

**INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND  
REFUGEES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES:  
PROBLEMS AND POLICIES**

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173

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173

Comunicació presentada al II Seminari  
*Language Training and Socio-cultural Adaptation*  
celebrat a Moscó, del 7 al 9 d'abril de 1999.

**Centre d'Estudis Demogràfics**

**2000**

**Resum.-** Aquest text és el resultat d'una classe de formació adreçada al personal encarregat de dirigir els camps de refugiats i els passos fronterers de la Federació Russa. El text presenta les principals polítiques locals d'integració de la població immigrant de quatre grans països europeus: Gran Bretanya, França, Alemanya i Suècia. Els temes estudiats són l'escola, la joventut, l'habitatge, el mercat laboral i, en el cas britànic, les polítiques d'igualtat d'oportunitats i d'anti-racisme.

**Paraules clau.-** Refugiats, frontera, polítiques, immigrants.

**Resumen.-** Este texto es el resultado de una clase de formación dirigida al personal encargado de dirigir los campos de refugiados y los pasos fronterizos de la Federación Rusa. El texto presenta las principales políticas locales de integración de la población inmigrante de cuatro grandes países europeos: Gran Bretaña, Francia, Alemania, y Suecia. Los temas estudiados son la escuela, la juventud, la vivienda, el mercado laboral, y en el caso británico, las políticas de igualdad de oportunidades y de anti-racismo.

**Palabras clave.-** Refugiados, frontera, políticas, inmigrantes.

**Abstract.-** This text is the result of a training lecture given to the personal in charge of refugee camps and border posts in the Russian Federation. The text presents the main local integration policies of immigrants in four European countries: Great Britain, France, Germany and Sweden. The themes reviewed are education, the young, the housing, the labour market and, in the British case, also equal opportunity and anti-racism policies.

**Key words.-** Refugee, frontier, politics, immigrants.

**Résumé.-** Ce texte est le résultat d'une classe de formation adressée au personnel chargé de diriger les camps de réfugiés et les postes frontière de la Fédération Russe. Le texte présente les principes politiques locales d'intégration des immigrants de quatre grands pays européens: Grande-Bretagne, France, Allemagne et Suède. Les thèmes traités sont l'école, la jeunesse, le logement, le marché du travail et, dans le cas britannique, les politiques d'égalité et d'anti-racisme.

**Mots clés.-** Réfugiés, frontière, politiques, immigrants.

## CONTENTS

1.- Introduction .....	1
2.- Origins of integration policies in Western Europe .....	1
3.- Local integration. Problems and policies in Western Europe: an overview .....	4
<i>Housing</i> .....	4
<i>The school</i> .....	5
<i>The labour market</i> .....	6
4.- European national examples .....	7
4.1.- France .....	7
<i>The national integration policy</i> .....	7
<i>Local policies. The school and the young</i> .....	9
<i>Local policies. Training and employment</i> .....	10
<i>Local policies. Housing</i> .....	10
4.2.- Great Britain .....	12
<i>The national integration policy</i> .....	12
<i>Local policies. Equal opportunity</i> .....	13
<i>Local policies. Multiculturalism</i> .....	14
<i>Local policies. Anti-racism</i> .....	15
<i>Local policies. The School</i> .....	16
<i>Local policies. Housing</i> .....	17
4.3.- Germany .....	17
<i>The national integration policy</i> .....	17
<i>Local policies. Housing</i> .....	18
<i>Local policies. The school</i> .....	19
<i>Local policies. The young</i> .....	21
<i>Local policies. Training and employment</i> .....	21
4.4.- Sweden .....	22
<i>The national integration policy</i> .....	22
<i>The local strategy of the national refugee policy</i> .....	23
<i>Local policies. Housing, the school</i> .....	24
References .....	25

## **INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS AND REFUGEES IN LOCAL COMMUNITIES: PROBLEMS AND POLICIES**

### **1.- Introduction**

In this lecture, integration simply means “arrangements which enable immigrants and minorities to participate in all aspects of the host societies, social, economic and eventually political” (Coleman’s definition). This definition leaves different possible avenues of integration. Integration can take different meanings, have different objectives and leads to different policies. And this is what is actually observed in European countries. Two basic “philosophies” of integration can be distinguished, and national and local policies of integration will be situated somewhere in-between these two poles. In some countries, Great Britain, Sweden, the Netherlands (Australia and Canada can be added to this group), integration does not mean assimilation. Rather, integration goes with the respect of cultural differences of immigrant populations and, ultimately, is the negation of the “melting pot”: this is the “multicultural” approach to integration. On the contrary, in France, Germany or Spain, integration is viewed in individual terms, and “equality goes with the sacrifice of cultural and ethnic differences”: this is the individual approach to integration. Both approaches are not without ambiguity: “priority given to the respects of collective identities could lead to *de facto* segregation; priority given to individual integration could lead to the ignorance of actual discriminations and the non-recognition of inherited identities”, writes Lapeyronnie.

### **2.- Origins of integration policies in Western Europe**

Since the final of the Second World War, Western European countries have experienced distinct immigration phases that are similar in all countries. Just after the Second World War and until the 60’s, European immigration is a South-North movement in Western Europe and a North-South movement in Northern Europe. Italians and Spanish above all are going to Germany, France or Belgium to work in the industrial sector that is developing rapidly, and Finnish are going to Sweden, and Irish to England. From the 60’s onwards, a diversification of migrant workers have taken place, and the immigrants have been coming from more faraway origins: North-Africans in France, Turks and Yugoslavs in Germany, Belgium in the Netherlands, Indians, Pakistanis and West-Indians in Great Britain, Surinameses in the

Netherlands. In many cases, the process of de-colonisation that took place during the 50's and the 60's accentuated these movements. Until the 70's, the immigration movements were mostly (but not only) economic. The European countries were particularly concerned with immigration policies (regulation of immigrants' flows in accordance with the necessity of the national economy) and not so much with integration policies for these immigrants as they were supposed to return home after their stay.

With the economic crisis of the middle of the 70's, European countries decided to stop immigration. The consequence was (and still is) a change in the nature of this immigration. From a temporary labour migration, the situation has become a sedentary immigration (many migrant workers from the developing world did not use the facilities offered to them to return home). Young people and women are now more numerous within the migrant group as a consequence of family reunification and the proper demographic dynamics of these migrants (natality), illegal immigration and refugees movements. These flows were helped "by a number of factors - rapid population growth and weak economic growth in sending countries, knowledge of Europe through television and other media, telephone chain connections with existing migrant settlements in Europe where shelter may be found, greater awareness of the possibility of exploiting human rights and marriage provisions for entry, the difficulty of separating illegal from licit movement in the enormous daily flows in and out of every European country". One of the indications of this change in the nature of international migration can be seen from the fact that activity rates of the migrants have decreased and unemployment rates have increased over the last few decades, especially for young people.

The first country to become aware of the change was Great Britain, being the first to be confronted to a non-economic immigration, in relation with the process of de-colonisation in its overseas territories. In Great Britain, a new orientation in immigration matters is formulated as soon as in 1965. During the following years, and especially from the beginning of the 80's, the other European countries adopted this new orientation. The principle of the new orientation consists in the consolidation or limitation of migrant population (that is, to reduce their number and to stop immigration), and their integration (economic, socio-cultural and political).

Table 1.illustrates the change in the composition of the immigrant population in one European country (Germany). The trend is similar in other countries. During the 60's, most immigrants came from other European countries (in the case of Germany: Italy, Greece and Spain). The origins of the migrants changed rapidly. In 1974 for example, the Turks already represented a third part of the German foreign population, and at the end of the 80's they were half of them (46%).

**Table 1.- Foreign population in Germany (main nationalities)**

	1961	1971	1974	1987
<b>Figures</b>				
Turks	6700	603700	1027800	1510800
Yugoslavs	16400	559900	707800	603400
Italians	197700	583500	629600	547800
Greeks	42100	385200	406400	286800
Spaniards	44200	268000	272700	145000
Portugueses		74900	121600	79800
Moroccans			24000	58000
Tunisians			17500	24500
<b>Total</b>	<b>307100</b>	<b>2475200</b>	<b>3207400</b>	<b>3256100</b>
<b>Percentages</b>				
Turks	2,2	24,4	32,0	46,4
Yugoslavs	5,3	22,6	22,1	18,5
Italians	64,4	23,6	19,6	16,8
Greeks	13,7	15,6	12,7	8,8
Spaniards	14,4	10,8	8,5	4,5
Portugueses		3,0	3,8	2,5
Moroccans			0,7	1,8
Tunisians			0,5	0,8
<b>Total</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Since the early 70's western Europe has experienced many important changes, one of these being the consequence of the new immigration flows. But it is not the only one: "industrial countries have lost confidence in the values of their own societies, the worth of their own nations or the truths of their own religions. Since the 1960's religious affiliation has declined, alternative family forms and sexual unorthodoxy have become accepted". Present Western societies are much more fragmented than in the past. "Individuals and social groups are less identified by what they do and the relations they maintain between themselves through the institutions, but they tend to identify by what they are, their past or their culture". In this process of social and cultural fragmentation, the effect of international migration was to reintroduce "ethnic diversity from agrarian societies accustomed to living in a different model of society, in some case more divided by gulfs of religion, caste or race, than Western Europe had experienced".

At the same time, the Welfare State in Western Europe has begun to crack and some of the

responsibilities of the central state have been transferred to local authorities and the private sector. The efficiency of national social policies is questioned. It is also thought that local authorities are better armed to manage immigration populations and ethnic minorities that are very diversified (in terms of origins, social status, demographically) and have very heterogeneous demands. Behind the 'local' lays the idea of a more pragmatic and flexible intervention in relation to these groups and their problems (school, housing, labour, language, political participation, etc.).

How is defined integration in different European countries is the result of historical and institutional conditions typical of these countries, as we already mentioned. But even within the same country important meanings and orientations may exist in matter of integration. Before turning to specific actions undertaken at local level in different European countries, let us have an overview of the main fields of integration actions.

### **3.- Local Integration. Problems and policies in Western Europe: an overview**

We distinguish 3 main fields of problems and policies: housing, the school and the labour market. This short review is based on Western Europe experiences (mainly France, Great Britain, Sweden, and Germany, but also the Netherlands, Belgium and Spain). It explicitly excludes North America and Australia.

#### *Housing.*

In Europe, immigrants (and minorities) generally live in deteriorated housing conditions and the quality of their residences (and their neighbourhoods) is lower in comparison to the general population. Moreover, immigrants tend to concentrate in some neighbourhoods of towns and cities. Both tendencies have provoked the apparition of ghettos, that is, the concentration of minority population in a deteriorated environment (physically, but also socially). In Great Britain and Germany, this phenomenon is visible in cities downtown or near them (Frankfort, Liverpool, Birmingham). In France or in Sweden, these "ghettos" have grown in the form of "dormitory towns" (*cités-dortoirs*) distributed in the suburbs surrounding urban centres (Paris, Lyon, and Stockholm). In front of these problems, local authorities have to fight against the deteriorated condition of housing and the important concentration of immigrant/minority populations in some urban or peri-urban sectors of the cities.

Concerning housing condition, the most obvious policy consists of renovating and modernising the most deteriorated neighbourhoods. Typical interventions are urban



programmes for which towns and cities receive financial help from the central government. Even if these urban programmes are usually not destined directly to immigrant or minority populations, they reach them indirectly and surely constitute real integration policies. In fact, due to the fact that local authorities do not really control the movement of immigrants and minority populations in and out of their territory, urban policies are usually favoured.

The question of the concentration of immigrant population is not so straightforward. In some cities or countries, the immigrants' ghettos are considered a factor of better integration, whereas in other places the ghettos are viewed as a major obstacle to integration. In Germany for example, Berlin, Frankfurt or Stuttgart share the latter view, and Hamburg the former one. In Sweden, the ghettos are denounced as one of the causes of the non-integration of immigrants and at the same time are described as a positive factor of integration to the extent that concentration favours the targeting of population. Local authorities intervene in two basic ways over concentration of immigrant populations: by imposing quotas on immigrants' presence, and by using allocation policies of social housing. In Germany, some cities impose implicit quotas of immigrant populations through their social housing policies. In Sweden, the system of quotas is a normal practice of its integration policy. Newly arrived migrants (above all refugees) are allocated between cities and towns on a base of a 2,8% quota of the total population of the town and city. This policy lies on an agreements system between the central government and the municipalities. But this system presents some limitations. The refugee may migrate to another place once his papers are in order (these movements are known as secondary migrations). And the multicultural approach of the Swedish national policy favours the creation of small ethnic enclaves into the cities and even the small towns, which is not always well received by local authorities.

In Great Britain and the Netherlands, concentration quotas policies are explicitly prohibited. Instead, these two countries use their policies against discrimination. In the Netherlands, social housing is allocated to immigrants and minorities proportionally to their number in the total population; In Great Britain, control measures are used to insure that immigrants and minorities are not the victims of some kinds of discrimination by local authorities in the housing market.

### *The school.*

In education, immigrants are facing two problems: the problem of school success (or failure) which is generally less (more) important for immigrants and minorities than for natives, and the problem of the transmission of native culture and language. The first problem, accentuated by the urban concentration of immigrants with the result of a homogenisation of classrooms,

is of concern in all countries. The second question depends mostly on the philosophy of the integration policy adopted by the city or the country. Some countries give priority to the fight against school failure by implementing educational programmes, *ad hoc* as in Germany or more systematic as in France. Other countries opt for the preservation of minority cultures and local authorities implement specific measures like hiring “ethnic” teachers, developing classes in mother tongue or promoting multiculturalism. In Sweden and the Netherlands for example, there exist teaching programmes in native tongue, especially during the first years of school. But in France, teaching in mother tongue is prohibited because it is contrary to the idea of the equal access to education for all.

### *The labour market.*

Immigrants and minorities suffer discriminations in the labour market, and their children experience difficulties in the school. Both factors make the labour market integration of immigrants/minorities a quite uncertain process. Immigrants and minorities are over-represented in unskilled jobs and among the unemployed. To face the problem, local authorities act in two ways: by developing occupational “insertion” programmes based on specific vocational training, and by using policies against labour market discrimination. If all the countries use the first type of policies (“insertion” programmes), actions against discrimination on the labour market are absent in some countries, especially in France, for ideological reasons.

From the beginning of the 80’s, many programmes were introduced to favour, directly or indirectly, the occupational “insertion” of young immigrants. These programmes take the form of specific training and are mostly destined to the young with problems of employment, but young immigrants are generally strongly represented in them. In Sweden and the Netherlands, these programmes include basic as well as advanced training, so that to reach second-generation immigrants. In Germany, they may be designed to help the return on the labour market or the obtaining of the first job. Local authorities play an essential role in these programmes as they are better armed to make the bridge between the economic sector and the training bodies. Moreover, these programmes seldom reach the adults.

The fight against discrimination in the labour market presents very diversified orientations. In France, these kinds of actions are nearly non-existent, whereas Great Britain and the Netherlands give priority to these forms of policies. Both countries have developed “positive discrimination” policies based on employment quotas. In Great Britain, some municipalities try to reach a strict conformity between the ethnic composition of the town or the city and composition of their personnel. In the Netherlands, practical measures against discrimination

in the labour market take the form of special councillors in employment offices, and subsidised jobs. The objective is to make sure that the ethnic composition of the country will be reflected in the distribution of jobs in the public sector. The same will exist at the local level. But anti-discrimination policies have little impact on the private sector, even if some measures (such as anti-racist courses) are taken to counterbalance this tendency.

#### **4.- European national examples**

We examine here different local integration policies in four western European countries (France, Great Britain, Germany and Sweden). For each country, we begin by presenting the main features of the national integration policy, their relations with local policies, and then we turn to the specific local policies.

##### **4.1.- France**

###### *The national integration policy*

In France, the integration policy of immigrants “is based on the principle of recognising and defending the rights of individuals on the same principles of equality established by the revolution and by the declaration of the rights of man, without any institutional recognition of minorities”. According to the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration*, The High Council for Integration, (where the main political parties are represented), the principles of an integration policy should be the followings:

“France is a single and indivisible republic. Integration needs the active participation in the national community of varied and different elements, not the recognition of ‘ethnic communities’”.

“France is a secular republic. It recognises religion but does not allow it to interfere with the neutrality of the state. This principle is threatened by groups which attempt to press the state to recognise their preferences, and impose their thoughts and way of life on others”.

“France has been a nation-state for a long time. French nationality has always been the keystone of national identity, without being an obstacle to the integration of foreigners”.

In this context where “ethnic communities” are not accepted, French Nationality is of the highest importance. French policy gives priority to active participation in national life on an individual basis. Levels of naturalisation are high: for example, the number of foreigners in France has reduced between 1982 and 1992, despite of a decade of immigration. It is

estimated that some 100.000 persons acquire the French nationality each year, either through the ordinary naturalisation process, or through marriage or through the provisions of the Article 44 of the Nationality Code. However, “the official integration policy accepts the maintenance of different cultural, social, and moral attitudes and believes that they enrich the national life”.

French statistic describes only immigrants and foreigners, which are quite demographically stable populations. But the social situation is different: the population of immigrant origin or foreign origin is growing. In consequence, the very term “immigration” corresponds to different socio-cultural realities.

Another consequence of the French conception of Nationality is that integration policies are mostly common rights policies, that is, the incorporation of the immigrants question into the general social policies destined to population categories defined by their underprivileged social conditions (school failure, unemployment, bad housing conditions, etc.). Moreover, there exist some specific measures towards the immigrants, “in response to pressure including the reality or threat of violence”.

Concerning local policies, it should be said first that this orientation is quite recent in France due to the strong centralised nature of the French State. In general, local integration policies are mostly national policies implemented at the local level: local authorities execute national policies without having a clear definition of their specific needs. These “policies” often take the form of financial support to municipalities characterised by social problems rather than by the presence of underprivileged immigrant groups, and local authorities usually consider that the immigrants question is not of their competence.

The most important institution dealing with the problems of the immigrants is the FAS (fonds d'action sociale), the Social Action Fund, which was born in 1959 with the aim of becoming “the main tool of an integration policy of the immigrants”, especially in housing, training and the socio-cultural field. In 1988, the FAS financed some 3.000 different organisms (associations, municipalities, and public establishments) that solicited financial support to conduct actions for the integration of immigrants. But the FAS has no local presence, and local actors see the FAS only as a source of financing. Municipalities actually use the resources of the FAS for financing *ad hoc* projects, rather than by having a global agreement with it, which would permit the FAS to take part in the local policies decision-making process. The consequence is that “instead of real local integration policies with clearly defined orientations, we rather find a set of scattered measures, often contradictory”.

### *Local policies. The school and the young*

School policies for young immigrants are integrated into the more general framework of assistance to pupils with educational problems, without any distinction of national origin. Two basic mechanisms exist: the ZEP (zones d'éducation prioritaire), the Priority Educational Zones, and the AEPS cycles (cycles d'animation éducatives péri-scolaires), the peri-school educational animation cycles.

The ZEPs were born in 1981 with the objective "of contributing to remedy to the social inequality by the selective strengthening of educational action in the zones and the social environments where school failure is higher". Many of them were created thanks to an agreement between local schools and the FAS. For example, an agreement between the FAS and the Aix-Marseilles and Nice schools permitted in 1985 to establish a set of means to fight against school failure, especially among immigrants' children. The agreement consisted of the adjustment of the pedagogic programme, by giving complementary training to teachers, by setting up libraries and documentation centres in more than 20 schools, and by realising 155 AEPS.

The AEPS are closely linked to the associative sector: they aim at improving the relation of the young showing educational problems with the school. They are generally placed under the responsibility of the neighbourhood or immigrants associations, but also of civic centres. Their interest is that they create a real local dynamics against school failure, by the co-operation between the associations, the parents and the schools.

Integration policies in the educational sector are closely linked to other measures destined to the young. A set of common rights mechanisms is open to immigrants associations if they respond to some specific criterions and respect the traditional procedures. They usually take the form of some kind of assistance by the Ministry of the Youth (Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports) to projects elaborated by young people: technical assistance, financial support or training action. Besides these common rights mechanisms, more specific actions are also undertaken in underprivileged neighbourhoods, for example the programmes of "vacances et loisirs pour tous" (Holidays and Leisure for All) that aim at setting up activities during summer for the young who do not have holidays.

Finally, measures to prevent juvenile delinquency constitute another aspect of policies towards the young. Juvenile delinquency rates are higher for foreigners than for natives (in 1987, 2,9% and 1,3% respectively), which means that young foreigners are over-represented in prisons in comparison to young natives. In many cases, these actions of prevention are integrated into the local integration policies of immigrants (in the framework of a "contrat d'agglomération", Agglomeration Contract, for example – *see below*).

### *Local policies. Training and employment*

Unemployment is more common for foreigners, especially non-European foreigners, than for French natives people. The unemployment problem also affects their children. As for educational integration, the basic policies are common rights policies, and are not specifically directed towards the immigrant population or their children.

Following the 1981 Schwartz report, which denounced the problem of unemployment among the young, many actions were taken in vocational training and labour market “insertion” (integration) for this group. A first action was developed for the 16-18 years old, which was rapidly extended to the 16-25. This first action combines vocational training with “insertion” courses (“stages”), with the aim of bringing the young unemployed up to date. It tries to mobilise local actors and institutions, especially the economic sector, by associating them around specific objectives. The main objective consists of creating information and orientation structures to help the young in defining their needs for vocational training, to facilitate their search for work, or just to put them in a first contact with the labour market, that is, to create employment opportunities networks for the young.

The vocational training and “insertion” courses are regularly improved, with a tendency towards their personalization. In general, young immigrants or with foreign origin (especially those from North Africa) are over-represented in these courses, and they benefit from a better follow-up. Despite of this, they are often offered unskilled job after they finish their period of training.

The FAS encourage the organisms responsible for training to develop integrated local programmes, which permit to take into account the specific problems encountered by the immigrants in their integration to the labour market. Immigrant women are of specific attention due to their specific problems: no previous experience on the labour market, poor French language knowledge, very high levels of unemployment, etc.

### *Local policies. Housing*

In general, immigrants live in less favourable housing conditions than the native population: their houses are more precarious, more overpopulated and less comfortable; they are also less owners of their houses than the French population. Even in the social housing market, immigrants are found in deteriorated houses and those abandoned by the French population. This creates situations of ghettos or quasi-ghettos in some cities areas, generally in the suburbs. Moreover, racist behaviours accentuate the situation, especially for the young immigrants. The actions of municipalities are restricted because they have few means to

modify the housing situation of their immigrants, one of the problems being that they only partially control the allocation of social housing.

Municipalities use national housing programmes in their actions towards the immigrants. These programmes are initiated and/or financed through common rights arrangements, through the FAS and through two integrated programmes, the Agglomeration Contracts and the urban programmes (such as the “plans de développement social des quartiers”, the Neighbourhoods Social Development programmes). The FAS dedicates half of its budget to housing mostly in the form of co-financing common rights actions.

The Agglomeration Contracts and the urban programmes incorporate different measures for improving the situation in the underprivileged neighbourhoods, not only the housing situation, but also the employment, delinquency and socio-cultural situations. The Agglomeration Contracts consist of an agreement between the central government and the municipalities with the aim of setting up a global integration programme for the immigrants in the city. They are partly financed by the FAS. The Agglomeration Contracts try to involve directly the municipalities in their actions. In some cases, the response of the municipalities is quite positive: local co-ordination offices are set up for stimulating the implication of different local agents (associations, local representatives, public housing services). In Toulouse, city co-ordination commissions study and propose, for each neighbourhood, actions to be undertaken in favour of the immigrants and the best financial arrangements to permit their realisation within the framework of the existing programmes: the ZEP, the Agglomeration Contracts, the urban programmes, and other socio-cultural common rights programmes.

But the Agglomeration Contracts are progressively abandoned for common rights programmes, such as the urban programmes. The Neighbourhoods Social Development programmes (DSQ) are national programmes that have to be adapted to local conditions in accordance with the policy of the Ministry of Housing and Urbanism: the fight against social segregation and the restoration of deteriorated neighbourhoods. The DSQ programmes intent to stimulate the co-operation of the different local agents and the neighbourhood population. The immigrants greatly benefit from the DSQ, as many of them are destined to neighbourhoods with an important immigrant population, especially from North Africa. Let us sum up this review of local integration policies in France:

The working out of integration policies of immigrants in France is mostly national, not local. Sector-based policies (housing, school, employment, etc.), rather than integrated policies, are favoured. Common right policies are favoured over specific measures destined to immigrants, even though both are coexisting.

There are few real local integration policies (Toulouse seems to be one exception).

## 4.2.- Great Britain

### *The national integration policy*

More than in any other European country, we speak in Great Britain of ethnic minorities or races, and not in terms of immigrants and foreigners. This is due to the specific colonial history of the country. Up to the Second World War, and even after, there was no restriction of entry for citizens from the British Empire who were considered at those time British subjects. In 1948, the British Nationality Act preserved the British subject status (or the Commonwealth citizenship) for the citizens of former colonies, which chose to remain within the Commonwealth after independence. This status allowed free entry into the country and the right to vote in all elections for theoretically some 900 million people of the New Commonwealth. This citizenship arrangement facilitated immigration, especially immigration from developing countries (India, Pakistan, and West Indies). In fact, immigration from developing countries began earlier in Great Britain than in the rest of the world, and these immigrants were not so much connected to economic growth (labour migration) as they were in other western European countries. Most of these immigrants came without any specific job.

Restrictions on entries began to appear at the beginning of the 60's, and especially following the 1971 Immigration Act. The new legislation was not justified on economic grounds, but on social ones: fear of unemployment, crime and social unrest. Anti-immigration associations and racist behaviours began to appear during the same period. It is also during this period that the first formulation of a policy towards the immigrants and the minorities appears, which has further developed since then. The "integration", or more exactly, the racial and anti-discrimination policies, wants

"(...) to outlaw the manifestations of racial hatred, and to minimise discrimination in housing, employment and all other services by legal and administrative measures, primarily the Race Relations Acts of 1965, 1968 and 1976. These are the most elaborate and far-reaching of any in Europe. ...The motivations have been to ensure justice and fairness for the individual, with an increasing emphasis on group rights and privileges and measures to avoid the economic and social marginalisation of immigrants. The legislation (...) embraces both immigrants and 'racial' minorities, it outlaws discrimination based on religion, ethnic or racial origin, nationality and birthplace".

The last Race Relations Act of 1976 gave the new Commission for Racial Equality "powers



to make formal enquiries into cases of discrimination” and to bring before the court individuals, companies, organisations (local, voluntary) and state services.

Another measure of “integration” is constituted by the Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act that addresses the social disadvantage of immigrants, or their impediments to integration, such as the poor English language ability of immigrant children. Local authorities extensively used the Section 11, not only for English teaching, but also for mother-tongue teaching, urban programmes and various multicultural projects.

As in France, there also exist common rights programmes in which the immigrants and the minorities are not explicitly mentioned: the urban programmes and the inner city policy. Also as in France, the minorities greatly benefit from these programmes.

British local integration policies present important differences with French ones. The main point is that Britain is much more decentralised than France, and local integration policies are defined and leaded directly by the municipalities in accordance (or not!) with the national orientations and specific administrative and management rules. Depending on its type (London boroughs, metropolitan authorities, county councils or districts councils), British local authorities may have various competencies: education, social services, housing, leisure, community services, economic development, urbanism and equal opportunity.

The central state presses local authorities to initiate integration actions. And for developing such actions, municipalities benefit from important financing from the central government, one of these sources being the Section 11 (basically for paying salaries). Other sources are the urban and the inner city programmes, which permit significant actions by municipalities: renovation of neighbourhoods, financing of associations, etc.

#### *Local policies. Equal opportunity*

Most local authorities have adopted equal opportunity policies, applying them to jobs allocation schemes (the municipalities are big employers) and to the management of the services they offer. These policies generally consist in avoiding discrimination in hiring personnel and in correcting the current imbalances, and they benefit from strong institutional and financial supports. Many local authorities measure the composition of their staff according to ethnic lines and fix objectives in terms of the proportion the minorities should represent over the total number of employees: for example, Birmingham hopes to reach 20%, and Manchester 12,8%. In 1982, the municipality of Wolverhampton adopted an equal opportunity policy formulated in this way:

“The aim of the policy is to ensure that no job applicant or employee receives less

favourable treatment on grounds of sex, race, colour, nationality, ethnic or racial origin, or is disadvantaged by any conditions or requirements which cannot be shown to be justified. This principle will apply to selection, training, transfer, pay benefits, procedures and all terms and conditions of employment. The Council will also make use of the provisions of the Race Relations Act of 1976... which allows for initiatives to encourage under-represented groups to apply for posts and for specific training where appropriate”.

The Council of Wolverhampton uses control procedures of public jobs so that they reflect the ethnic and racial composition of the city. A study was prepared to examine the ethnic and racial composition of the staff, and positive discrimination actions are done to remedy to the under-representation of some groups (especially the Black people), for example by publishing jobs offers in ethnic press. In Manchester, the urbanism service includes “springboard-posts” by which some employees may benefit from special days off for training, so that they may climb up into the Council hierarchy.

#### *Local policies. Multiculturalism*

The (unofficial) policy of multiculturalism consists of recognising the different communities and their specificity, as well as their formal equality and their equal access to public services. This may be done through cultural and educational actions with the aim of obtaining better relations between communities, or by improving public services for ethnic communities. The Section 11 permits municipalities to obtain funds to improve their services towards the minorities and to create jobs for their associations. The urban and inner city programmes also give access to subventions for the associations so that they set up services for their communities. The philosophy, as expressed by the Council of Birmingham, is that of “...a multiracial and multicultural city where different ethnic minorities have their own values, their strong points, their validity”. The Birmingham Social Services Committee takes under its responsibility that “... its services are accessible to all residents who need them, and that they are adapted to the cultural experience of all the users, as far as available resources permit”.

In Leamington Spa, the Council has developed a multicultural educational policy for all. A guide was elaborated for schools, suggesting that the schools should evaluate the specific needs of minorities’ children in terms of language learning, multicultural diversity and the relations between the school and the home. The guide also stipulates that “religious education must help the children in their search for answers to fundamental questions... it must rest upon the world religious diversity... [and] it must concentrate on the religion that people try to live and to practice...”. Finally, the Council set up an Intercultural Curriculum Support

Service to help teachers to implement the local multicultural educational policy.

Also in Leamington Spa, funds are allowed for the management of the Asian religious centres and for grants to Black students in social work who accept to join the city service at the end of their courses. In the services towards ethnic minorities, the local authorities train the staffs consequently; they try to increase the ethnic personnel and to culturally adapt the services.

### *Local policies. Anti-racism*

Following the American socio-political movement, many British municipalities have introduced anti-racist dimensions in their policies towards the minorities. The anti-racism movement

“...seeks to eliminate racial prejudice and disadvantage by affirmative actions and consciousness-raising, and to eliminate actions and language, deliberate or unintended, deemed to be derogatory to ethnic (or other) minorities. It demands a constant vigilance of others’ behaviour and an appeal to their conscience to eliminate politically incorrect thinking”.

One of the axioms of the anti-racism movement is that Great Britain is an institutionally racist society, which means that racism not only manifested explicitly in the form of aggressions, but also implicitly in differentiated, if not unconsciously, treatment of minorities. In Birmingham, a Race Relations Unit was set up with the aim of “fighting institutional racism and discrimination within the Council and the community”. In Manchester, the anti-racist policy consists of “eliminating racism among employees, of making sure that all the policies and the services incorporate an anti-racist dimension in their action, that the rights of the Blacks are protected, and that complaints for ‘racial harassing’ are correctly treated”.

The implementation of anti-racist policy is done through anti-racist training for municipality staff, by a similar training of professors in schools and by controls of educational programmes and class books. But in cases where this training effort is not linked to social policies, they remain ideological policies and may lead to rejection from those who are submitted to it.

Anti-racist policies are especially relevant in housing and employment where racist practices are observed, and in cases of racial harassment. But their efficiency remains weak, as it is not always easy to identify the guilty persons.

Local authorities have created specific structures for applying their equal opportunities,

multiculturalism and anti-racism policies. They take the form of Equal Opportunity Committees, or Race Relations Units, and differ from one municipality to another; they are heterogeneous structures. Their objectives are:

- To give an “incitement” opinion about the integration (or equality) practices of other municipality services.
- To develop strategies for implementing policies and for insuring ethnic equality.

Where no such structures exist, some services may have their own councillors on ethnic and racial questions. Education services often have a specialised attention service towards minorities (in many cases, the posts are financed by the Section 11).

#### *Local policies. The school*

In the schools, the main concerns are the poor level of school success of minorities’ children and the question of the transmission of native cultures and languages. The first problem arises from a shortage of nursery schools, which impede a good learning of English before entering the primary educational level. It is also explained by the fact that many parents from minorities speak in their mother tongues to their children, by the racist environment, and by the minorities concentration in inner cities with their underprivileged schools. As for the second concern, parents hope that the schools will not provoke the loss of original culture and religion.

To treat these questions, local authorities adopt different measures: by hiring additional professors of English to work into the classrooms beside the other professors; by introducing special courses on races into the practical training of professors; and by encouraging the schools to have their own anti-racism policy. In many municipalities, schools authorities also request assistance for a specialist in anti-racism questions.

The question of the transmission of native cultures is accentuated by the shortage of immigrant origin professors, and the present economic situation does not allow the recruiting of many new professors. In any case, local Education Schools Authorities have adopted a multicultural policy to face the demands of the minorities. Some of them even teach ethnic languages and religions, despite the fact that the national Department of Education and Science does not encourage it. The multicultural approach has been widely criticised by education specialists as well as by the minorities for creating a second-order teaching in some underprivileged schools.

### *Local policies. Housing*

During the 60's and the 70's, immigrants could not have access to social housing due to the allocation policies which was based on length of residence in the municipality (from 3 to 5 years), and to high prices. In consequence, immigrants concentrated in underprivileged neighbourhoods of cities downtown. Since then, minorities have become social housing seekers too (as the length of residence rule was abolished). Discrimination anyway remains, and minorities are *de facto* excluded from some neighbourhoods. Local authorities try to secure equal opportunity in social housing by including a question on ethnic origin in social housing application forms. Besides, local authorities try to take into account the specific needs of ethnic minorities: big houses for large families, information in different languages, employees from ethnic minorities.

Let us sum up this review of local integration policies in Britain:

The working out of "integration" policies of immigrants in Great Britain is mostly local, with the central state giving general orientations and pressing local authorities to initiate actions.

- A global approach of "integration" is favoured (through the policies of equal opportunity, multiculturalism and anti-racism), rather than sector-based policies.
- Specific measures destined to ethnic minorities are favoured over common right policies.

### **4.3.- Germany**

#### *The national integration policy*

The German integration policy, at least at the national level, is not a multicultural policy. It aims at "minimising cultural distinctions through an active policy of restricting further immigration from outside the European Community, voluntary assisted repatriation for those who wish to leave, and a firm policy of assimilation to the German language and to German ways" of life. As in Great Britain, there is an explicit relation between the restriction of immigration and the integration policy.

German naturalisation is quite difficult to obtain, and there is no possibility to receive it only by residence criterions. Moreover, immigrants have the obligations to "accustom themselves to the values, norms and ways of leaving, respect for German culture and the principles of the constitution, acquisition of some knowledge of German, abandonment of excessive national-religious behaviour", etc. Much emphasis is given to education, especially for language proficiency, and residence permits are granted to young foreigners if they pass school

examinations, have training contracts and attend vocational schools or integration programmes.

Until recently, Germany had a generous refugee policy: “there was no political discretion. No one claiming asylum could be rejected at the border or deported back to the country he was fleeing. Persons granted asylum received an unlimited residence permit, with status similar to that of a German national in most respects, and a right of access to integration programmes”. This situation changed at the end of the 80’s.

Germany is a federation, and Länder authorities have competencies that may influence the implementation of the national immigration/integration policy. For example, some Länder accept children 16-18 years of age for family reunification, others no; or some Länder favour return migration whereas others favour integration. Even for the Länder favouring the integration approach, a distinction can be made between those favouring temporary integration (social and economic) and those favouring a “full” or definitive integration (including the political integration). Finally, a policy of cultural identity preservation may have different meanings in different Länder: whether for maintaining the return capacity of the migrants, whether for securing the integration process. However, the Länder play only a general role in the implementation of the integration policy.

In fact, the municipalities, the third level of the German federalism, work out some kind of integration policy, especially in relation to the young. The German case is a good example of the cohabitation of different definitions of integration within a single country, between different municipalities, or between various levels of administration. Three definitions of integration may be identified at the local level:

The integration of immigrants and their children through common rights programmes and structures (the French-type policy?).

- The assimilation approach (the national German-type policy?).
- The mutual integration of Germans and immigrants and the highlighting of immigrant cultures, that is, the multicultural/pluralist approach (the British-type policy?).

In any case, the municipalities distinguish from the Federation and the Länder by underlining the necessity of a definitive integration of their immigrants.

### *Local policies. Housing*

In Germany, as in other western European countries, immigrant populations live in bad housing conditions and are concentrated in poor and deteriorated neighbourhoods of cities,

generally situated around or near downtown. In order to find a solution for this problem, municipalities, with the agreement of the central state and the Länder, originally (during the 70's) used administrative measures. Some cities issued immigrants "moving-in bans" on some neighbourhoods, but this authoritarian dispersal policy did not produce the expected results: it provoked a further deterioration of housing conditions of immigrants, and clandestine settlement. This policy was abandoned.

Nowadays, municipalities accept some level of concentration of immigrant population for a short period of time. They try to limit the concentration process through different non-authoritarian measures:

Renovation of neighbourhoods. Through renovation projects, local authorities hope to stop the leaving of German population and to improve the material and social conditions of immigrants' integration. Many cities have identified old and immigrant neighbourhoods as priority neighbourhoods for construction and renovation actions.

To give a better housing access to immigrants, especially in neighbourhoods with small concentration of immigrants. Fixing quotas on the distribution of social housing may do this. These quotas are generally close to the proportion of the foreign population among the total population (for example, in Berlin and Cologne, 15%, and in Hamburg, 8%). Other cities only insist with the social housing allocation services of the necessity of taking into account the immigrant families. Other less systematic types of interventions are represented, for example, by the practice of buying the allocation rights of social housing (Nuremberg), or by giving priority to social housing allocation to neighbourhoods where there are small immigrants concentrations (Stuttgart). Indirect actions are also done on the housing market to favour housing access to immigrants. The city of Stuttgart has developed information campaigns to private owners, and financial encouragement to rent to immigrant families. In Berlin and Hanover, information offices and publishing brochures inform the immigrants about their rights. The cities of Nuremberg and Stuttgart favour co-operative activities in construction and tenants associations ().

The problem of immigrants concentration affects all aspects of local integration policies, and first of all the question of the schools and the young: immigrants concentrations in underprivileged neighbourhoods with bad infrastructures imply the marginalisation of young people in nurseries, schools and socio-cultural activities and create learning problems.

#### *Local policies. The school*

Integration policies in education are directed to immigrants' children. Enrolment in nurseries

is of first importance for municipalities as they have more control over them, and as the nurseries constitute the first step in the educational system. This is particularly significant for the acquisition of the German language. Immigrants' children are underrepresented in nurseries, which is due to cultural factors and to a shortage of places in underprivileged neighbourhoods where immigrant populations are concentrated. To remedy to this situation, municipalities have engaged in important information campaigns to immigrants, and have adopted specific measures. One of these specific measures consists of sending some children to adjoining neighbourhoods. In a more general way, when the proportion of immigrants' children in the nursery exceeds some threshold (for example, 20% in Duisburg or 40% in Cologne), supplementary efforts are engaged: creation of new posts, reduction of groups, pedagogical and linguistic training to educators, hiring of immigrant educators. Most of these efforts, however, are not associated to educational projects, but aims at teaching German language.

The school system is the competence of Länder, the central state acting only as a co-ordinator. School integration of immigrants is characterised by the dual return migration versus integration policy of the German State and the Länder. In this context, five schooling modes towards the immigrants can be distinguished:

- Enrolment in a normal class (which may include a course of mother tongue).
- Enrolment in a preparatory class of two or three years, preparing the entrance into the normal school system, with reduced classrooms, intensive German and a course of mother tongue.
- Enrolment in a national preparatory class, the same as preparatory class, with more courses in mother tongues.
- Enrolment in a long preparatory class (up to six years).
- Enrolment in a bilingual national class, with a distinct schooling from the normal one.

Some Länder favour rapid integration of their immigrant populations, with enrolment in normal classes, whereas other favour the preservation of cultural identity and the possibility for the immigrant to return to its country of origin, with enrolment in national classes (preparatory or bilingual). Local situations vary greatly: in small municipalities, the national classes are few for obvious (demographic) reasons.

The native Germans reach a longer schooling than the immigrants do, and it is not clear, according to the experts, how the different schooling modes influence this situation. Enrolment in normal and preparatory classes permits a better acquisition of German



language, but they may provoke motivational problems; national classes (preparatory or bilingual) perpetuate linguistic problems and may lead to community isolation.

#### *Local policies. The young*

The municipalities mostly develop their integration policies for the young, in the fields of leisure, cultural activities and social work. During the 60's, these aspects of integration were secured by social work organisations linked to churches and trade unions. With the process of family reunification that began in the early 70's, the needs of social work and socio-cultural activities increased considerably. By the end of the 70's, due to the growing number of second-generation immigrants, municipalities had to face a strong presence of young foreigners in leisure structures and the problems associated with it (specific behaviours of immigrants, conflicts between foreigners and Germans).

To face this situation, municipalities had to involve their services in these kinds of activities, to give supplementary training to their staff and to hire foreign origins people. Most municipalities organise partial training, such as introductory courses to foreign languages and information seminars about foreign countries. Some bigger cities like Cologne or Stuttgart, have more elaborated training programmes.

The policies adopted by the municipalities in the fields of socio-cultural activities are:

- A policy of preservation of cultural identity as a support for integration.
- A policy of progressive assimilation of German cultural behaviours by young immigrants as a condition for integration.
- A policy of mutual integration between young Germans and young foreigners through intercultural activities.

The priority given to the creation of new structures or to the participation of young immigrants in the existing structures depends on the integration policy. In any case, local integration policies do not rely only on municipality services, but also on the associative sector, the schools and other local organisations.

#### *Local policies. Training and employment*

In the German labour market, as in other European countries, young immigrants show high levels of unemployment. This underprivileged situation results from their bad school success

(the number of young immigrants without any diploma is quite important), and from the discrimination practices.

Young immigrants benefit from vocational training in two ways. They are found in the various national German vocational schools where they are over-represented in the less qualified cycles and those of shorter duration (one year). They also participate in specific vocational training and labour market integration programmes for young immigrants worked out by the state and the Länder. They are of two types: a basic technical training programme and one dedicated to behavioural and learning difficulties. Both include strong courses of German language. Besides these two training programmes, there also exist specific training such as language courses and “motivation actions” training.

Municipalities are responsible for careers advising. They provide general information to immigrants. Some municipalities also inform the parents about the importance of vocational training for their children, collaborating with associations, civic centres and schools. Other municipalities try to approach employers to incite them to hire immigrant apprentices. More directly, municipalities, like Cologne, Berlin or Hamburg, may contribute to labour market integration of young immigrants by opening their own services to vocational training and by financing posts for young unemployed.

Let us sum up this review of local integration policies in Germany:

- The central state and the Länder define the German integration policies of immigrants, but its concrete implementation is often local.
- Sector-based policies (housing, school, employment, etc.), rather than integrated policies, are favoured.
- Specific and common rights integration measures are used.
- There exist “limited” local integration policies, mainly destined to the young immigrants and with very different orientations.

#### **4.4.- Sweden**

##### *The national integration policy*

Immigration is quite a recent phenomenon in Sweden. Non-European immigration, mostly refugees from Asia and South America, really begins during the 70's. During the 50's and the 60's, immigrants to Sweden came from other Nordic countries, especially from Finland.

Swedish integration policy has many common features with other Western European

countries: as in France, naturalisation is quite easy to obtain; as in Germany, the refugee policy is generous; and as in Great Britain, Sweden develops a multicultural policy.

Naturalisation rates are high in Sweden, and more than 50% of foreign-born residents have the Swedish nationality. Naturalisation may be obtained after five years of residence (two years for Nordic citizens), and foreign residents can vote in local elections after three years of residence. Intermarriages are frequent, and half of foreign women marry with a Swedish man (with important ethnic differences).

The refugee policy is generous, even though recent changes make it more restrictive. After Germany, "Sweden has had the biggest influx of asylum claimants in Europe in absolute terms, and, relative to its population, the biggest of all during the 1980's". The policy is equally generous for refugees' dependants. Not only Sweden accepted a high UNHCR European quota (1.250 refugees annually), but also "grants residence permits for refugees in categories beyond those defined by the Geneva Convention".

Finally, Sweden has a multicultural "immigrant and minority policy" set up in the 70's, "whereby residents are given a 'freedom of choice' between preserving their old culture and adopting the Swedish one... subsidies are directed to immigrant associations and churches, press and cultural activities. Mother-tongue instruction is offered for two hours per week in school". The central state grants funds for publishing books in minority languages, for libraries to buy books in foreign languages, a newspaper is edited in 12 different languages and the national TV service transmits programmes in some of these languages (mostly European ones).

#### *The local strategy of the national refugee policy*

During the 80's, a new immigration strategy was adopted aiming at distributing the refugee population, who was too concentrated in urban centres, across the country. This strategy of repartition is based on an agreements system between the national administration and the municipalities. The agreements specify which refugees will be received, their number, the duration of their stay (from one to three years) and the financial compensation to be received by the municipality from the national administration. They establish a reception programme, which includes housing, Swedish teaching and an interpreter service. Actually, the municipalities are invited to accept a number of refugees according to a quota representing 2,8% of their total population. They may refuse to participate to the programme, and the central state has no means to force their participation. But they generally accept for solidarity or humanitarian reasons as well as for financial considerations.

The municipalities that accept to receive refugees are refunded by the National Administration for Immigration for all the related expenses: social allowances, education, Swedish language training, leisure, interpreter services, etc. They may also request supplementary financing for projects that would help refugees in their integration process. The municipalities take charge of the refugee from the moment he is accepted, and until he is able to take care of himself (through employment). Most municipalities have their own immigration office, with their counsellor and interpreter services. In bigger cities, there may exist an elected committee in charge of immigrant questions.

Upon his arrival at the municipality, the refugee is housed in a reception centre. The duration of stay at the reception centre may be long, but recent reforms have shortened this duration to a maximum of eight weeks. Until he obtains his permanent residence permit, the refugee receives social allowances and he is offered Swedish language courses. Once he has his permanent residence permit, he may apply to common rights social allowances if he remains unemployed.

The repartition policy follows a multicultural policy. In consequence, refugees are grouped within municipalities according to their ethnic or cultural similarities to permit the preservation and the transmission of their cultural identity. This gives birth to ethnic enclaves, even in small towns. This double policy of repartition and multiculturalism seems paradoxical: "it defends a repartition of immigrants over all the territory of the country, and at the same time favours the creation of small foreign settlements".

#### *Local policies. Housing, the school*

In Sweden, high-density immigrant populations are found and concentrated in the suburbs of big cities (for example, in Rinkeby near Stockholm). This situation is often denounced as one of the causes of foreigners' integration problems. But it is also considered as a positive factor for local planning (in schools, interpreters, information), for the preservation of community and social relations among the immigrants, and for the mutual integration of Immigrant and Swedish people.

As for policies, there are no specific ones for immigrants: they have the rights of access, as the natives do, to social housing, and the municipalities tend to favour them in the allocation schemes. But this could be due to the fact that the immigrants are often situated in low socio-economic categories at their arrival in the country.

The local educational policy is orientated towards the better schooling of immigrants' children. Immigrants' children in Sweden face an important problem of school failure. Most

immigrants' children follow normal classes and, within the framework of the national multicultural policy, they are also given courses of their own language, both at the primary and the high school levels (two hours weekly at the primary level, less at the high school).

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