migrant groups. And whilst the research intended to include data about undocumented immigrants (as this group is substantial in number and yet has a very precarious position in terms of integration), this was not possible due to the lack of empirical data on this group.

This research also reviews indicators of integration and attempts to identify a framework for analysing integration success across different spheres of life (legal, political, social, cultural and economic).

The report is structured as follows:

Chapter 1
Chapter 1 examines what constitutes 'meaningful' integration and assesses some of the different definitions of 'integration'. It outlines the basic principles of integration (as agreed by the European Commission) and explores important questions around which groups should be included in integration interventions, how long the integration process should be and at which point it should start.

Chapter 2
Chapter 2 reviews some of the barriers to integration for different migrant groups. It outlines the factors that could hinder integration across different dimensions of integration and it discusses the importance of identifying key drivers of integration in order to maximize the impact of policy interventions.

Chapter 3
Chapter 3 looks at broad integration interventions and strategies in different countries within the EU, North America and Australia. It identifies the major areas of activity in relation to integration strategy and highlights some of the key features of 'successful' integration programmes within particular areas.

Chapter 4
Chapter 4 attempts to draw together the key findings from the international literature and assess which interventions appear to work well for different types of new migrants and what are the factors that contribute to their apparent success.

Chapter 5
Chapter 5 attempts to identify possible integration indicators that allow us to measure the degree or extent of immigrant integration across different dimensions of integration. It assesses which dimensions of integration are crucial to monitor and evaluate, and explores how we can measure (through policies and data) integration progress across these different dimensions. The chapter also highlights some of the issues around selecting particular indicators as a benchmark of integration success.

Chapter 6
Chapter 6 concludes with an assessment of the key drivers of integration and outlines recommendations in relation to these integration processes.

1. Integration and 'Meaningful' Integration

The issue of how best to integrate new migrants has been a major concern of most countries (particularly those in the European Union) since 1999 (Amsterdam Treaty). Governments have been faced simultaneously with a growing need for economic migrants (to meet labour shortages in low and highly-skilled work) and increasing evidence of discrimination and xenophobia in society. All of these concerns marked a dramatic shift in the thinking around integration within Europe, and in November 2004, the Dutch presidency was able to secure agreement to adopt a set of Common Basic Principles (CBP) on integration. These principles indicated the Member States acknowledged the importance of a holistic approach to integration across all dimensions (social, economic, civic, cultural and political) and included the following principles of integration:

- It must be a two way process between existing and new residents;

- Immigrants must learn to respect and understand the basic values of the European Union;

- Employment is a key part of the integration process;

- Immigrants must have basic knowledge of the host society's language, history and institutions and the host society must have measures to acquire this knowledge;

- There must be opportunities to allow immigrants to improve their knowledge and human capital through education;

- Immigrants must have equal access to institutions, goods and services;

- Opportunities must be created for frequent and meaningful interaction (e.g. shared forums; inter-cultural dialogue, etc.) between new immigrants and existing residents;

- Diverse cultures and religions should be guaranteed under Charter of Fundamental Rights and must be safeguarded;

- Efforts must be made to ensure the participation of immigrants in the democratic process and in the formulation of policies, particularly at the local level;

- Integration policies and measures should be mainstreamed in to all relevant government policies;

- Developing indicators and evaluation mechanisms so as to contribute to, and improve policies and to make exchange of information more effective.

- These were adopted in September 2005 and the Commission put forward 'A Common Agenda for Integration' which provided the framework to put the Common Basic Principles into practice at EU and national levels. These measures were:

- A Network of National Contact Points (now includes all Member States and has become a mechanism for exchanging information and identifying priority areas);

- Handbooks on Integration for policy makers and practitioners which exchange information and good practice. The first appeared in 2004, followed by the second edition in 2007 (European Commission, 2007), and a third is planned for 2010 ;

- A widely accessible website to maintain 'an inventory of good practices' and facilitate an exchange of information;

- A European Integration Forum to assemble stakeholders; and

- Annual reports on Migration and Integration.

The anti-discrimination Directives adopted under Article 13 of the EC Treaty (1999) had already set minimum standards for the legal protection of disadvantaged groups (including sex, disability, ethnic or religious groups, etc.) from discrimination in the EU. But from July 2008, the European Commission adopted another proposal for a new Directive that covered discrimination not only in the workplace, but also in the provision of goods and services.

The Commission also stressed that integration would need to be considered at a local level:

Since the majority of immigrants in the EU live in the larger towns and cities, they are in the front line when it comes to devising and implementing integration measures. The process of integration goes on very largely in an urban context since this is where daily interaction... takes place. Measures which can improve the urban environment and help to promote a shared sense of belonging and participation may, therefore, be instrumental in promoting integration.... Dealing with such issues requires close co-operation between regional, local and municipal authorities and underlines the central role of municipal authorities in the process of integration. [6]

Which groups should integration measures focus on? In putting forward the Common Agenda for Integration, the Commission argued that migrants should have rights and obligations depending on their length of residence. It recognized that asylum-seekers needed some semblance of integration as well, but without the right to remain, scope for integration was limited. And in relation to irregular migrants, while endorsing an effective policy of return, it argued that integration policies would not be 'fully successful' unless it recognized the presence of this group.

The literature (e.g. Spencer et al., 2006) also states that for integration to be successful it needs to focus on 'entire geographical communities' rather than new migrants as integration is rarely a one-sided process. In many ways it is an under-researched area, but of those who have looked into community relations between new migrants and existing settled communities (e.g. Robinson and Reeve; 2006; Markova and Black, 2007 and Hickman et al., 2008), it is clear that successful integration needs to include programmes that address the fears, anxieties and misperceptions of existing residents in relation to new migrants.

We also need to consider what point is the 'most useful' to begin integration interventions. This is an interesting question, because in the Common Agenda for Integration, the European Commission advises that integration measures should begin soon after their arrival – which appears to make sense and which is a practice followed by most countries – but there are a few examples of countries (e.g. Italy, Australia and Canada) where integration measures begin pre-arrival.

Finally, it may be worth noting that in some EU countries, integration is being replaced by terms such as 'inclusion' as it has a better link to existing mainstream policy thinking around social inclusion, and it incorporates all social groups – not just new migrants and minority groups. In addition, 'inclusion' minimizes any connotations that integration has with 'assimilation' (as it did in the past). Furthermore, 'social inclusion' is a policy goal for most governments in the EU as it focuses on the elimination of all disadvantaged groups.

2. Barriers to Integration

The integration barriers experienced by new migrants are complex and multi-faceted. A great deal depends on the migration history of the new migrants (i.e. their legal status and experience in their country of origin). Some of it is also affected by their personal circumstances and obligations (e.g. family and number of children). And their human capital skills (e.g. language acquisition and qualifications) will largely influence their labour market and social integration success. But it is clear that successful social, cultural and political integration into a new society depends not only on a newcomer's history, status, skills and motivations, but also on the attitudes and perceptions of the recipient society and institutions. Table 2.1 summarizes some of the barriers identified across the literature (e.g. Boswick and Heckman, 2006; Audit Commission, 2007; Spencer et al., 2006) for new migrants:

Migration History

Legal barriers associated with immigration status can affect access to jobs, housing, welfare benefits, post-16 education and non-emergency health services. And whilst this is perhaps more of an issue for most asylum-seekers and some refugees, it may also apply to EEA nationals who have not met the requirement to work continuously for 12 months before being eligible for benefits

Personal Circumstances

Family reunification, where it applies, is undoubtedly a critical step in the successful integration of new immigrants. This may be more of an issue for long-term migrants or those wishing to become British citizens, but integration is more difficult to achieve until a family is reunited. Temporary housing and high mobility can also be a major issue for some groups of migrants as moving from place to place disrupts schooling, belonging to a home or community and social networks. Most migrants lack general knowledge of the system and this can be a significant barrier in terms of accessing key services (education, health, employment) and being self-sufficient.

Table 2.1
Barriers to integration

Type of barrier	Description
Migration history	• Legal status in the host country (i.e. restrictions on employment or benefits) • Personal difficulties in country of origin (e.g. trauma or violence)
Personal circumstances	• Age of migrant (i.e. particularly if s/he is underage) • Family and dependants including family reunification • Housing and health circumstances in new country
Human capital skills gap	• Fluency in native language • Qualifications and restricted opportunities to re-license or upgrade skills (to be more aligned to host country)
Soft skills gap	• Appropriate levels of language skills for the labour market • Lack of knowledge of the labour market • Poor job search skills and application skills
Systemic barriers	• Racism and discrimination (direct or unwitting) in the workplace and in key services • Reduced access to recourse or redress • Poor assessment or 'bridging programmes' of foreign skills and qualifications • Restricted or poor availability of language training programmes
Social barriers	• Overt or discrete xenophobia from the public, media and front-line service staff • Public and service providers lack knowledge of migrants' cultural background • Lack of opportunities to interact with other communities

Human Capital and Soft Skills Gap

Poor or appropriate levels of language skills are identified as major barriers to labour market, social and cultural integration (Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada; Statistics Canada, 2003). The introduction of technology and the increasing importance of services in the labour market may also place new migrants at a disadvantage. This is because customer services place a greater emphasis on 'soft skills' such as (verbal and non-verbal) communication, creativity, salesmanship, the ability to work in teams and these skills are often 'culture-specific' thus disadvantaging new migrant workers (Rosholm et al., 2006).

Systemic Barriers

One of the most significant, but perhaps understated barriers for immigrants is the extent to which they experience racism, xenophobia and discrimination across key services and within the labour market. Most OECD countries have acknowledged that racism and discrimination are major barriers to integration (e.g. EU directives on Race, 2000), but current literature in the UK on immigrant integration (e.g. Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Markova and Black, 2007; Perry 2008) shows that discrimination continues to exist in public sector services and in employment.

The inability of mainstream services to meet the needs of new migrants is also repeatedly identified as a key barrier (e.g. Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Audit Commission, 2007; Perry 2008). In their review of refugee integration, Spencer et al. (2006) identified the following issues:

- Municipal staff and frontline staff lacking experience and knowledge of working with migrants;

- Lack of information in the system about migrants' rights, responsibilities and entitlements;

- Lack of information about their cultural background;

- Lack of availability of interpreters (including an agreement on who should pay for them);

- Failure to translate services to migrants into broader mainstream strategies;

- Failure to address key issues in relation to rental accommodation (HMOs,[7] exploitative landlords, sub-standard housing, etc.);

- Poor resourcing of key migrant groups and poor consultation with migrant communities.

Social Barriers

Negative public attitudes and unbalanced media stories can both act as significant barriers to social, cultural and political integration as they can contribute to considerable tensions, distrust and hostility towards new migrant communities. Not only does it act as a disincentive to participate in society for newcomers, but it is also likely to encourage migrants to retreat back into their own communities, and possibly into more vulnerable situations where they can be exploited.

It is clear that there are substantial and multifarious barriers to the integration of new immigrants, but what is less clear is the relative importance of each of these hurdles in the integration process. Immigration status will clearly have an enormous impact on accessing key services, benefits and employment, but equally human capital skills (particularly language acquisition) will hinder progress in other major areas of integration (social, cultural and political). In addition, a newcomer may be quickly integrated into one area of integration (e.g. the labour market) but suffer substantially from exclusion in other areas (e.g. social and cultural integration). Finally, it is also apparent from the literature (e.g. Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2007) that we can underestimate the impact of the views and attitudes of existing settled communities towards new immigrants in the integration process.

3. Integration in Practice

Countries vary enormously in their history of immigration, how much they focus on (different types of) integration and the extent to which government and civil society take responsibility for the integration process. In many countries, integration involves partnerships at different levels of government. In Italy and Canada, the central government works with municipalities; in Switzerland and Austria, integration is dealt with equally between federal and regional governments. Some countries have a long history of immigration (e.g. France, Australia, The Netherlands and the UK), whilst others have relatively short histories with new migrants (e.g. Spain and Ireland). What is interesting is that history does not dictate a particular integration approach (as can be witnessed by the 'assimilationist' approach in France and the more 'multicultural' approach in the UK and Australia) as much as notions of citizenship.

Citizenship and Civic Integration Courses

Citizenship is interpreted broadly across the spectrum and it varies from the possession of a national passport to automatic rights for the second generation. At its core citizenship assumes that there are equal rights between people from different backgrounds and different countries.

But citizenship, once perceived as a neutral concept, has become highly politicized over the last decade. It is now widely influenced by security fears and a prevalent perception that newcomers are not integrating as they ought to be. Citizenship policies are increasingly focusing on newcomers that are able and willing to integrate and deterring those who are not. Almost all countries now have language requirements and many also have compulsory citizenship courses. These courses last between 12 and 24 months and tend to target those immigrants from 'less developed countries'. Most courses focus primarily on official language acquisition with a secondary focus on acquiring knowledge about the culture, history and everyday life of the receiving country.

Residency requirements – the number of years people must reside in a country become acquiring citizenship – vary from country to country (from three years in Canada to eight years in Germany), and citizenship has become more complicated with conditions on years of residence, naturalization process requirements and single or dual citizenship criteria (see Table 3.1).

Table 3.1
Citizenship policies in Europe, North America and Australia

	Australia	Britain	Canada	France	Germany	Netherlands	USA
Years of residence	4	6	3	5	8	5	5
Good conduct requirement*	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Language requirement	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Citizenship test	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes
Values test	Yes	Yes	No	No	No	Yes	No
Dual citizenship	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	No (with exemptions)	No (with exemptions)	Yes
Automatic right for the 2nd generation	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

* Has a broad definition across the EU, but generally entails that a person has not been convicted of a crime or fraud.
Source: Hansen (2008): Table 1, p. 5.

Countries are also reforming their Citizenship Acts in more stringent ways. For example, since 2006, a new Nationality Act came into force in Norway which states, amongst other conditions, that applicants are not generally allowed dual nationality, have to live in Norway for seven years and must have sufficient language skills before applying for citizenship. In Australia, the new Citizenship Act came into effect in July 2007. It increased the residence requirements (from two to four years) prior to applying for naturalization and strengthened revocation provisions in the event of criminality (OECD, 2008b). To some extent the UK has gone further by introducing (in 2008) a new probationary period of citizenship requiring new migrants to demonstrate their contribution (volunteering is strongly encouraged) to the UK.

Social, Cultural and Political Integration

Most countries have 'National Action Plans' or programmes focusing on social inclusion and discrimination in one form or another. There are also various programmes promoting ethnic and social inclusion, intercultural dialogue and cultural diversity. However, these initiatives, whilst instructive, tend to be piecemeal and isolated in their nature (often they work via workshops, roundtables, exhibitions, theatre, etc.) and are not underpinned by any rigorous evaluation in terms of why and how they have worked. Generally, other than the UK, Canada and Australia, very few countries have a comprehensive strategy for dealing with community relations (and in Canada and Australia it is greatly focused on indigenous or First Nation communities).

Most of the good practice in developing inter-community relations appears to be undertaken by Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs) and community groups. They are more likely to have the freedom, flexibility and knowledge of local communities that may be missed at the national level, and they can involve local people and stakeholders more directly in their work. But they have constraints and many researchers highlight the continuing problem of ad hoc funding for these major players in inter-community relations.

It is also interesting to note that much of the work around 'cultural integration' on a national scale focuses on 'acquiring the native language', whilst on a local scale, there are more examples of activities that focus on bringing people of different backgrounds together.

Much of the focus on political integration programmes take place at the national level, but there are examples of facilitating social and political integration (of those immigrants who do have political rights) at the local level.

Labour Market Integration

Overall, there has been a shift in most OECD countries from seeking low-skilled labour migrants to attracting highly qualified ones. And generally, this shift has been recent (e.g. 2006 in Holland; 2007 in France) and is marked by a 'proactive and selective' policy similar to the labour immigration policy practised in Australia and Canada. Broadly speaking, across the OECD, labour market integration now comprises a mixture of these approaches:

- A points-based system similar to the Australian model;

- Separate migration processes for the highly-skilled migrants (as can be witnessed in the UK, Czech Republic and France);

- Focusing on filling shortage occupations (practised in the UK and Canada);

- Recruiting foreign students who have completed their degrees in the host country.

Some countries, like Canada and Australia, focus almost entirely on all of these areas, and increasingly, countries like the UK are following suit.

Box 3.1 compares the distribution of points in the Australian and UK points system and shows how the new UK points-based system (PBS) is modelled greatly on the Australian General Skilled Migration (GSM) points test. There are some notable differences. The Australian permit grants unlimited duration of stay whereas the UK permit is always temporary. Also, the distribution of the points are different and the Australian GSM system covers a more comprehensive range of attributes, with a greater emphasis on skilled occupations, shortage occupations, work experience in occupations, language ability and Designated Area Sponsorship. This reiterates Australia's emphasis

on labour market integration as well as a regional component in their considerations (e.g. States and Territories in Australia can sponsor migrants who are willing to settle in regional or low population growth areas and fewer points are required for these migrants). The UK points based system seems to indicate that 'qualifications' and 'recent earnings' are better predictors of labour market integration and does not include any regional element.

Box 3.1

A comparison of the Australian and UK points system

	UK/ HSMP	Australia/ GDM
Language ability	10	15-25
Maintenance	10	
Age	5-20	15-30
Qualifications/Academic	30-50	5-25
Skilled occupation		40-60
Work experience in occupation		5-10
Recent earnings	5-45	
Spouse/partner skills		5
Shortage occupation		15-20
UK/Australian work experience	5	10
Regional study		5
Designated area sponsorship		25
State/Territory Government nomination		10
Professional language skill		5
Number required	95	100-120
		Pool-pass

Source: OECD, 2008b: 105.

What is particularly interesting about Australia is that evidence suggests that they are better than most OECD countries in integrating immigrants[8] into the labour market.

Finally, in most countries, racism and discrimination are widely accepted as barriers for new immigrants (and existing minorities) to different degrees, and most governments have adopted anti-racism and equality policy measures to achieve greater racial equity for visible minorities. Almost all countries within the OECD have specific legislation against direct and indirect discrimination (e.g. EU Directives on Race and Equality in Employment, 2000) and many allow for positive or affirmative action by employers to promote the inclusion of under-represented groups (Coussey, 2002). Some countries (e.g. USA and Canada) go even further and employers are required to report annually on under-represented groups. Outstanding issues, however are that almost all the legislation applies to the public sector (which may only cover a small proportion of new migrants) and that some migrants may be in vulnerable work placements (e.g. tied accommodation) and therefore be more reluctant to highlight discrimination by employers.

4. Which Interventions Work Best and Why?

Most evidence seems to suggest that employment, followed by fluency in the official language are the most important drivers to integration. The two variables are intertwined because whilst fluency in the official language largely determines the prospects of employment, at the same time, employment improves fluency in the official language. Language training appears to be the most important budget item in most integration (introductory) programmes, and even when it is not necessary in some jobs (e.g. low-skilled work), it is clear that it is important in everyday contact with other communities and with public institutions and services (Ager and Strang, 2004a). Employment also increases contacts with other groups locally and enhances social integration. And on a broader scale, employment allows immigrants to feel safe and secure, be autonomous citizens, contribute to the host country, and (importantly) be perceived by the host society as contributing to the host country.

Employment

There has been a shift in most OECD countries from seeking low-skilled labour migrants to attracting highly qualified ones. And whilst this has been recent for most OECD Member States, countries like Australia and Canada have been undertaking this approach for years. And the evidence suggests that countries like Australia and Canada have done better than most in integrating (skilled) migrants into the labour market.

Table 4.1 shows the labour force outcomes by years of presence in 2003. It is not measuring the same individuals over time (i.e. it is not a longitudinal study with one sample group) but asking different individuals about their duration of stay in the host country in 2003. Its outcomes are as expected, namely that immigrants who have been in the country for longer periods of time have better outcomes in the labour market, and eventually achieve closer average outcomes to those of the natives. What is noteworthy is that apart from Australia and Canada, the employment outcomes of immigrants – even after a long period of time – lag (considerably in some cases) behind those of the settled population.

It is argued that the 'success' of labour market integration in Canada and Australia is largely attributable to their skills-based selection policy which identifies skilled or highly qualified individuals who are likely (in theory) to have an easier transition into the domestic labour market. In these countries, post-arrival settlement policies are viewed as secondary, rather than as primary means of promoting integration (Ray, 2004). Skilled migrants account for the majority of intake in these countries, and, in Australia, a large proportion of the skilled migrants are from non-OECD countries. Second-generation children also do well in both countries. There is a relatively large public consensus on the need for immigration, and in Australia, around 25 per cent of the workforce are foreign-born. Within the OECD, Australia has

Table 4.1

Labour force participation of the native and foreign-born populations aged 15-64 in selected OECD countries, 2003

Participation rate by years since arrival in the host country

	<=5 years	6-10 years	>10 years	Native born
Sweden	60.8	69.3	72.5	79.3
Germany	57.9	68.6	67.8	73.0
Netherlands	59.6	54.8	69.1	78.0
United Kingdom	63.6	66.2	70.9	76.2
Australia	61.2	63.1	67.1	66.1
Canada	69.2	70.5	78.4	77.7

Source: OECD, 2007: 263.

the highest share of immigrants (after Luxemburg) in the total population.[9]

Key features of the Australian system, in particular appear to be:

- Points based system which rewards domestic qualifications, domestic work experience and fluency in English;

- Onshore recruitment (particularly attracting foreign students who have completed their degrees in Australia);

- Temporary and assisted work placements in skilled jobs to overcome the problems of 'overqualification' and transfer of skills

In addition, the Australian government are continuing to review their labour market policies to speed up the integration of skilled migrants (see Box 4.1):

Box 4.1
Speeding up the integration of skilled migrants – the example of Australia
The Australian Government has introduced further measures (September 2007) to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of selecting labour migrants that are able to enter the labour market quickly. Within the General Skilled Migration (GSM) points system, there is a greater emphasis placed on English language ability and skilled work experience. These changes are also underpinned by an easier visa structure – reducing the previous 11 classes to four. Part of this means that it is easier for foreign students and working holiday makers ('backpackers') who have gained some work experience in Australia to stay for longer periods. In addition, all GSM visa applications can be lodged from anywhere in the world, electronically.

Source: OECD, 2008b: 106.

It is worth noting that in almost all of the OECD countries, 'overqualification' is a major issue for many working migrants, and in some countries – Denmark, Greece, Italy, Spain and Sweden – the share of foreign people doing a job for which they are overqualified for is twice as high as that of the native-born workers (OECD, 2008b). Similarly, in Australia evidence shows that some 40 per cent of highly qualified immigrants from non-OECD countries are in low or medium-skilled jobs (Liebig, 2007a: 38, Table 7). Recently, however, efforts have been made to address this

problem of under-employment by the introduction of temporary and assisted work placements in skilled-jobs (although funding for these are regional and limited), employer-sponsored migration and immigration of people with prior Australian qualifications, and further work in relation to the recognition of foreign qualifications. Canada has also recognized the problems of 'skills recognition' and established Credential Assessment Services which help immigrants to translate their credentials into equivalent Canadian qualification levels (although this service does not replace the work of professional and trade licensing bodies) making it easier for employers to evaluate the skills of applicants).

An interesting finding coming out of the Swedish labour market integration experience (and mirrored by other OECD countries) is that early employment experience through temporary employment agencies enhance their prospects for longer term employment in the domestic market as employers favour domestic work experience (OECD, 2007). Swedish and Danish experience (OECD, 2007) also shows that measures which allow employers to overcome their 'information asymmetries' (e.g. about the candidate's skills) or which bring job seekers in contact with employers early not only have a significant impact on immigrants but that this impact is greater on immigrants than on the native-born population.

In summary, most evidence suggests that a highly selective system for immigrants (based on high skills and qualifications) considerably facilitates integration in the labour market. But this is based on the assumption that a country's immigration intake predominantly consists of labour migrants. In actual fact very few countries in the EU have a large number of labour migrants, and instead most receive a large number of immigrants through family reunification, asylum claims and refugee settlement (Employment and Social Affairs, 2003). This is a major issue because evidence shows that the labour market outcomes of humanitarian and family migrants (from family re-unification) tend to be well below those of labour migrants. And this is the case across all OECD countries, and holds true even in the long term. A longitudinal survey of immigrants in Australia (covering two migrant cohorts, the first between September 1993 and August 1995 and the second between September 1999 and August 2000) showed that even after controlling for educational attainment and

socio-demographic characteristics, the type of visa a person entered on (whether skilled principal or family reunification) had a much stronger and robust influence on employment. This was the case even after taking account of English language proficiency. Longitudinal studies undertaken by the Canadian government (the 'Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada') have supported these findings, but have also shown that the effects can be long term as well.

What is interesting, however, is that even those countries (particularly in the EU) who do not have a high proportion of economic migrants, still recognize the importance of employment in their integration strategy. In particular, the Belgian experience is worth noting because it involves various social partners to help attain jobs for immigrant and other disadvantaged groups (see Box 4.2):

Box 4.2
Integration of immigrants in the labour market in Belgium
The Jobkanaal project is jointly run by the Flemish Confederation of Social Profit Enterprises (VCSPO), the Flanders' Chamber of Commerce and Industry (VOKA) and the Organisation for the Self-employed and Small and Medium-sized Enterprises (UNIZO). Twenty-eight job consultants help to identify jobs for disadvantaged groups on the labour market (which include immigrants) by soliciting vacancies that these target groups would be eligible for. These vacancies are exclusively available for the target groups for a period of three weeks. Third parties, such as temporary employment agencies, migrant-led associations and Flemish employment service (VDAB) refer persons to this database. This approach has been deemed largely successful as a large number of the vacancies on the database are specifically targeted towards immigrants. In 2006, more than 900 people with a migration background entered employment through this means.

The King Baudouin Foundation works on a similar basis as the JobKanaal, sharing a joint job website with the Flemish employment service VDAB but for job seekers with a migration background only.

It is also worth noting that the VDAB works very closely with these organizations and 'job consultants' who essentially operate as 'fieldworkers' – finding jobs, providing individual support and guidance to migrants who are looking for work and communicating back to the VDAB some of the specific obstacles that new migrants may be facing, thereby helping improve mainstream job services.

Source: OECD, 2008a: 60.

Labour market integration can be tied to longer term demographic issues in some towns. One example of this can be found in Sweden where a small town (Lysekil) recognized that meeting the employment needs of immigrants would enable them to overcome some of the issues around a declining population (see Box 4.3).

Box 4.3
Local initiatives to promote integration
Lysekil is a small centre of about 15,000 persons on the northwest coast of Sweden, about 8 per cent of whom are foreign-born, a high proportion for a town of this size. Local industry includes marine research, energy, port facilities and tourism. The population of Lysekil peaked at 15,550 in 1994 and has declined steadily to reach 14,792 in 2001. On the other hand, the year 2002 saw positive net migration. Most of the positive net migration could be attributed to migration from outside the country.

For this to succeed, however, arriving immigrants need to find lasting employment and a role within the local society. The municipality of Lysekil has put in place a pilot project which invests intensively in immigrant reception, with a view to ensuring that immigrants find work and remain in Lysekil. The project involves a number of features, including in-depth identification of qualifications, job matching tied to immigrant aspirations, real-life (rather than classroom) language instruction, employment support based on the individual and social networks of instructors, contacts and mediation with employers and subsidized apprenticeships. The pilot incorporates an evaluation (not yet completed) and identification of the successful features of the project, so that they can be implemented downstream in a cost-effective manner.

Labour market integration of immigrants is proving difficult nationally, but it is clear that reversing the demographic decline of smaller cities or villages can prove a powerful motivating force for facilitating the integration of immigrants and their longer term settlement.

Source: OECD, 2007: 278.

There is some evidence, however, to show that acquiring citizenship has a strong influence on the labour market integration process. OECD research (2008a) shows that speeding up the naturalization process has a stronger impact on the employment outcomes of those that have been naturalized compared to those who have not.

But it is also clear from the evidence that anti-discrimination policies are viewed as crucial levers

to facilitate successful integration – particularly within the labour market. Over time most countries have recognized the detrimental impact of discrimination on social and economic outcomes, and most OECD countries now have a mixture of national legislation policies, enforcement action and positive measures by employers to minimize the levels of discrimination in the labour market. The major problem, however, is that most anti-discrimination measures apply to the public sector so discrimination practices may continue in the private sector where migrants are more likely to be employed (Ray, 2004).

Finally, the evidence suggests that both universal and targeted initiatives should be used to overcome the barriers in relation to labour market integration as most OECD countries have national programmes in relation to 'social inclusion' but recognize that specific targeted measures are required in relation to human capital issues (e.g. fluency in the native language, job searching skills, recognition of foreign qualifications by employers, etc.). The EU, in particular, has a number of long-term employment objectives around labour force participation and productivity for the population as a whole, and it has mainstreamed many of the labour market integration programmes for immigrants within these universal programmes. But specific countries (e.g. France, Sweden, Belgium) have also undertaken targeted work to help immigrants overcome the obstacles around human capital and employment-related issues (see for example, the JobKanaal Project in Belgium, Box 4.2).

Learning the Official Language

A great deal of migration research seems to indicate that native language acquisition is the most important factor in facilitating social and labour market integration. This is partly reflected in the allocation of points to language ability in countries operating the points-based system (OECD, 2008b), and is supported by longitudinal studies which have shown that labour market performance (in Canada) does not match years of education, skills and experience and this is due to a poorer grasp of English or French (Kazemipur and Halli, 2001).

Table 4.2 highlights this point more succinctly and shows how a strong grasp of the English language and Australian qualifications significantly improves employment outcomes. An immigrant who spoke English relatively well upon arrival was over three and a half times more likely to be in employment compared to their peers who did not speak English well upon arrival. Similarly, immigrants who had post-secondary qualifications (particularly from other English-speaking countries) were over one and half times more likely to be in employment compared to their peers who were not as qualified.

In Australia, 45 per cent of all immigrants have English as their first language (Liebig, 2007a: 49) and one out of five skilled migrants is a former student. Interestingly, Australia has the highest share of international students in tertiary education amongst all the OECD countries, and a significant

Table 4.2

Odds ratios for employment relative to non-employment 18 months after arrival, immigrants having arrived in Australia after 2000

Migration category	Odds-ratios	
Skilled-migrant principal applicant	2.096	<0.001
Humanitarian	0.174	<0.001
English spoken at least well at arrival	3.692	<0.001
Post-secondary qualifications		
From Australia	1.241	<0.295
From other English-speaking country	1.700	<0.001

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia; controls for educational attainment, age, sex and marital status. Adapted from Lemaitre (2006).

number of these students will become permanent citizens after graduation. The Australian points system gives these immigrants additional points for Australian qualifications.

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) reinforces the importance of language training for particular newcomers. Among other findings, the survey shows quite clearly that labour force participation rate and employment rate are considerably higher for those with official language skills. And immigrants frequently identified language problems in pursuing further education opportunities and accessing health care.

However, whilst most evidence suggests that language training is essential for integration (social, cultural and economic) it is also clear that for it to be effective it needs to be specific and evaluated in a systematic way. For instance, evidence from Sweden and other OECD countries (OECD, 2004) shows that there is some reduction in the positive effect of language training (in the context of labour market outcomes) after 500 hours. In other words, there is a trade-off between prolonged language training and employment prospects (the Swedish experience shows how early labour market experience has a much more significant impact on subsequent employment). It is also interesting to note that how much a country spends on language training is not necessarily a strong predictor of integration success – particularly if there is no evaluation of how much and what kind of language training is the most effective for labour market integration. In addition, only a handful of countries (e.g. Canada) follow up the employment outcomes of immigrants who have undertaken language courses.

Whilst there is no evidence to show which country has the best language programme for adult immigrants, there is data (OECD PISA study) that demonstrate which countries have the smallest gaps in academic achievement between immigrant children and non-immigrant children. So, for instance, in Australia and Canada, immigrant children (even those learning English) and non-immigrant children have similar levels of achievement. Whilst it could be argued that this is because these countries have highly selective immigration policies (focusing on professional parents), it is also clear that these countries have structured language support in place (see Box 4.4).

Box 4.4

Australia's English Language Training Available to New Migrants

Australia's language courses – known as the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP) – is the largest expenditure item in respect to integration services, the bulk of which is spent on language courses for humanitarian migrants. But in order to ensure that all migrants have access to English language training, the AMEP is complemented by two additional programmes. There are language courses available for humanitarian migrants only who may have only a basic grasp of the English language. This is known as Special Preparatory training and is available for up to 100 hours (and up to 400 for younger migrants). For unemployed migrants, who have already participated in the AMEP, additional language programmes are available. The Language, Literacy and Numeracy Programme is a more vocational form of language training and is provided when English language proficiency is deemed to be an employment barrier. In this situation, migrants are referred to contracted-out providers by the Australian government's welfare agency (Centrelink), where they are assessed by the providers and referred to one of three different training streams. Courses in the advanced stream can cover vocationally specific English through vocational colleges and private providers (e.g. language courses focusing on accounting and finance, computing skills or nursing). Almost all of the language courses can be accessed by distance learning, and in some cases with the help of a home tutor.

Source: OECD, 2007: 89.

In addition, the Canadian Enhanced Language Training programme (see Box 4.5) is one of the more specialized programmes offered only to educated newcomers to improve the likelihood of them finding and retaining employment that is commensurate to their qualifications and skills.

What is clear is that countries where new immigrants appear to be better integrated into the labour market and where second generation children are performing, on average, better than their native counterparts, have language training courses available at different levels to meet the needs of immigrants with different requirements. Additionally, some countries are even focusing on pre-arrival vocational training and language courses for immigrants in their home countries. These courses have to be approved by the host country, but immigrants attending these courses are

given priority for an entry visa. Contracts are drawn up with countries (such as the one between Italy and Sri Lanka) and can involve specific regions and employers in the host country (see Box 4.6).

It may be worth noting, however, that experience in Europe and the USA shows that low language proficiency is not necessarily an obstacle to filling lower-skilled jobs (OECD, 2007). This is either because there are intermediaries available to translate basic instructions to workers or because rudimentary communication is sufficient for many low-skilled jobs (Boswick and Heckman, 2006). But we would need to keep in mind that there is still substantial evidence to show that language acquisition is a key driver for social and cultural integration – and this would apply to low-skilled workers as well.

It may be worth noting, however, that experience in Europe and the USA shows that low language proficiency is not necessarily an obstacle to filling lower-skilled jobs (OECD, 2007). This is either because there are intermediaries available to translate

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Box 4.5
Canadian Enhanced Language Training Programme
The Canadian Enhanced Language Training programme was introduced in 2003–2004. Through jobs-specific language training educated newcomers are offered higher levels of language training in both English and French. Services provided to eligible newcomers under ELT include:

- language training to help newcomers more easily and quickly find and keep jobs for which they are qualified; and

- work-related experiences such as job placements, mentoring, and cultural orientation to the workplace.

It is offered in almost all territories and provinces (except Quebec) and around 20 million Canadian dollars annually is spent on it. Hitherto, the highest proportion of participants have come from China (30%) followed by India (8%).

Focus group interviews show that it has been a success in terms of increasing general language levels (listening, speaking, reading and writing) and in increasing knowledge of, and experience in, the Canadian work environment. The use of work placements, in particular, was considered a major factor in the programme's success.

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2007).

Box 4.6
Pre-arrival training and language courses
The pilot project 'From Sri Lanka to Tuscany' was carried out by the Italian government in cooperation with IOM. It provided pre-arrival training to Sri Lankans who wish to immigrate to Italy as personal carers for children or older people. The pre-selection of candidates made use of a database set up by the Sri Lanka Foreign Employment Bureau. The province of Tuscany first chose 160 of the 250 candidates in the database. The project team then contacted the families seeking personal carers and interviewed 85 candidates who fit the profiles requested. Sixty applicants were selected. They received 60 hours of Italian language training in Colombo and a 25-hour course in the field of personal care. This training was continued in Italy, leading to an Italian 'Personal Care Assistant' qualification.

Source: European Commission, 2007: 53.

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basic instructions to workers or because rudimentary communication is sufficient for many low-skilled jobs (Boswick and Heckman, 2006). But we would need to keep in mind that there is still substantial evidence to show that language acquisition is a key driver for social and cultural integration – and this would apply to low-skilled workers as well.

Social, Cultural and Political Integration

Whilst most research shows that language acquisition is the key driver to social and economic integration, and labour market integration is important in terms of self-sufficiency and well-being, there is widespread agreement that integration in these areas can be completely undermined if there is no respect and acceptance by host communities.

It is clear that the role of social and cultural interaction is crucial to the process of 'successful integration'. As Ager and Strang (2004a) argue, it is through the role of social connections that people feel safe and secure and develop a sense of belonging to a particular space. Social and cultural integration also entails a notion of social cohesion – which is 'dependent on the social networks people form, the daily relationships within and between communities, the capacity of local communities to identify shared needs and pursue common goals' (Rudiger, 2005: 4) and being guided by equality between individuals (Rudiger and Spencer, 2003).

The review of evidence in Europe, North America and Australia clearly shows that, on average, governments at the national level do not get involved in 'promoting community relations' (with the exception of the UK). These tend to be left to local and municipal agencies, and partly as a result, are short term, piecemeal and ad hoc in their nature. Evaluations of their effectiveness are almost non-existent, and where they exist they are based on a handful of qualitative interviews. And surveys, which could be quite useful in these instances, are rarely administered at the beginning and at the end of initiatives. Nevertheless, there are a handful of programmes and studies that appear to be valuable (e.g. Kvinfo in Denmark) and highlight factors that may greatly promote 'good community or social relations' (e.g. Amin, 2002; Rudiger, 2005; Audit Commission, 2000 and 2007). Rudiger (in Spencer et al., 2006) defines successful interventions in the area of community relations as those which 'contribute to advancing one or more of the following general goals: equality, security, respect, co-operation and unity' (Spencer et al., 2006: 4). These areas are important because they help to build the capacity of communities to engage in 'bonding, bridging and linking relationships'.

The evidence on whether civic integration policies work is also mixed – particularly as it is not always clear what the goals of civic integration policies are. In some countries it is course completion (e.g. The Netherlands and Germany), but in others one may argue that there are more 'implicit' goals of either deterring certain type of immigrants (i.e. non-OECD citizens), 'undesirable' family migration (as in the Dutch case) or placating the native majority population who are becoming increasingly anxious about the new waves of immigration (Joppke, 2007).

However, based on evidence collated in the UK, the following interventions are highlighted as helping to improve community relations (the 'social bridges') between new migrants and host communities:

- Language support classes;
- Facilitating the information exchange and communication about new arrivals;
- Changing attitudes of the public and the media through myth-busting work;
- Making use of mentoring and volunteering.

Almost all evidence highlights the significance of being able to communicate in the official language for both adult and migrant children. Moreover, fluency in the official language is not only important for building relationships with other groups, but is also a prerequisite for education, employment and health integration.

And in terms of improving the 'social links' between migrants and institutions, including employers, Spencer et al. (2006) identified the following factors:

- Provision of settlement information to newcomers before and after arrival;
- Introducing awareness training for frontline staff;
- Appointing specialist staff on the front-line;
- Providing structured assessment, induction and ongoing support;
- Outreach by key service providers;
- Capacity building with migrant organizations;
- Where appropriate, agencies implement more thorough statutory duties to promote good race relations including community cohesion;
- Collate demographic data on new migrants.

Settlement information, both before and after arrival, is considered an integral part of the integration process. Information on local services, where to go for advice and rights and responsibilities are all considered crucial aspects of everyday living by migrants and researchers in this area (Home Office, 2005). D'Onofrio and Munk (2004) argue that it is also important to recognize that professionals and volunteers need up-to-date training to be aware of practical changes in immigration (e.g. immigration status and eligibility criteria) policy, how to interact with different groups of migrants, how to use language support agencies (e.g. Language Line) or coordinate with other agencies when there are no interpreters in-house.

Specialist staff on the front-line are also considered essential as they could improve access to services, and can include interpreters, receptionists, teaching assistants or health visitor assistants who are familiar with different immigrant cultures and backgrounds. These staff can also come from within new migrant communities (Spencer et al., 2006).

In addition, studies on refugees have also highlighted the value of 'individualized and holistic case management approach' across the key sectors (education, jobs and housing). This would include assessing health needs, language and skills training, establishing effective home-school links and ensuring housing support, where necessary with particular (vulnerable) migrant groups (Home Office, 2005).

Outreach by key service providers in the UK, such as the police, have shown that introducing themselves to new migrants through organizations and community groups, and explaining and encouraging the process of reporting problems builds a feeling of safety and trust between new migrants and the police (Audit Commission, 2000).

A survey of British people (Ipsos MORI, 2005) also found that different groups identified 'belonging to a neighbourhood' and 'trusting other people in neighbourhood' as weaker factors of cohesion, and 'affecting decisions in local area', 'feeling safe after dark', 'belonging to Britain' and 'enjoy living in neighbourhood' as significantly stronger drivers of cohesion. What is interesting about these findings is that it tells us that local cohesion between groups is strongly linked to civic engagement, safety and national identity.

One of the ways, however, that governments have attempted to manage community relations is through reorganizing physical space and housing segregation between ethnic groups in urban cities. The argument is simply that if people are encouraged to reside next to each other, they are more likely to interact socially. Considerable work has gone into this (see for example Perry, 2008) but the evidence that the creation of mixed areas increases social interaction is mixed. In fact, Amin (2002) argues that habitual contact between groups is no guarantee of cultural exchange between communities, and worse it can entrench animosities and identities. Initiatives are more likely to be effective when people from different communities are placed in a new setting, and in a common activity so that 'easy labelling' is avoided, and new opinions are formed. For this reason schools, workplaces, multicultural sports and music clubs have the potential to be successful areas of 'cultural exchange' as they have the potential to disrupt stereotypes as the activity focuses on talents and skills (e.g. Amin, 2002).

One overarching finding is that community relations are strongly influenced by local settings and context (Amin, 2002) and this can be exacerbated when there are greater economic challenges in the area and enormous levels of misinformation about groups.

One of the other programmes frequently mentioned in research studies is mentoring as a way of improving community relations with existing residents as well as enhancing labour market integration. The idea is that the non-immigrant residents provide useful everyday information about services, processes, institutions and customs and the immigrants benefit from such informal and ad hoc advice. In these interactions immigrants also pick up more colloquial forms of language.

Most mentoring programmes are small-scale and confined to specific cities or regions. One exception to this is the Kvinfo mentorship programme (for unemployment women) in Denmark. This programme runs nationwide through four regional branches and is predominantly funded by the Integration Ministry. And whilst it has not yet been evaluated in any systematic way, preliminary figures show that it has been somewhat successful in getting previously unemployed and under-employed women into jobs that matched their skills and qualifications (see Box 4.7).

Box 4.7
Kvinfo Mentoring Programme for Women, Denmark
This mentorship programme, specifically for women, brings immigrant women into contact with native-born women who have experience of the domestic labour market. Through preliminary interviews, mentors and mentees are matched based on mentees' needs and wishes. The objective is to get mentees into employment through the mentors' advice on writing job applications, information on job interview practices, facilitating contacts with potential networks and employers and even encouraging further education, where appropriate or necessary in order to achieve adequate employment. The mentorship relationship is established for a fixed period (varying from 6 months to a year).

There are currently about 900 mentees and mentors involved in this popular project, and initial figures show that some 160 previously unemployed or under-employed women have gained employment through the network activities in the first three years of establishing contact with the programme.

Source: OECD, 2007: 160.

The Crick report also saw mentoring as a key tool in building community relations, particularly between the receiving communities and new immigrants. And a longitudinal evaluation of the Time Together mentoring scheme (Esterhuizen and Murphy, 2007) on 30 mentoring pairs across six locations, concluded that 'in three-quarters of the cases mentors successfully enhanced integration in terms of offering practical help and advice relevant to everyday life, building confidence and contributing to English language improvement' (Esterhuizen and Murphy, 2007: 4).

Overall, there is little empirical data to demonstrate the cost-effectiveness of mentoring programmes with respect to integration outcomes, but, as the evidence suggests, immigrants benefit enormously from such informal contacts. Mentoring also appeals to most governments since the costs associated with the programmes are low (as most participants are volunteers) and at the same time because it facilitates civic citizenship.

Community Relations with Existing Communities

Research studies and surveys (e.g. Ipsos MORI, 2007) suggest that the public are much more concerned about the 'controlled and legitimate management mechanisms for incoming migration than about the sheer number of migrants or their origin (Craig et al., 2004). In other words, unmanaged movement of new communities into existing areas can cause tensions between settled residents and the newcomers. However, research (DCLG, 2007) also shows that awareness raising and listening to the concerns of existing communities can prevent or considerably reduce tensions. The Audit Commission (2000) identified potential and actual good practice that local authorities could undertake to reduce tensions and increase understanding between asylum seekers and established residents: through public meetings with established residents and new arrivals and hosted by the local councillor), notifying existing tenants and tenants' organizations about new arrivals coming into their areas (protecting privacy) and possibly setting up a joint Community Liaison Officer post (e.g. example of a partnership between Kent County Council and Dover District council) to link between asylum seekers, local residents and service providers in the area.

The Audit Commission's fieldwork also highlighted the value of getting the media involved at a very early stage to dispel any myths and to promote positive success stories. The Commission recommended that agencies link their press offices so that consistent messages about new arrivals could be sent out (Audit Commission, 2000: 36). Other research (D'Onofrio and Munk, 2004) shows that the adoption of systematic and proactive media strategies can help generate more balanced reporting on new arrivals. Strategies should include local authorities and other statutory bodies explaining plans, policies and actions in relation to new arrivals, countering biased and inaccurate reporting quickly, supplying myth-busting information (which needs to be proactive, flexible and timely) and promoting positive human interest stories. Also working with media organizations as partners or sponsors of local projects can help generate positive stories and improve community relations. Part of the problem with media strategies, however, is that the impact of local strategies has rarely been evaluated in a systematic way.

There are other initiatives (particularly in the UK) that attempt to address the misunderstandings about new communities. Most initiatives focus on a combined approach of tackling negative attitudes and communicating positive messages about different communities. They consist of interactive forums, workshops, local meetings, communications campaign (e.g. leafleting) as well as 'media campaigns.' A key aspect of these meetings is listening to grievances (whether justified or unjustified) and addressing them 'head on'. However, none of the projects measure the impact or assess the effectiveness of their campaigns in any way. Most 'evaluations' rely on anecdotal feedback, the repeated use of a method elsewhere, and a decrease in the number of complaints or hostile letters as confirmation that a strategy has worked. In addition, most researchers argue that it's very difficult to measure attitudinal change as myth-busting initiatives may be one of many programmes (national and local) designed to influence the attitudes of the public.

Nevertheless, in a research study undertaken for the British government (DCLG, 2007), Ipsos Mori identified the 'Don't Believe the Hype' campaign in Hull as an example of best practice in 'myth-busting' initiatives (Box 4.8):

Box 4.8

'Don't Believe the Hype': Hull City Council

This campaign involved disseminating leaflets published by the city council, in partnership with the police, the primary care trust (PCT) and Hull College. The leaflet used a question and answer format to counter some of the common misconceptions about asylum seekers in the area. But as well as responding to the myths, the leaflet outlined positive contributions of immigrants to the UK economy and public services.

The leaflet campaign was also complemented by a larger communications programme, involving appearances on radio phone-ins and local television by members of the Refugee and Asylum Support Service. There was also some partnership work with the local press involving stories about new communities.

The 'Don't Believe the Hype' campaign was not evaluated in any direct way, but was widely regarded as successful by stakeholders. The campaign strategy was subsequently used to challenge myths around mental health.

Source: DCLG, 2007: 120

Ipsos Mori (DCLG 2007) also identified some of the following factors as contributing to the success of 'myth-busting' initiatives:

- Clear language and format used in leaflets, e.g. question and answer and 'myth versus fact' format. This was used in the Hull leaflet campaign.

- Immediate and direct responses to current concerns including local and national events: this means tailoring responses to specific concerns in interactive forums (e.g. radio phone-ins) and tapping into the language used by members of the public. This method of campaigning also allows people to vent their frustrations and feel they are being listened to. This was seen reflected in the radio phone-ins in Hull and in 'resident meetings' in Peterborough.

- Combined communications work: including leaflet campaigns, appearances on radio and TV, other forms of interactive communications and working with local press – as outlined in the Hull leaflet campaign.

- Involving service providers within communications campaign: involvement of senior stakeholders within the communication campaign can make people feel that services are actually accountable and that they are receiving accurate information from the source directly. In the Hull campaign a senior stakeholder from the asylum service took part in a radio phone-in to dispel myths about asylum-seekers.

- Using factual information about the way resources are spent locally. In Birmingham a resource mapping exercise, undertaken as part of service planning helped dispel tensions between residents about where money was being spent.

Using existing engagement mechanisms as a means of two-way communication: in Birmingham, neighbourhood forums were used as a mechanism for providing people with accurate information about new communities and public services.

Political Integration

The evidence on political integration is complex. Some countries have allowed migrants who are not citizens to participate in local elections (e.g. Belgium, Denmark, the Netherland, Portugal, Spain and the UK) whilst others have never allowed migrants (particularly third country nationals) to participate in any elections (e.g. Austria, Czech Republic, France, Germany and Italy). The conditions appear to depend on several factors including years of residence, type of residence status and agreements between host countries and country of origin. There is some evidence to suggest, however that having voting rights encourages immigrants to become more active in the political arena generally.

Box 4.9 demonstrates the plethora of ways of enhancing participation in the political process amongst diverse communities.

There is a trade-off, however, with tightening citizenship criteria for all migrants as evidence suggests that facilitating access to citizenship actually acts as a positive contributing factor towards the integration process. This is based on OECD research (OECD, 2008a: 233) which shows that employment outcomes are better for non-OECD immigrants when immigrants have taken

the host countries' nationality, and that this is the case in all countries and for both genders (even after controlling for factors such as education, age, duration of residence and country of origin).

It is also clear from the literature, however, that integration measures addressing social and cultural participation must also recognize the inter-related issues with respect to poverty, disadvantage and marginalization. Research has shown that most new immigrants settle into neighbourhoods that are already disadvantaged and deprived (due to constraints of the housing markets, together with existing networks and the policy and practice of statutory agencies all serving to direct new migrants into these areas). However, these areas are characterized by poor quality housing, restricted access to the local labour market, limited civic participation and crime problems (see for example Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Hickman et al., 2008). Thus integration measures designed to increase 'community cohesion' may still be difficult to achieve as there may be considerable tensions between different groups because of 'perceived' competition for finite resources.

Box 4.9
Increasing the election turnout and political activity among immigrant voters, Rotterdam, The Netherlands
In order to promote the political participation among immigrant voters at the local elections in 1998, a project based on co-operation between local authorities and 'Stimulans' (regional NGO) aimed at drawing the attention of the immigrant community to the local election. Furthermore, the immigrant voters were informed about the importance of voting and about the voting procedures. More specifically, the following activities were carried out: (1) A political café; (2) information and discussion meetings in co-operation with local migrant organization and migrant candidates; (3) election broadcasts in six languages; (4) interviews and messages in local papers; and (5) making and distributing posters with migrant candidates. Though the overall level of voting in Rotterdam and in Feijenoord for the 1998 elections was low the percentage of immigrant voters has risen, especially among Turks and Moroccans.

Source: The Ministry of Refugee, Immigration and Integration Affairs (2003).

5: Measuring Integration

Whilst the meaning, objectives and strategies of integration may differ across Europe, Northern America and Australia, there is general agreement that in order for integration to be 'meaningful' we need to monitor and evaluate the degree or extent of immigrant integration across key spheres of life - economic, social, cultural and political - and that it must be a cross-cutting policy programme (Council of Europe, 1997). And although integration may be difficult to measure because it is perceived as both a 'means' and an 'outcome', there are many different sets of indicators and evaluation mechanisms that can still allow us to measure and compare progress in this area. The purpose of measuring integration would be to get a better idea of past and current experiences, identify gaps in provision, adjust policies accordingly and to improve the integration process for both new arrivals and host communities.

Evidence from the OECD (2007 and 2008a) clearly shows that length of stay and immigration status have a strong impact on employment outcomes, but it would also be useful to know if national origin influences the integration outcomes of new migrants as well. This means that it's important to collate demographic data on new migrants in terms of their date of entry to the UK, national origin and immigration status. Longitudinal studies on new immigrants in Canada and Australia have been particularly useful in highlighting factors that have helped or hindered integration and assessing the impact of settlement policies (Box 5.1).

However, one of the most extensive pieces of work undertaken in the area of benchmarking integration is the study by Ager and Strang's entitled 'Indicators of Integration' (2004a) which was undertaken for the Home Office (London, UK) in order to improve the understanding of 'what refugee integration actually means in the contemporary UK context'. The objective of the research was also to ascertain what kind of indicators could be used to assess how far 'refugee integration' had been achieved for refugees in the UK. Ager and Strang used a range of literature, qualitative interviews and other sources of data to identify the key factors that appeared to contribute to the process of integration for refugees in the UK. Their framework – called the Indicators of Integration Framework (Figure 2.1) – is structured around ten key domains that their evidence suggested was central to the successful integration of refugees.

Box 5.1
Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC)

The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) is interesting because it is one of the few longitudinal surveys[11] that studies the process by which new immigrants adapt and integrate into Canada. The survey looks at various stages of the integration process, the factors that help or hinder integration, and the impact of different resettlement services. Socio-economic characteristics of immigrants are also collated in order to assess the impact of these factors on the integration process.

The results of the survey provides valuable information about how immigrants are meeting various challenges associated with integration and what resources are the most helpful to their settlement in Canada. The main topics investigated include housing, education, employment, income, health, values, attitudes, language skills, recognition of foreign credentials, development and use of social networks and satisfaction with the settlement experience. The respondents are interviewed in three waves (16 months, 2 years and 4 years) after their arrival. The target population of the survey consists of immigrants who meet the following criteria:

1. Immigrant's arrival took place between October 2000 and September 2001;

2. Immigrant was aged 15 years or older at the time of arrival;

3. Immigrant landed from abroad, and therefore, must have applied for admission to Canada through a Canadian Mission (embassy) abroad.

The majority of interviews were conducted face to face and lasted about 90 minutes. They were completed in one of 15 languages, including English and French, and were conducted across Canada.
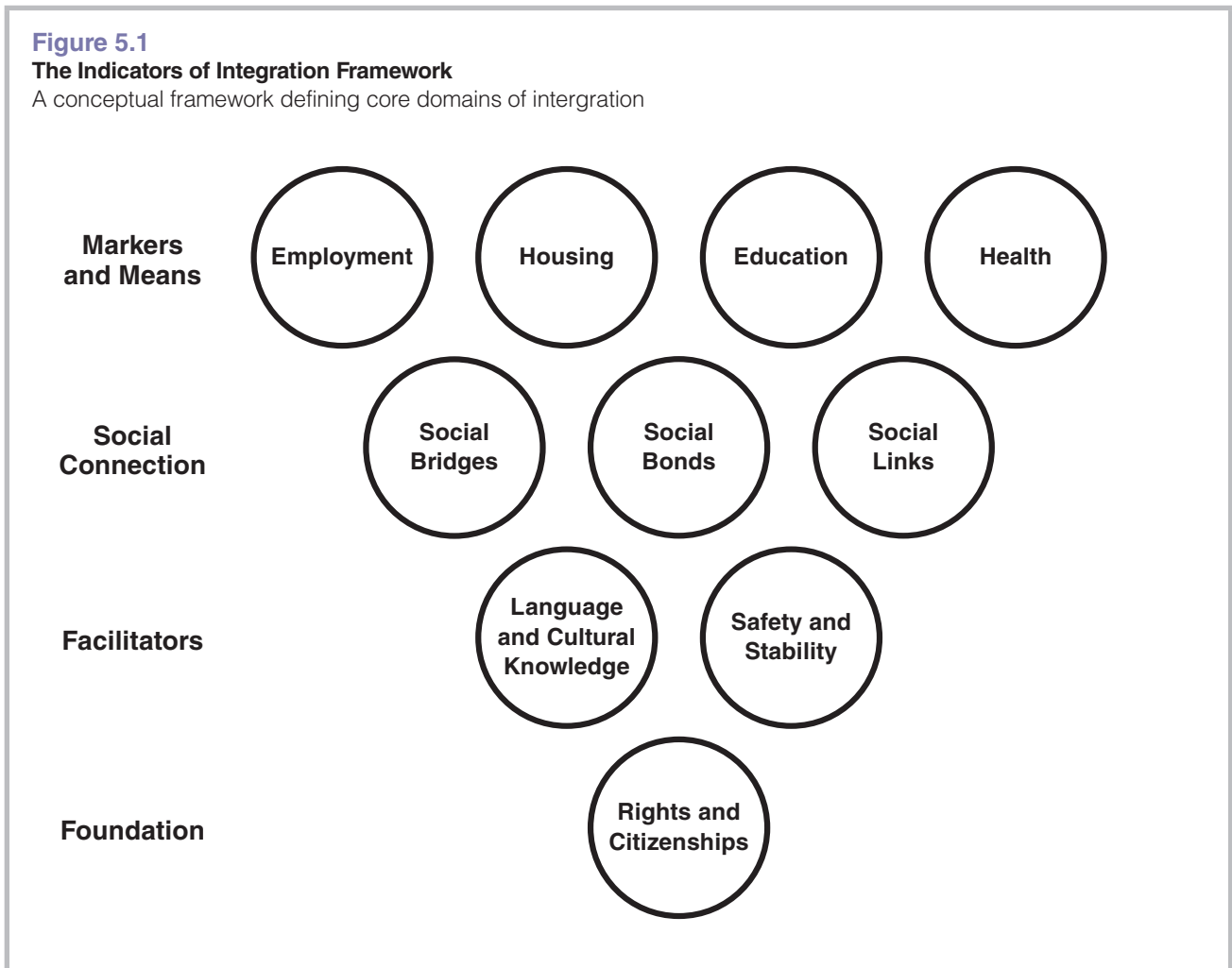
In total 20,322 immigrants were selected from the target population with a total of 12,128 responding in the first wave.

Source:
http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/89-611-x/89-611-x2003001-eng.pdf

Figure 5.1
The Indicators of Integration Framework
A conceptual framework defining core domains of intergration

| Markers and Means | Employment | Housing | Education | Health |

| Social Connection | Social Bridges | Social Bonds | Social Links |

| Facilitators | Language and Cultural Knowledge | Safety and Stability |

| Foundation | Rights and Citizenships |

Source: Ager and Strang (2004a): 3.

Ager and Strang (2004a) call these fields 'markers' and 'means' because success within these fields is an indication of 'positive integration outcomes' (hence markers) and because success within these specific fields will also assist the wider integration process (hence 'means'). They also added that the connections between these fields should not be considered 'causal' as there may be a variety of pathways linking these fields.

Employment, education, housing and health were four areas considered significant for tracking the progress of integration (Ager and Strang, 2004b). Employment provides a means for income-generation and achieving self-sufficiency and as such was viewed by refugee interviewees as crucial to integration. Jobs were also viewed as establishing connections with other communities, developing language acquisition and gaining broader cultural knowledge of the host society.

Education was viewed as integral because it is linked to economic independence, develops language proficiency and cultural knowledge, encourages social links with other communities, and enables migrants to convert skills and qualifications. For children, in particular (and in some cases their parents), schools were perceived as the most important place of having regular contact with members of the host society and other communities.

Housing was also identified as crucial to the integration process because housing conditions can impact on people's physical and emotional well-being. Interestingly, however, during interviews with refugees and non-refugees (Ager and Strang, 2004b) most people referred to the 'social and cultural impacts of housing' (i.e. the surrounding environment and schools) as having a greater influence on their housing experience.

Housing was also linked to people's sense of security and stability, as well as opportunities for developing social connections. Health was considered less important as a facilitator of integration, but was identified because 'good health' was considered essential for access to other key areas of integration (e.g. employment, education and social integration).

But Ager and Strang (2004a) argue that these 'markers', whilst extensive in the areas of life that they cover, have limitations, because they do not reflect the everyday experience of integration, i.e. relationships between people. Therefore, the authors identified different forms of social relationships or connections which they garnered from the interviews to be crucial to the integration process. These were:

1. Social bonds (intra-community connections, e.g. same ethnic, national, or religious identity);

2. Social bridges (inter-community links, e.g. between new migrants and host communities);

3. Social links (links with institutions and municipal services).

In Ager and Strang's study (2004b), the interviews with refugees (and from other studies) highlighted that having a sense of belonging to a particular group or community was crucial at the beginning stage of integration in order to achieve a sense of stability. But, equally, building relationships with other communities was perceived as important for increasing cultural understanding, social networks and widening economic opportunities. And building links with social institutions and being part of the political process was perceived as integral to belonging to the whole society.

Ager and Strang (2004b) identified 'language and cultural knowledge' and 'safety and stability' as additional facilitators of integration into wider society. Whilst fluency in the official language was critical in its own right, interviews with non-refugee communities[12] also stressed the importance of 'cultural knowledge' – knowledge of national and local procedures, local customs and facilities, but also that this should be a two-way process with the host society acquiring knowledge of the circumstances and cultural background of new migrants. This highlighted the reciprocal nature of 'cultural understanding' which is generally considered critical for 'meaningful' integration to take place.

In their study (Ager and Strang, 2004b), refugees also highlighted experiences relating to racial harassment, xenophobia and other forms of hate crime thus identifying 'safety and security' as another important element of the integration process.

And, finally, 'rights and citizenship' were identified as the very foundation upon which integration can be built as it reflects the rights, entitlements and obligations expected of new migrants when they become a part of the host society. However, in their study, Ager and Strang reiterated that rights and entitlements would need to be the same as the residents of the host community - otherwise immigrants are treated differently: 'A number of refugees [interviewed] also pointed out that the establishment of equal rights had an impact on the way people view them; where there are not equal rights, there is less respect.' (Ager and Strang, 2008: 176).

And in order to measure 'success' in these integration 'markers' and 'means', Ager and Strang compiled indicators in relation to each of their ten domains (Table 5.1). The indicators to measure integration outcomes are extensive, but are a good reference for analysing integration outcomes in this research study. However, their list of indicators (Table 5.1) needs to be viewed cautiously as the authors were ambitious and indicators were proposed even when no data was available for migrants and other refugees[13]. In addition, the section on 'potential sources of information' in Table 5.1 has been updated for the purpose of this review.

Table 5.1
Measuring indicators of integration

Area of integration	Policy level indicators	Practice level indicators	Potential sources of this information
Employment	• Employment and unemployment rates of new migrants who are of working age (compared with rates of general population) • Average annual earnings/ income for migrant households • Rates of under-employment • Rates of self-employment	• Uptake of services by migrants, e.g. JobCentre Plus • Number of local employers employing migrants • Measuring the length of time before securing employment • Rates of underemployment (number of migrants with professional or university qualifications who are undertaking manual work) • Reported satisfaction with employment amongst working migrants	• Labour Force Survey • DWP • LSC surveys • Jobcentre Plus surveys/data • Other employer and employee surveys?
Housing	• Proportion of immigrants living in owner-occupied and secure (assured) tenancy compared to the general population • Proportion of new migrants living in areas targeted for urban regeneration funds • Housing occupation profile/ overcrowding for new migrant households (compared with general population and allowing for legal household size)	• Proportion of immigrants living in owner-occupied and secure (assured) tenancy compared to the general population • Proportion of new migrants living in the most deprived ten per cent local authority wards • Satisfaction with housing conditions • Number of homeless new migrants	• CLG records • Housing Association records • Chartered Institute of Housing Surveys
Education	• The percentage of children from migrant families achieving specified targets at the key stages of primary and secondary education (i.e. five or more passes at GCSE between A*-C grades); two or more A level or Advanced higher passes; admission to university • Number of migrants completing vocational qualifications	• The percentage of children from migrant families achieving specified targets in education • Number of new migrants completing vocational qualifications • Number of migrant children participating in pre-school education • Number of migrant children in lunchtime or after school clubs (compared with the general population)	• LEA records • PLASC data • UCAS data
Heath	• Morbidity and mortality rates compared with general population • Other PSA targets? (e.g. immunization, antenatal and cervical or breast screening?) • The number of migrants with medical qualifications joining the professional registers	• Proportion of new migrants registered with the GP (compared with general population) • Utilization rates of specialized/key services • Surveys of satisfaction with service provision • Involvement in consultation surveys	• DoH or NHS central records • BMA and RCN registers • Health Authority Board reports and data • Community Health Partnership Bodies

Table 5.1 - Continued
Measuring indicators of integration

Area of integration	Policy level indicators	Practice level indicators	Potential sources of this information
Social bridges	• The proportion of new migrants who report to be actively mixing with people from other national, ethnic and religious backgrounds • The number of migrants who are undertaking voluntary work in the community in the past month • Reported public attitudes to immigrants • Reports of harassment or hate crime to the police	• Participation rates of new migrants in youth clubs, childcare facilities, sports clubs, etc. compared to their representation in the locality • The proportion of new migrants who report to be actively mixing with other people in their local area • Number of migrants undertaking voluntary work in their locality in the past month • Reported public attitudes to migrants • Reports of harassment and hate crimes to the local police in the past year	• Local Police Crime records • Audit Commission's assessment of cohesion • Citizenship survey • Migration survey • MORI surveys • Local Authority data and surveys
Social bonds	• Number of registered community organisations (total and those operational for two years or more) • Number of reported contacts with own group • Events promoting diverse cultural heritage	• Numbers actively engaged with a voluntary or community organisation • Frequency of cultural festivals, events etc. • Number of immigrants attending specific cultural or religious places • Sense of belonging to neighbourhood	• Citizenship survey • Migration survey • Register of local voluntary bodies • Local authority data and surveys
Social links	• Number of NGOs with one or more new immigrants on their management board • Number of new immigrants assuming office or involved in local political parties/councillors etc • Number of immigrants employed by local councils and other public bodies	• Number of immigrants on representative bodies e.g. residents' association; local schemes etc. • Number of new immigrants on school governing bodies • As above for local councils	• Charities Commission • Political Party records • Local authority HR departments
Language and cultural knowledge	• Proportion of migrants demonstrating ESOL level 2 within two years of taking up classes • Proportion of people living in an area who feel that ethnic or other differences between communities are respected locally • The availability and uptake of interpreting/translation services	• Number of new immigrants enrolled in ESOL classes • Knowledge of local services and facilities • Knowledge of local customs and cultures	• LSC • DIUS or local ESOL data • Citizenship survey • Local authority surveys

Table 5.1 - Continued
Measuring indicators of integration

Area of integration	Policy level indicators	Practice level indicators	Potential sources of this information
Safety and stability	• Proportion of new migrants living in areas with high number of hate crimes • Number of racial and other incidents recorded by police	• Number of new migrants reporting racial, cultural or religious harassment • Number of racial or other hate crimes recorded by police • Proportion of immigrants who feel that their area is a place where people from different backgrounds can get on well together • Reported incidents of bullying and racist incidents in schools • Level of satisfaction reported by new immigrants in the area	• Citizenship survey • Migration survey • Local surveys • LA Best Value Performance Indicators • British Crime Survey • Local crime surveys
Rights and citizenship	• Average length of asylum application procedure for successful claimants • Rates of application for citizenship by refugees • Acceptance rates for family reunion applications by new migrants including refugees • Proportion of new migrants or refugees involved in political party or trade union activities in the past 12 months in comparison to existing residents • Number of new migrants consulted in general public surveys	• Average length of asylum application procedure for successful claimants • Access to legal and welfare benefits advice by new migrants in comparison to existing residents • Number of new migrants voting in local and parliamentary elections • Rates of application for citizenship • Migrants sense of equity about access to services and benefits	• Citizenship survey • Migration survey • Citizen's Advice Bureau data • Local surveys

Source: Ager and Strang (2004a: 14-23).

An important aspect of Ager and Strang's framework (similar to most research on integration) is the notion that integration is more likely to be successful if there is convergence (in social, political and economic areas) with settled residents in the host society.

There is not a great deal of research on 'indicators of integration', but generally what does exist reinforces the broad findings by Ager and Strang in their study with refugees and settled communities. There are some gaps, and perhaps one of the more notable ones is identified by Entzinger and Biezeveld in their research on 'Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration' (2003). This research is interesting because whilst it is not as detailed in the areas it covers, it does add an important field somewhat overlooked by Ager and Strang - that is, the attitudes of the recipient communities or host society. This includes perceptions of migrants by the host society as well as the role played by the media in the way they portray migrants. Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) argue that whilst legal and political rights are important (as well as access to key benefits), immigrants need to feel 'welcome' in their new country. Therefore, measures to combat direct as well as latent forms of discrimination and racism are essential – whether in the labour market, core institutions, the police force or the media (Entzinger and Biezeveld, 2003: 36). The authors therefore suggest that we try to monitor the levels

of attitudes towards migrants across European countries through the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (in Vienna) and the Euro-barometer.

Entzinger and Biezeveld (2003) also identify intermarriage as a 'classical indicator of social integration' since it is likely to reflect broad acceptance of different cultures and backgrounds. This indicator, however, may be more controversial, since high rates of inter-marriage (e.g. between African Caribbean men and white women in the UK) may not signal integration success in other key areas of life (e.g. education and labour market outcomes).

Indeed the ambiguity of some indicators – i.e. that indicators may not always accurately measure what we think they are measuring – is raised as a major problem in the area of immigrant integration. Thus Entzinger and Biezeveld suggest that take-up of 'social security' as a measure of socio-economic integration would be a deceiving indicator because not all migrants would be accessing benefits. And many others (e.g. Robinson and Reeve, 2006) have argued that housing segregation would not be an accurate measure of immigrant integration since it may reflect 'a lack of choice' more than an active choice in housing preference.

Other major issues with integration indicators include the assumption that we are clear about which migrants are included and excluded in the measures that we are using to assess the progress in integration. This includes the problem of distinguishing naturalized migrants from settled residents in order to assess the progress of long-term integration. Some countries have recognized some of these issues, and in Denmark and The Netherlands, foreign citizens, their children and even their children's children are all registered so that the authorities can monitor the social integration of immigrants and their descendants over long periods of time.

One area touched on in the integration literature, but not (often) viewed as an integration indicator, is integration outcomes of second generation children. The outcomes are hugely diverse across the countries, and in some countries the educational gaps between new migrant children (particularly second generation ones) and host-

country children are large. A quick glance at some of the countries suggest that there may be structural features which hinder the progress of these children – as in Germany, where a relatively late start to kindergarten and early streaming measures considerably limit exposure to the German language at a crucial age. Omitting the measure of the integration of second-generation immigrant children may be a grave error as it would not only highlight the success of previous integration measures, but also highlight integration interventions required for the younger generation.

Many of the indicators reviewed here use the existing or indigenous population as a reference for migrant integration, but the question needs to be asked as to whether this will always be a good source of comparison. Most new migrants settle in urban areas with relatively high unemployment rates, but is average unemployment rate of this population a useful reference for migrant labour market integration? What if the migrants have higher skills and qualifications compared to the average indigenous population, but have the same employment and unemployment rates? Is that meaningful integration or does it signify barriers to (labour market) integration?

Finally, it is worth noting that having 'excellent' indicators on immigrant integration will not necessarily achieve an 'ideal' in the integration process of immigrants. This is because it would be 'virtually impossible' given the wide range of factors influencing immigrant integration, the diversity of migrants (including personal factors and motivations), and the huge differences in local contexts. However, there are also similarities amongst and between immigrant groups and between them and host communities, and for this reason it is useful to have a benchmark for measuring immigrant integration.

6: Conclusion

The sheer size and diversity of the EU Member States, the US, Canada and the Australian provinces meant that the policies and systems in relation to integration (employment, language training, skills development, anti-discrimination policies, etc.) could not be reviewed in their entirety. The time frame was limited for a comprehensive review and many programmes and initiatives were not linked with rigorous evaluations processes that enabled them to be identified as 'best practice' examples. Nevertheless this research study has identified some examples of successful integration strategies undertaken with specific migrant groups across different countries.

From the review it is apparent that the two strongest predictors of integration success (i.e. in terms of having a broad impact across social and economic integration) are employment and native language acquisition. Length of stay in the host country would clearly be a major factor in the integration process, but without employment and language acquisition, it has little impact on meaningful integration. Both employment and language proficiency work in tandem (both influence each other's outcomes and improve the prospects of social interactions), but employment has the additional advantage of enabling new migrants to feel financially secure, be autonomous and be viewed as contributing to the host society.

However, integration is a multi-dimensional and cross-cutting issue, and the evidence also shows that whilst employment and fluency in the native language are prerequisites for 'meaningful' integration, these cannot be completely achieved unless we take account of the other key integration dimensions – namely social and cultural integration with other communities. This particularly includes social relations with 'existing settled residents' (both ethnic minority and white residents) because no amount of language lessons, citizenship courses or inclusion in public services for new migrants is likely to override resentment and hostility from the local population. This means focusing more comprehensively on myth-busting strategies (through co-ordinated work with other agencies, multiple communication means and interactive forums) and exploring 'common values' and concerns about shared neighbourhoods.

Underpinning these three factors – employment, language acquisition and good community relations – is the importance of information. From the literature on social integration (e.g. Spencer, 2006) it is evident that information needs to be provided, at least at three key levels: for new migrants when they arrive (in terms of accessing key services); for service providers to equip them to meet the needs of migrants more appropriately; and for the public and media to counter myths and stereotypes that exist about new migrant groups.

It is worth noting that the evidence on labour market integration and language proficiency is considerably more robust than integration research in other areas. So, for instance, the evidence demonstrated that language proficiency has a significant measurable impact on labour market performance, so there is strong reason for providing language classes to new migrants. But unfortunately, the same level of evidence could not be identified for the impact of integration interventions in the areas of political, social and cultural integration.

And whilst the literature shows that language proficiency is a prerequisite for building relationships with other communities, labour market integration (albeit not for all jobs) and accessing services, it also shows that it is more useful if the language instruction is linked to labour market needs, and if it is not prolonged. Generally speaking, employers prefer high quality language provision over a short period of time (OECD, 2007: 272).

Also, OECD evidence (2007 and 2008a) showed that focusing on highly-skilled migrants substantially increases the chances of labour market (and social) integration, but it is not a guarantee as human capital issues (i.e. language proficiency and skill transferability) can still be major barriers in the integration process.

The evidence (particularly from Australia) highlighted how qualifications and work experience in the host-country is preferred, over and above qualifications obtained in the country of origin. And new immigrants who have lived and worked in the host country are also likely to have better fluency in the native language. Thus measures, such as recruiting

foreign-students studying in the host country, and interventions which focus on improving domestic experience and qualifications, including early entry to the domestic labour market, are all more likely to favour the integration of highly-skilled new immigrants (particularly within the labour market). In addition, many countries focus on recognition of formal qualifications and credentials, although the evidence is ambiguous on whether these are fully valued by employers. There is some evidence to show that whist the recognition process does have some benefits, there are also cases (e.g. in Canada) where employers are clearly 'discounting' foreign qualifications (OECD, 2007: 275).

Research across the OECD also clearly showed that the type of visa a person enters on has a much stronger influence on long-term employment outcomes than any other factor (including language proficiency). This is the case in almost all countries, even after taking into account educational attainment and socio-demographic characteristics (OECD, 2007). But interestingly, the same research showed that speeding up the process of naturalization, significantly enhances integration into the labour market – and that this is the case across all countries and for both genders. So whilst there may be an initial 'visa penalty' with respect to some migrants, quick access to citizenship may be a way of overcoming the negative impact of initial immigration status.

The literature on 'indicators of integration' revealed that for integration policy to be effective, we need to monitor and evaluate success of immigrant integration across all levels of integration. The literature highlights indicators in many areas, but of these the key indicators to measure integration progress appear to be in:

- Employment

- Education

- Housing

- Health

- Social connections within groups, between groups and with host institutions

- Language acquisition and cultural knowledge of the host society

- Safety and stability of immigrants

- Rights, entitlements and responsibilities of immigrants

- Attitudes of the recipient society towards new migrants

Other measures of integration are mentioned – such as take-up of social security by immigrants – but it is debatable whether these indicators actually measure what we think they are measuring.

There is very little mention of the outcomes for second-generation children (of immigrants) in any of the integration measures. This is a major oversight since outcomes of second-generation children could be argued to be a critical benchmark for long-term integration success. Language is a critical predictor of educational and labour market success, and it is clear that early, and high quality, language classes for children, should begin immediately after arrival in order to ensure long-term integration success (particularly in the labour market).

The review also showed some of the benefits of collating data (both short term and longitudinal) on new migrants in order to assess how particular aspects of their background (e.g. date of entry, national origin and immigration status) impact on their integration outcomes. Undoubtedly, it will be difficult to question new immigrants about their immigration status, socio-economic status, etc. but without collating such information, it will be difficult to assess whether services are being delivered in an appropriate way.

Almost all of the evidence suggests that success of integration programmes will also crucially depend on how we address the issues around disadvantage, discrimination and social exclusion. The Government's mainstream economic and social policies focusing on reducing social and economic gaps (e.g. through the Ethnic Minority Task Force) will increasingly benefit particular migrants, but the evidence shows that some migrant groups will require more targeted help than others. This may be the case during the economic downturn this year as evidence from Sweden and Denmark in the early to mid-1990s showed that employment prospects

of both recent and long-standing immigrants were much more greatly affected than that of nationals (OECD, 2007). In addition, the more narrow labour market makes it more likely that characteristics such as difficulties in the native language (which may be viewed as a hindrance to productivity) will be used to screen out new migrants.

In addition, greater attention needs to be paid to the increasing disparity between the 'actual impacts of immigration' (as reported by national and local authorities) and the 'perceived impacts of immigration' as observed by the existing local communities and local media. This is important as it highlights the (accurate) information gap about new migrants at the local level. In this context effective myth-busting strategies (particularly those strategies focusing on interactive and timely communication

involving senior authority figures) highlighted in this report may be worth noting, although it would be erroneous to believe that this would be sufficient to alleviate local community tensions between newcomers and existing residents. This is because other factors – local labour market dynamics, housing pressures, existing demographics etc – will also play an important part on how newcomers are integrated into local communities.

Finally, although migration is spread out nationally, it increasingly has a local impact, and therefore rural and urban areas will play a pivotal role in the reception and integration of new migrants. In this context, the issue of safety and crime prevention at a local level which have been identified as key drivers of social cohesion in surveys (Ipsos MORI, 2005) will be important to address.

Notes

1. http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/ppmg0209.pdf

2. There was a 21 per cent drop in NINos allocated to A8 countries between September 2007 and September 2008 (ONS, 2009).

3. Only 20 per cent of people from non-OECD are coming for work; study and family reunification are still major reasons for migration for non-OECD countries.

4. A8 countries are Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovak Republic and Slovenia.

5. http://www.statistics.gov.uk/pdfdir/mw0209.pdf

6. Taken from EU communication on Immigration, Integration and Employment http://europa.eu/scadplus/leg/en/cha/c10611.htm

7. Houses in Multiple Occupation.

8. Although it is worth noting that this applies more to the successful integration of men than women.

9. Although it is worth noting that immigration from the UK still accounts for one quarter of the immigrant population

10. Another longitudinal study worth noting is the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Australia (LSIA): http://www.immi.gov.au/media/research/lsia/lsia01.htm

11. Qualitative interviews were conducted in London and Glasgow with the people who were experiencing the impact of refugee integration and to identify the key issues influencing the perceptions of both refugees and non-refugees regarding local integration.

12. It is important to note, however, that this table has been adapted to include sources of information from current evaluation mechanisms and surveys within the UK.

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About the Author

Dr Zubaida Haque has a strong research and policy background in education, employment, immigration, housing, community cohesion and Muslim communities. Zubaida has considerable experience of working with Government and various think tanks and has contributed to many reports, panels and commissions, e.g. The Commission on Multi-Ethnic Britain Report (2000); Oldham Independent Review Report (2001); Community Cohesion (Independent Review Team, 2001); Building Cohesive Communities, A Report of the Ministerial Group (2001); Ethnic Minorities and the Labour Market (Strategy Unit, 2003) and Commission on 2020 Public Services Trust. Zubaida has also written in peer-reviewed journals and newspapers.

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