



European Migration Network Impact of Immigration on Europe's Societies

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An introduction to the EMN Pilot Research Study on the “Impact of Immigration on Europe’s Societies”

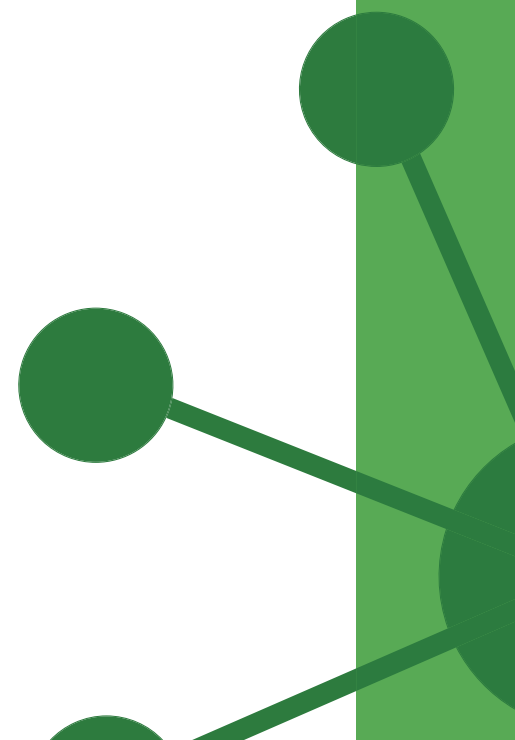


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I. Executive Summary

It was decided after extensive thematic debates in the context of the European Migration Network that a large scale study about the impact of third country immigration into member states of the European Union should be produced as a first network-wide information-gathering activity. Nine national contact points participated in this endeavour. Studying such impacts is a new area of research, despite its importance as a background for academic and public debates on immigration, asylum, settlement, and integration.

Three main tasks were defined for the study. The capacities of the network for comparative research should have been evaluated. The state of knowledge in the countries under review should have been presented. The results were to contribute to widen the informational and data basis for political debates and decisions. Areas of study were the impact of immigration on the economies, the cultural contexts, and on the political structures. This was carried out through desk research and the presentation of country studies.

The Immigration situation

Immigration is deeply rooted in European history. It is rather complex with regards to the types of and status of migrant groups. Immigration and the settlement of immigrants have been, until now, more or less understood as a separate history. In order to study the impact of immigration, the diversity of the phenomenon had to be taken into account, including as well the variety of immigrant groups in terms of time and migration cycles, of origin and place of settlements, and relative to social categories or attributes such as class, gender, age, etc.

The economy

When considering the social impact of immigration, literature on the economies is widespread, however, even here, there are still various areas waiting for further investigation. In addition, the diversity of legal and organisational frameworks makes a comparison between European countries difficult. The economic transitions underway are influenced by immigration. This is the case in the labour markets, concerning job opportunities, unemployment, incomes, formal and informal activities, sectoral divisions, trade orientation, competition, as well as import and export. Immigration is changing the patterns and sizes of consumption. Immigrant small businesses and ethnic entrepreneurship are playing an increasing role. In recent years, an obvious impact of highly skilled immigrants has been notable.

The civitas

Immigrants have had an impact on the cultural contexts in European societies in various ways. One obvious area concerns the changing food production and consumption patterns. Another area concerns sports. The impact becomes obvious when one looks at the activities of immigrants in amateur sport associations and clubs, but also when one analyses the impact of immigrants on the professional sports industry. A third area concerns fashion. Every day, cultural change takes place with regard to fashion, and immigration has greatly influenced the changes in the last decades. This can also be said in other areas of the civitas, most notably in the arts and media.

The polity

Immigration clearly has an impact on the political discourse in European societies. As a prominent example, the political participation of immigrants has been debated in the context of awarding voting rights in most of the European countries under review. This includes creating institutions of participation, including parliamentary and advisory instruments for migrants. A wide variety of civil society institutions and migrant self-organisations have facilitated the political participation of immigrants as well. Systematic research is still lacking with regards to the political participation of immigrants in trade unions.

Conclusions

European societies have changed under the influences of immigration and migrant settlement. Various factors influence the impact of immigration on European societies. These are laws, regulations and political rights, access to the labour markets, welfare state regimes and provisions, health services, housing conditions, education and language politics, integration strategies and forms of exclusion and discrimination. The changes are obvious in every day life experiences, but comprehensive research is widely missing. The state of knowledge in the countries under review is uneven, and there is a hierarchy of available information with most data and analyses in the area of the economies. The effects on European societies has received less published attention than topics such as migration flows and settlements or on policies towards immigration populations. The capacities for comparative research of the network are promising, but there are still various problems to be solved with regards to the development of a common terminology, comparable numerical data, etc. The country studies allow a first insight into a rather new area of investigations in the fields of immigration, flight, asylum, settlement and integration.

2. Introductory Text

2.1 Introduction

This pilot research project was carried out in the framework of the European Migration Network (EMN). The national contact points (NCPs) participating in the project represented Austria, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Sweden and the United Kingdom.

The project itself is concerned with the impact of immigration throughout Europe. The idea behind the project was to research the impact of immigration in a systematic and comparative manner without conducting original empirical research. Instead deskwork research was carried out and the most up to date knowledge in each of the participating countries was examined and interpreted. In general, the country studies were written in order to gain more knowledge on the impact of immigration of third country nationals in European societies. The results from this study will add to an emerging evidence base in order to assist in developing immigration policies in the European Union and its member states.

A number of postulates for the country studies were discussed in advance, among them the concept of cultural diversity and how the impact of immigration should be interpreted. Concerning the term 'impact', the central idea was to present a neutral analysis of how, in which instances and to what extent immigration has an effect on European societies. This rather far-reaching perspective accompanied the interests of identifying the strengths and weaknesses of the EMN during the preparation and implementation of the pilot research project. Lessons were learned which are pertinent to future developments of the Network.

The project began with research on the relevant state of the art knowledge in each participating country. Country studies were written in accordance with a fixed grid of research topics. Abstracts of the literature and other documents used for developing the country studies were copied to the web-based EMN repository management system.

According to the grid, the country studies are divided into specific chapters. The first chapter deals with immigration patterns. Their influence on the situation of immigrants in and their general impact on the country at hand are discussed. In the second chapter, the effects of migration on the economy of the country under review are analysed. The third chapter covers the impact of immigration on the 'civitas', or the cultural context of social life. In the fourth chapter the impact of immigration on the polity is discussed. Finally, the factors that influence the impact of immigrants are discussed. In a number of country studies, various methodological issues are also mentioned.

The usefulness of this type of comparative research becomes especially apparent when looking at the various methodological issues that arise when analysing the phenomena at hand, or when reviewing other current research in the field. In this sense, it is important to take into consideration the varying terminologies and methodological concepts regarding the impact of immigrants in the nine reviewed country studies. The traditions of migration and cultural diversity research differ from country to country and as a result, the inconsistent usage of terminology is obviously a weakness for a comparative analysis of the country studies. This weakness underlines the need for a common glossary for the EMN and the greater importance of European terminological standards. A common glossary is in preparation by the EMN, but the Network will need time to establish a set of terms that can be accepted by all institutions involved. Regarding this report, some terms used here have not yet been agreed upon nor have they been established in the European Union and in certain member states. Examples include the terms 'autochthonous' and 'allochthonous' populations with regard to settled immigrants, or when speaking of 'second and third generation immigrants'.

Another methodological issue was the different understanding of the term 'impact' used in the country

studies. This led to a divergence of perspectives, methods and outcomes among the individual country studies. Also, some authors did not clearly distinguish between a mere description of the situation of third country nationals in the country under review and an analysis of their impact on them. Despite this, a general understanding can be attained on the impact of immigrants on the European countries reviewed. This is discussed in the ensuing short chapters.

2.2 An overview of European immigration history

With the agricultural revolution, the rise of capitalism and the subsequent industrialisation processes in the 19th and 20th centuries, the modern migration cycle took shape in Europe. People from rapidly transforming rural areas were driven to new industrial production sites in growing cities. Many among the impoverished and the deprived, but also among the wealthy, chose to migrate to the new immigration countries outside Europe. With the formation of nation-states in Europe during the 19th century, diasporas – as they are known today – were increasing the number of cultural minorities. Population exchange, expulsion, forced and voluntary assimilation and remigration were part of this process. In this sense, the European nation-states were not merely products of national unification processes alone, but also oftentimes of violent mass movements of uprooted peoples.

In the context of the current research project, only the migration processes since the Second World War were examined in detail. These are quite complex, especially when looking at them from a European perspective. Of course, guest worker and post-colonial recruitment policies, irregular immigration, refugee flows and the mobilisation of migrants from all over the world all play their roles in forming the history of migration in Europe and in the individual countries at hand. With regard to the impact of immigration on Europe's societies, studies are focussing on the collective memory of immigrant history and on the awareness of immigration flows among the autochthonous population. One is faced with the problem that the history of migration has been

previously presented as an issue separate from the more general economic, social and political histories of Europe, despite the fact that changes in the latter are most important for understanding the former and vice-versa. Finally, varying interpretations of the history of migration are predominant in each country at hand, thus making a comparative analysis difficult.

One outcome of this analysis of the history of migration in Europe is the realisation that the diverse immigrant groups in Europe must be studied using a wide range of sociological categories. These categories include the country of origin of immigrants, their length of stay in the countries of immigration, their cultural and religious traditions, as well as their skills, educational levels, employment experience and the like. The use of such categories serves to describe the social background that immigrants bring with them to their countries of settlement.

2.3 Immigrants and the economy

The impact of immigration on the economy has been widely discussed in Europe. However, the country studies show that there are still various economic areas in need of further research. In some countries, for example, the extent of the impact of immigrants on the welfare state systems, on tax revenues and on pension funds can only be estimated. The role of immigrants as consumers is also largely unknown, as are the impacts of immigrants on changes in the labour market, as well as the impact of highly-qualified migrants on the economy. In addition, the seemingly wide role of immigrant small business entrepreneurs has not been researched thoroughly. Another knowledge gap exists concerning the impact of immigration on exports and imports. Finally, recent developments concerning cultural diversity measures geared towards increasing productivity and consumption levels need to be analysed.

In the recent political debate, the labour market is seen as the central element of integration politics. The country studies at hand show that there are various problems when conducting research concerning immigration and the labour market. For example, the varying regulations

towards entry into the labour market make a comparative approach difficult. These regulations are often defined by the underlying categories of immigrants defined by the migration regimes at hand. The varying levels of competence and the recognition of qualifications that immigrants bring with them are difficult to analyse as well. In all nine country studies, it seems that literature is available on most topics concerning immigration and the labour market. However, the findings do not provide sufficient information on the wide impact of immigration from third countries on the labour markets. Some studies used tend to be relatively general or are based on the microeconomic level, thus ignoring the macroeconomic level.

The relationship between immigrants and the labour market is linked to factors such as gender, education and age. The importance of these factors changes over time, not least due to the economic situations in the countries of origin and settlement. Data on the levels of employment among the allochthonous populations, the sectors in which immigrants work and the regional concentration of immigrants in the countries at hand is limited. One specific area here concerns the general transformation of the economies under review regarding the shift away from a dominance of tradable sectors to one of non-tradable sectors. Another specific area concerns the relationship between the formal and informal sectors of the economy. Yet another deals with the relationship between immigration cycles and the entrance of immigrant populations into the ever-evolving economic framework.

Comparisons can be drawn on the varying levels of employment and economic activities of immigrants in relation to those of the autochthonous populations at hand. The central questions are how these activities differ and what exactly the economic impact is of immigration on the autochthonous population. This impact can be seen in the development of wage levels, the formation of so-called niche markets, the increase or decrease of job opportunities for the autochthonous population through the economic activities of the allochthonous population, as well as the overall issue of competitiveness between both groups. The reviewed literature in the country studies seems to stress the impact of immigration on the wage and unemployment levels.

A systematic comparison on the impact of immigrants on specific economic sectors is difficult to carry out, because data on their distribution across the various sectors is not available in all countries. Additionally, the categorisation of the various sectors remains unclear in many cases. For many countries, though, the classical division of the economy into sectors is no longer a convincing instrument for defining trends regarding immigrants.

Immigrants are becoming increasingly important consumer groups in the European economies. In doing so, immigrant consumer activities can be measured as a growing contribution to economic development, especially with regards to changes in the production of consumer goods and the development of new patterns of consumption. Very little research has been carried out in this area, and only ambiguous research is discussed in a few of the country studies at hand. Nonetheless, general information provided by these studies hint towards an increase in demand for 'ethnic' products. Also, a number of country studies indicate that various businesses are expressing a growing interest in winning over immigrant customers. This is reflected in a number of recent trends, such as advertisements that have immigrants as a target group, the immigrant-friendly imaging of products or the labelling of products as 'ethnic'. Related to the question of immigrants as consumers, some country studies mention that the amount of remittances may indicate that migrants consume less in comparison to the autochthonous population. Here, it is argued that this behaviour has not only an impact on the consumption patterns of immigrants, but also on their overall standard of living, as well as on the overall volume of capital outflow to the countries of origin.

Immigrant small business is an important area of the economy, especially for certain niches. The origin of immigrant business is related, to some extent, to the exclusion of immigrants from employment structures and the danger of unemployment. In most European countries, various opportunities exist for immigrants to establish and develop small businesses, for example, the existence of Diaspora network capital and family labour, as well as access to products and customers due to the changing attitudes towards cultural diversity and consumption. All in all, the so-called "ethnic entrepreneurship" has greatly influenced European

economies and has played a major role in the renewal of urban neighbourhoods in European cities.

Some country studies provide evidence that highly-qualified immigrants contribute to economic growth. They are recruited for the sectors of the economies that are rather important in the framework of the knowledge societies and post-industrial production. They contribute to the qualified service sectors, such as the education and health care sectors. Their impact is important with regard to the institutional restructuring of the European society as well. Research on immigrants in the highly qualified sector, however, is rather new. Until the 1990s, immigrants were understood as merely workers for the dark, dirty and dangerous jobs that the autochthonous populations no longer wished to perform. The employment of highly-qualified immigrants in health services, for example, was understood as an exception to this rule. The country studies concentrate on some issues regarding highly-qualified immigrants, even though no knowledge is available that focuses directly on their impact. In general, research on this phenomenon has been covered in the area of the so-called 'brain drain' studies, which is considered to be part of development research. In some countries, migration researchers are beginning to focus on highly-qualified immigrants. This represents a new trend in the sense that they are no longer viewing such immigrants in the 'brain drain' paradigm, i.e. as a problem for the countries of origin, but also as 'brain gain', i.e. as a possible win scenario for the countries of settlement.

The impact of immigration on import and export levels is looked at in some country studies. First, the situation of immigrants in certain tradable and non-tradable sectors was analysed. Here, developments in the tradable sector have had a clear impact on the export of goods. Allochthonous populations now play an intermediary role as international traders in the rapidly developing global economy. Changes in consumption patterns partly result from the influence that immigrant groups exert in their capacity as intermediaries to the markets and institutional systems of their countries or regions of origin. This results from the insider knowledge and experience that some immigrants bring to their country of settlement. There is some indication that immigration has had an impact on the growth of imports and exports in some European countries, although the present state of data collection and research is underdeveloped. Finally, the issue of

remittances is also important in this context, including the establishment of financial institutions specialised in money transfer and so-called immigrant banks.

2.4 Influences on the civitas: the cultural context of immigration

One main difficulty in researching the influence of immigration on the civitas relates to the question of how to measure and assess the impact of immigrants on the dynamic phenomena of culture in general. Culture develops in complex ways, and the impact of immigrants on the culture of European societies cannot be simply measured according to the number of immigrants settling in the various countries over time. Migrants are a heterogeneous group in that they come from different cultural backgrounds. Nor can the autochthonous population be considered to be a homogeneous group. Another general analytical problem in assessing migration and culture concerns how the impact of immigrants on the civitas should be distinguished from the impact of the general trends of globalisation. While it is clear that, for instance, the consumption of new cuisine and diets have changed the eating patterns in European societies, it is not clear whether this is primarily based on the impact of immigration or whether this is due to globalisation. Nevertheless, a general transformation of the civitas in the cultural context in Europe seems to have taken place on account of immigration.

The impact of immigration on the area of cuisine and food consumption is obvious when one looks at the wide range of 'foreign' foods, the increase in number of 'ethnic' restaurants and the changing eating habits of the autochthonous populations in Europe. This trend is not only significant for the further development of cultural life in European countries. It has also far-reaching economic implications. It is therefore surprising to note the lack of literature and data on this issue.

Immigration has had an impact on sport as well. This is well documented in some country studies at hand. Immigrants participate in various sport activities, for

instance, in youth clubs at the grass-roots level. Often, a majority of the youth involved have migratory backgrounds, especially in large urban areas. Amateur sport clubs play a central role in community life throughout Europe. Migrants often play a central role in professional sports as well. They often become even the 'heroes' of many European sport clubs. Many stars in professional sports have become naturalised citizens of their countries of settlement. From an economic viewpoint, allochthonous fans and customers also contribute to the business side of professional sports. Furthermore, immigrants have brought with them new sport traditions from their countries of origin as part of their social capital. These traditions have been partially integrated into the formerly autochthonous sport activities.

Even though sport in general is seen as significant to the integration of immigrants, the allochthonous populations have found themselves in nationalistic conflicts with autochthonous fan groups. Conflicts between allochthonous and autochthonous groups triggered by sporting events, for example, football matches, have been reported in the mass media. This has resulted in political and academic debates on whether sport should be considered to be one of the central means of cultural integration at all. New anti-racist and pro-tolerance campaigns, however, have been launched with the goal of settling such conflicts. In addition, immigrants have been at the centre of controversies regarding some regional or religious traditions which exclude certain immigrant groups from participation in sports instruction in school.

The influence of immigration on the world of fashion is perhaps one of the most evident manifestations of the adoption of allochthonous cultural expressions in European societies. The country studies in the framework of the EMN give insight into the reasons for this. There seems to be a trend towards 'exoticism' in styles created by the fashion industry. A general trend towards 'ethnic fashion' is recognisable as a segment in the textile market. As some of the studies highlight, elements of the autochthonous population, mainly in urban settings, seem to be adapting their clothing towards the traditional clothing of the allochthonous populations.

The impact of immigration on the arts in the European societies is as manifest as in other areas. In order to

speak about immigration and art, one first should define which forms of art should be taken into account. For analytical purposes, a holistic approach seems appropriate here. In this sense, the term 'art' denotes a wide variety of artistic expressions, ranging from popular mass productions, to traditional artistic activities and folkloristic presentations as well as to the so-called 'elite arts'. Immigrants have clearly had an influence on all of these expressions and on the autochthonous artistic cultures in themselves. The work of some immigrant authors is rather popular. Immigration and integration experiences are issues that are often dealt with in film, theatre, poetry, prose and the like. As in the other areas, a differentiation between the impact of immigration and that of globalisation is difficult to make. But, it is safe to argue that these phenomena have worked together to diversify the former as autochthonous conceived civitas in Europe.

In this sense, wide-ranging effects of immigration on media organisations and their products can be observed. Media outlets seem to be adapting to the allochthonous populations in the countries of settlement by developing a mix of specialised programmes for and from immigrants and cultural minorities. These adaptation tendencies not only include changes in content and thematic focus, they also include programming on new issues that are seemingly important to immigrants, or on immigration and integration topics geared towards the autochthonous populations. The country studies suggest that there is a growing tendency to diversify media products all over Europe, although globalisation may be a factor here. Media consumption patterns often differ among the various immigrant groups and the autochthonous populations. In addition, the internet is becoming more and more important. Internet sites are run by immigrant organisations, and projects aimed towards immigrants have their own internet sites. These often serve as discussion forums as well.

2.5 The polity: immigrants, the civil society and political change

Immigration clearly has an impact on the political discourse in European societies. As a prominent example, the political participation of immigrants has been debated in the context of awarding voting rights in most of the studied European countries. This includes creating institutions of participation, as well as parliamentary and advisory instruments for migrants. A wide variety of civil society institutions and migrant self-organisations have facilitated the political participation of immigrants as well. Systematic research is still lacking with regards to the political participation of immigrants in trade unions.

The development of civil society organisations, including political initiatives, religious groups and non-governmental organisations is a feature in modern Europe. Migrants have taken part in these developments in all European countries under review. They are active not only in migrant self-organisations, but also in predominantly autochthonous civil society organisations. The activities of migrant self-organisations differ from country to country for a number of reasons, including the level of diversity in the political frameworks of each country and the diversity among immigrant groups and immigrants themselves. Also, the various traditions of organisational life in the countries at hand provide diverse frameworks in which allochthonous organisations find their bases. Despite the fact that early migrant associational life has been thoroughly researched in the past, recent trends have been left largely unstudied. Comparative research in this area would be an important contribution to understanding the impact of immigration on associational life and civil society formation in European societies.

All country studies address the participation of third country nationals in elections. Voting rights for immigrants on the national level are discussed in some studies, mainly in the context of naturalisation. In some reviewed countries, third country nationals are allowed to vote on the various governmental levels. Where the vote is granted, an impact of immigration on the politics of the locality or region is clear. In addition, various European countries have set up immigration or advisory

boards that work towards representing allochthonous groups. These advisors are partly recruited from immigrant populations. According to research carried out in some of the studied countries, the power of such boards is limited because they primarily focus on the symbolic presentation of so-called 'immigrant voices'. It may be based on this lack of power that the involvement of allochthonous populations in specific advisory and consultative bodies has been rather unsuccessful. However, other findings suggest that these boards have affected communal migration policies and the social and cultural integration processes for new immigrants.

A rising number of immigrants have expressed interest in participating in the parliamentary systems of some of the countries at hand. The increase in the number of civil society organisations seems to confirm this growing interest. The participation rates of immigrants in trade unions seem to be slightly higher than in political parties. In some of the countries at hand, large numbers of immigrants are members of trade unions. Both the history and current situation of immigrant participation in trade unions is of interest due to both the changing role of trade unions in the European post-industrial polities and new employment patterns among immigrants.

The modern diaspora situation of immigrants and the transfer of political issues and means from the countries of origin to the countries of settlement are slowly becoming noticed in European polities. This transfer occurs on three levels: the 'importing' of organisational traditions and political worldviews from the country of origin to the country of settlement, a sustained political orientation towards the country of origin, and the development of new global formations in political communication. Tendencies in this direction are noted in some of the reviewed country studies.

2.6 Factors influencing the impact of immigration

The polities, civitates and economies of Europe have been clearly transformed by immigration movements and the settlements of immigrant groups. The impact thereof is observable in many areas, but the migration regimes vary greatly among the countries at hand. Moreover, these regimes determine the individual extent and nature of the impact of immigration to a great degree. In general, research shows that a number of factors influence the impact immigrants have on societies. Nine central factors will be discussed in order to better understand the phenomenon.

The first factor concerns the various laws and regulations that directly deal with immigration and integration. Laws and regulations – on the local, regional, national, European and international levels – determine the legal framework of the migration regimes at hand. Each country's legal framework is based on particular traditions and historical developments. The relationship between codified and precedence-based law is complicated as well. In international law, the roles of treaties, contracts, multilateral agreements and the like are rather difficult to understand with regard to political decision-making and the legal situation of certain immigrant groups.

The second factor that aids in determining the impact of immigrants on their countries of settlement, concerns the access of immigrants to the labour market. Here, the number of legal provisions geared towards improving the access of immigrants to specific national labour markets is on the rise, as noted in many country studies at hand. Recent immigration policies have determined the nature and the extent of access to the labour market for certain groups of immigrants. These include refugees, seasonal workers, contract workers and other migrant worker groups. The policies vary greatly from country to country.

The third factor concerns the welfare state in general. Here, differences in social benefits are important with regards to immigrant groups in the countries that were studied. For example, access to social benefits for labour migrants, foreign students, dependants, migrant children, etc. varies from country to country. Separate regimes

have been developed in the countries under review for asylum applicants. In some countries they have a limited access to social benefits. There seems to be a trend towards restricting this access to an even greater degree, seemingly to 'discourage' asylum seekers.

The fourth factor involves housing. In general, the housing situation of immigrants is inferior to that of the autochthonous population. This may diminish the positive impact of immigrants on the societies at hand. A central problem concerns the provision of social housing to needy immigrants or the accommodation of special immigrant groups, such as refugees or asylum seekers. These policies differ from country to country, as does the housing situation for immigrants on the whole. Oftentimes, the outcome of past housing policies regarding immigrants has resulted either in the local concentration of immigrants and segregation between the allochthonous and autochthonous populations, or in the merging of lower income autochthonous populations with the lower income groups of immigrants in the same areas.

The fifth factor involves the health care system. It is important to look at the differences in access to the health care system from country to country, especially the differences of entitlement with regards to the varying residence status. Some countries grant equal access to all residents, whereas in other countries the access to health care depends on preconditions, such as the payment of fees for certain health services. Separate health care provisions for asylum seekers exist in most European countries. On the other hand, special services have been established for the care of specific immigrant groups, such as trauma centres for war refugees and services for irregular immigrants.

The sixth factor that determines the impact of immigration on their countries of settlement concerns education and language proficiency. It is important for immigrants that they have access to the educational systems in their countries of settlement. In most European countries, all immigrants have the right to attend state schools. In some European countries, public provisions exist concerning the access of immigrants to private schools. Various educational opportunities and facilities exist for immigrants in the countries at hand. However, in some countries at hand the achievement level of immigrant children is considerably lower than the

average level of autochthonous children. In this sense, difficulties in speaking the language of the country of settlement are important. Another issue concerns the entry of immigrants to higher education. In some countries, free access, special scholarship and fee systems are provided for them. In most countries, the residence status plays a role in determining the entry into higher education. Similarly, the provisions for vocational training and adult education differ from country to country. In most European countries, special regulations exist for the entry, settlement and education of certain groups of immigrants, such as au pairs, students, apprentices and interns. In addition, language training is a central problem for many immigrants. New policies geared towards practically forcing immigrants to learn and speak the national languages in their countries of settlement have been developed in most European countries.

The seventh factor concerns political rights. These include voting rights in local, regional, national and EU elections, as well as participation rights in other political bodies in which elections are required, such as some welfare state organisations. Furthermore, there is the right to citizenship through naturalisation. In some European countries studied, citizenship has still some national prerequisites, for example, the United Kingdom, where there are special citizenship rights for Commonwealth and Irish citizens. In some countries, dual citizenship is relatively common, whereas in others it is illegal. In the EU, most member states either have recently revised, or are planning to revise their naturalisation regulations.

The eighth factor concerns support for integration. In most of the studied European countries, benefits and institutions have been established to advise and help immigrants in their countries of settlement. The definition of integration varies from country to country, with a wide range of integration schemes. Some are geared towards strengthening the multicultural society, others towards assimilation. Some former guest worker countries and new immigration countries are only beginning to develop integration strategies. Currently, a policy geared towards establishing integration support is being implemented EU-wide. Nevertheless, wide differences exist among such efforts on the local, regional and national levels in the countries under review, especially with regard to the institutions responsible for integration policies, the amount of funding available and the specific areas of integration.

The ninth factor concerns the exclusion and discrimination of immigrant groups in the European countries at hand. Social exclusion has a lot to do with other factors, such as housing, income levels and welfare benefits. It is also closely related to the historical cycles of immigration. The nature and effects of social exclusion differ from country to country. In all cases, the excluded populations have less impact on the development of the society at hand than other social groups which experience less exclusion. Discrimination also plays a role when determining the situation of allochthonous populations and their impact on European societies.

Other factors influence the impact of immigration on European societies. These nine define only the most important areas. It was not the central task of the country studies to research these nine factors, however, it appears that the situation concerning such factors does differ from country to country. Further comprehensive studies on the influence of these factors on the situation of immigrants in each European country and in Europe as a whole would be welcome.

2.7 Conclusions

Immigration has impacted widely on European societies, and it will continue to do so. The allochthonous populations with an immigration background in Europe have contributed to its economic transformation. Europe has diversified itself culturally. This has led to the development of new forms of dealing with discrimination, social exclusion, racism and xenophobia. Any specific conclusions that can be made must remain hypotheses. Large gaps in knowledge concerning these phenomena were identified in most of the countries under review. Also, it is hard to distinguish between the influence of immigration in European societies and that of globalisation. Moreover, there is a rising awareness of cultural minority formations in general, in which immigrants are perceived to be only one phenomenon among these formations. This also makes it difficult to assess the impact of immigrants in comparison to other allochthonous groups living and working in the countries under review.

European societies have changed dramatically in the last decades and immigrants have obviously played a major role, especially in the transformation of European economies. Consumer patterns have changed due to the impact of immigrants. Welfare systems have been extended to immigrant groups. Immigrant employment patterns and entrepreneurship activities have developed rather quickly. International trade has been transformed due to the growing diaspora formations in the countries at hand. Social life and worldview formations have changed in Europe through immigration as well.

Concerning the *civitas*, cultural changes have taken place regarding cuisine, sports, fashion, the arts and the media. Instead of understanding culture as a national tradition, it is now widely understood to be a synonym for human activity at large. A rather far-reaching “cultural turn” has taken place concerning the production and consumption of culture, but also concerning the awareness of what culture might mean for social change. In general, immigration has substantially influenced the expressions of the autochthonous cultures in Europe. The country studies discussed show the manifold ways in which immigration has altered the formerly national cultures, giving rise to culturally pluralistic societies and contributing to the emergence of new, often hybrid forms of cultural expression.

European polities are also experiencing change due to immigration. The topics of immigration and cultural diversity are now being widely discussed in the public discourse. Institutional changes and development in the civil society are also fairly clear. Institutions and organisations are being transformed in this process. Academia, governmental bureaucracies, political parties and trade unions are all responding in different manners to the impact of immigration. Associations, civil society activities, NGOs, immigrant self-organisations and similar groups are all helping to change the political landscape in Europe. In addition, the organisational frameworks of agencies, institutions and other organisations have become aware of immigrants and cultural diversity issues. New social images have been formed, and the symbolic world has been changed with regard to everyday life, religion, etc. Finally, immigration has an impact on the development of new political ideas and confrontations.

One can speak of a transformation of European economic, cultural, political and social life as a result of immigration and cultural diversity formations as well as globalisation. Much information to support this conclusion has been made available through the country studies discussed. One should, however, repeat that wide research gaps exist. Comparative data are lacking as well. New initiatives towards a wider collection of data and towards a closing of these research gaps are necessary in order to shed light on these phenomena.

3. Summaries for each Country Study

3.1 Austria

The pilot study “The Impact of Immigration on Austria’s Society” is the contribution of the National Contact Point Austria within the European Migration Network (EMN) to the more expansive report on “The Impact of Immigration on Europe’s Societies”. It is a first attempt at assessing the actual impact of immigration from different angles in an interdisciplinary approach, keeping in mind the broad range of topics and research questions such an undertaking implicates. In order to perform such an assessment, it is necessary to provide an overview of the status quo of migration research and to point out the research gaps among the existing secondary literature. This was therefore an undertaking with a two-fold aim: first, to test the already existing network of migration researchers and experts on the national, respectively on the European level and second, to answer the predetermined questions as they were agreed upon within the EMN. The templates with regards to content and length were clearly defined, whereby a certain margin for specifications according to the country’s characteristics in migration issues was allowed.

Regarding the geographical situation of Austria and its long history of immigration, one is tempted to say that Austria has a certain tradition of immigration. Yet, until today, this has neither been recognized officially nor has it encroached upon the conscience of the general public. Irrespective of the influx of immigrants during past decades, due to wars, political uprisings in the former communist countries or the intake of foreign “guest workers” for economical reasons, the Austrian self-understanding is not that of an immigration country.

In Austria, migration is generally understood and equated with labour migration that began in the early 1960s, when additional labour force was needed. In the early years of immigration, migrant workers guaranteed economic growth. The so-called “guest worker” scheme was introduced, bringing a considerable number of mostly young, male workers from former Yugoslavia and Turkey to Austria, who were supposed to leave the country after a few years on a basis of rotation. Yet, this concept did not work – the majority decided to stay longer and bring their families to Austria. During the 1980s and 1990s, the number of foreign residents rose considerably in the wake of the fall of the Iron Curtain and the war in ex-Yugoslavia, but also due to the economic upswing and the need for foreign manpower. This increase in immigration also had effects on the Austrian immigration law. In the early 1990s, the former “guest worker” scheme was replaced by a yearly quota system for new residence permits, which reduced the net immigration into Austria. Moreover, the different legal status of foreign workers vis-à-vis nationals introduced a social and economic stratification new to Austria, leading to a deterioration of equity in many different aspects. From an economic point of view, not only the large numbers but above all the composition of the inflows became a matter of concern. Immigration to Austria has changed its character from a guest worker programme to one of immigration proper. Today, the majority of foreign workers have become permanent residents, many have become naturalised and are an integral part of the Austrian population.

Migration research in Austria has to be understood in this historical context. Yet, institutional and financial fundamentals of this branch are often not sufficient; and a problem that is often mentioned in the academic discourse is the incompleteness, lack of representativeness or simple non-existence of relevant data. The impact of immigration on Austria's society has not yet been researched as such in a comprehensive manner, taking all the different aspects into consideration. The actual impact is comparatively easy to measure, when we have statistics and numbers at our disposal, which allow for concrete findings. For this reason, relatively extensive literature can be found on topics that serve a specific economic interest; but when it comes to the question whether immigrants have an impact on society in a cultural, political and social context, literature is scarce. Until the 1990s, when the social, economic, and legal exclusion of immigrants gained more relevance in the political discourse, they had not been perceived as social, political and cultural actors. This potential has been of hardly any interest to researchers and policy makers for some time, and it is only in recent years that this has begun to change.

3.2 Germany

The expertise at hand outlines the impact of migration on German society. It provides a general overview on the state of the art of migration research in the fields of economy, culture and politics. It includes the most important results and points out the shortcomings of research. This expertise refers to the situation in Germany and is to provide – such as the national studies by the other contact points of the European Migration Network (EMN) – to the Member States of the EU compact and thoroughly-researched basic information on the political areas that are important for migration policies.

Following an introductory overview on shortcomings in research in the named fields (chapter 2), the immigration flows in Germany since the end of World War II are outlined (chapter 3). The various groups of immigrants (among them refugees and displaced persons, migrant workers, ethnic German repatriates and post-war repatriates, asylum seekers, foreign students, Jewish immigrants) as well as the recent political-legal developments are presented.

With regard to the impact of immigration on the German economy (chapter 4.1), the study firstly looks into the question of “tax contributions made versus social benefits received”. In sum, the existing studies indicate a positive fiscal impact of immigration which depends, however, on the migrants’ duration of stay and the legal regulations regarding their entitlement to social benefits. Furthermore, it is stated that the immigrants’ net contribution to the social security and welfare system helps to counteract the problems arising due to the continuous aging of the population.

The third question examined in the field of economy was as to what kind of effects immigration has on the employment situation among the autochthonous

population. This is done by looking at the impact on the wage level in the low-wage sector as well as that of highly qualified employees. It turns out that, all in all, negative impacts on the wages of the autochthonous population do not exist, and that to some extent rather positive effects can be observed. Equally, only minor effects for employment can be noted which have a slightly positive tendency. Accordingly, immigration has caused an increase in jobs and therefore triggered stronger economic growth. Particularly regarding ethnic entrepreneurs, new jobs have been created and a specialised range of goods and services (food-groceries, restaurants) has developed. Another aspect in the presentation deals with the effects of immigration on national and international trade, in consideration of the fact that an increasing number of immigrants set up their own businesses and respectively do trading with their countries of origin. One can therefore assume an expanded trade volume as a consequence of immigration. Regarding the role of immigrants as consumers and savers, the findings are contradictory. On the one hand, an affinity for higher consumption can be observed, but, on the other hand, there is a higher savings ratio in order to remit money to the countries of origin. Finally, the labour market performance of immigrants is looked into. The cultural diversity, which frequently has been regarded as one of the main drawbacks of unsuccessful integration on the labour market so far, is increasingly considered to be an important advantage for the competitiveness of a national economy in the context of globalisation.

In view of the impact of immigration on the cultural context (chapter 4.2), the expertise firstly looks into organisations and associations in which migrants influence civil society. In Germany, cultural life is particularly shaped by religious organisations. As to whether their influence supports or hinders integration remains unclear though. In addition, manifold influences of immigration in the areas of sports, media, music, language, literature, film, fashion and the fine arts can be identified. However, it is difficult to isolate their influence from general globalisation impacts and they have been dealt with more journalistically rather than scientifically so far. A particularly striking influence of immigration in everyday life can be identified for food culture. It can be considered as the most important area with regard to convergence processes of the native

population and the migrants. The German media landscape shows a great variety of newspapers and magazines published in foreign languages. In parallel to the print media, there are numerous cable and satellite programmes which broadcast radio and TV programmes in immigrants' mother tongues. As to the way migrants are presented in the German media, different tendencies can be observed which are positive and negative. In addition, a large number of authors of non-German origin reflect in their writings on their own migration experience and being foreign, as well as on their – often severed – relationship to their countries of origin. These works are usually published in German as well as in the respective mother tongue.

The section of the expertise dealing with the impacts of immigration in the political context (chapter 4.3) describes the influence exerted by the presence of immigrants and their participation in various political institutions and organisations. First it is shown that political organisations have only sporadically been in the focus of scientific research. The discourse on the conditions of political participation by immigrants is dominated by the fact of lacking political integration because of restrictive naturalisation regulations and the denial of the right to vote for foreigners. This is followed by a presentation of findings on the influence of migration on local administrations, trade unions and political parties. For local administrations, migration leads to a change of the organisation which depends on the previously existing structure of the organisation though. Regarding the trade unions it can be observed that immigration as an issue is on the decline. It is true that migrants have a high degree of organisation within the trade unions, but they are rarely represented in the organisational hierarchy of the trade unions. The changes of political parties and the establishment of migrant-specific structures can indeed be shown, but have only insufficiently been documented by research.

Much more detailed research has been carried out on the immigrants' self-organisation in associations and the political orientations of immigrants, though. Here, preferences for political parties can indeed be identified which correlate with groups of immigrants, but there are no significant differences concerning the voting behaviour between naturalised migrants and

native Germans. The connection between political participation and legal integration on the one hand, and the relationship to the receiving country and the country of origin on the other hand is ambivalently assessed. The findings on the degree and the orientation of forms of political participation result in a critical scrutiny of the existing participation model, in the development of alternative models and in political demands. Some of these drafts are introduced at the end of that section. As a result, it becomes apparent that political participation is possible in various forms without having the citizenship of the receiving country and that new forms of "post-national" membership have evolved. At the same time it is pointed out that there is a conflicting field of political legitimisation which might result from the long-term presence of a major number of non-members/non-voters.

A final overview (chapter 5) examines the structural determining factors of the integration of immigrants, such as the access to citizenship, to the labour market, to education and to vocational training as well as questions of housing conditions and segregation. Regarding the impact of immigration on Germany's society, these factors can support or impede it as they shape the living conditions of migrants and therefore their opportunities to exert an influence. In chapter 6 conclusions are made regarding the data situation and the required research efforts in Germany.



3.3 Greece

The immigration flow to Greece after 1990 is really huge. According to the 2001 Census of Population, the number of immigrants is 762.000 out of which 413.000 have come to work. These numbers correspond to about 7% of the population and 9% of the labour force.

The great majority of immigrants, 438.000 or 57% of all immigrants come from the neighbouring Albania. Other countries of origin are the following: Bulgaria with 35.000 (4.6%), Georgia with 23.000 (3%), Romania with 22.000 (2.9%), Russia, Ukraine, Pakistan, Egypt, etc.

Most immigrants are male. Their average age is approximately 34 years. The majority are semi-skilled or unskilled workers. A substantial proportion (41%) has elementary education or lower and another 46% has education between elementary and post-secondary level. Of those immigrants who have come to work in Greece the majority are married (56%). Among those who are married the great majority (77%) have come to Greece (or have been unified) with their families. Among those who are single, divorced, widowed or separated only about 40% are in Greece with their families.

Most of the studies reviewed in this report are devoted mainly to an examination and description of the situation that was developed after the flow of immigrants. This is understandable as Greece has experienced such large flows of immigrants for the first time in its recent history and also because immigration was illegal with no official records of any information regarding the size, status, employment, location, etc. of the immigrants.

From the studies that have attempted to evaluate the effects of immigration on the Greek economy and society, the following results have been derived.

Economic results

Immigrants have a net contribution to the Gross Domestic Product of Greece. For one year (1996) it is estimated that immigrants' net contribution was 1.5% of GDP.

In general, immigration does not seem to have significant depressing effects on wages. However, the view that the wages of unskilled and semi-skilled workers have been constrained by the inflow of immigrants is not without support.

There is no evidence that immigration has increased the overall unemployment rate of Greek workers. However, there is a widespread view that unemployment in Greece is partly due to immigration. There is some evidence that immigration has resulted in a higher rate of the labour force participation rates of women, and that has caused a shift from family labour to wage-labour in various economic activities.

One effect of immigration has been the deterioration in the distribution of income. As a result of immigration, the relative position of households with low incomes has worsened, and of households with middle and high incomes has improved. This is in agreement with the depressing effect of immigration on the wages of unskilled and semi-skilled workers.

Concerns have been expressed on the availability of immigrant labour. This may have short-run positive effects, but probably negative effects in the long run due to the delayed adoption of technologically advanced methods of production and the reorganisation of the productive sectors of the economy.

The demand for the use of public services such as schools, hospitals, administration, etc. by immigrants has not been excessive. However, this may have changed considerably in recent years because of the legalisation of immigrants and the unification of their families.

A substantial proportion of incomes earned by immigrants is remitted to their countries of origin. There is neither evidence nor necessity that these funds will return to Greece, directly or indirectly, and therefore remittances may have a lowering effect on the equilibrium level of income.

Social results

There is hard evidence that immigration has increased criminality to a very substantial extent in the categories of serious crimes. The crime rates of immigrants are much higher than those of Greeks for all years for which there are available data.

Integration of immigrants into the body of the Greek society is proceeding very slowly.

There is much talk about evident racism and xenophobia in Greece with all its negative consequences for both immigrants and Greeks. However, there is no evidence, apart from isolated incidents, to support the view that the Greek society as an organised whole with its institutions and laws shows signs of racism and xenophobia.

Research gaps

The review of the literature on immigration has shown many research gaps. Many obvious and/or important aspects have not been examined, as for example, the area of athletics, the contribution to social security, the important area of ethnic business, the effects on the demographic developments, inter-marriages, etc.

Factors affecting the performance of immigrants

There are several factors that affect the performance of immigrants within the Greek economy and society. Among these factors, more important are the following: (1) Lack of knowledge of the Greek language. (2) Ignorance of the labour market networks. (3) Risk of employers by employing immigrants due to their ignorance as regards the personal and other characteristics of immigrants; and (4) the restrictions imposed on the labour market by the regulation of many professions.



3.4 Ireland

Ireland had an economic boom at the end of the 1990s which transformed it from being an emigration country during most of the twentieth century to being an immigration country. The consensus view is that both long-term and short-term factors contributed to the boom. Among the most important long-term factors were the gradual dismantling of barriers to foreign trade and encouragement of foreign direct investment, the introduction of free secondary education, and membership of the European Community. Among the short-term factors were membership of the European Monetary System and subsequent membership of the European Monetary Union (EMU), the strengthening of a partnership approach to wage bargaining in the early 1990s, and the growth of world demand for workers with the skills necessary to take advantage of technical innovations in the IT, pharmaceutical, medical and other sectors. Synchronisation of these long- and short-term influences with favourable demand conditions generated by external trading partners enabled Ireland to belatedly catch up with levels of employment and productivity typically enjoyed in other advanced developed countries. The boom resulted in an increase in employment of almost 30 per cent between 1996 and 2001 and the emergence of widespread labour shortages. This attracted large numbers of migrant workers and asylum seekers.

In 1991 the gross outflow and inflow of migrants were almost in balance so migration had very little impact on the population. By 2004 the net outflow had halved and the net inflow had increased by half. Consequently inward migration has become a significant component of population change. About a quarter of the gross inflow in 2004 consisted of Irish emigrants returning home and about two-fifths of it was made up of non-EU nationals. Population stock figures for 2002 show that

about 5 per cent of the population, or 182,000 people, are foreign nationals. Non-EU nationals comprise the largest group of foreign nationals, around 80,000 or 45 per cent of all immigrants.

There is little or no information available on the payment of taxes or the receipt of welfare benefits by immigrants or on the creation of businesses, contributions to pension funds or impact on exports and imports by immigrants. Data on work permits issued to employers of immigrants show that the number issued increased nearly eight times from around 6,000 in 1999 to 48,000 in 2003. However, there is likely to be a substantial fall in the number issued in 2004 as nationals of the Accession States will not require work permits after 1 May 2004 and the government is strongly encouraging employers to source their migrant workers in the future from the enlarged EU.

Analysis of the educational qualifications of non-national immigrants in the labour force during the years 1994-96 shows that they had considerably better levels of education than the native labour force. The increase in the supply of highly qualified immigrants helped to reduce earnings inequality. Consequently, Ireland is likely to have benefited substantially from the inflow of immigrants in the mid-1990s. Although more recent research has not yet been carried out on the educational qualifications of immigrants, analysis of the available data for 2002 by occupation and sector shows that non-EU nationals are over represented in low paying sectors and occupations. Earnings data for 2002 for work permit holders suggests that they earn about 14 per cent less than Irish workers. It is not known how much of this differential is due to differences in qualifications and work experience. Nevertheless, the data on employment and earnings of work permit holders suggest that the average recent immigrant may be less qualified than the average Irish worker. If this is the case it may reduce the advantage that Ireland derived from immigration in the mid-1990s.

Most community and voluntary organisations are active in working with new minority communities to help them to integrate into civic and cultural life. Many of the minority communities have set up their own organisations to represent their interests. A particular difficulty for immigrants to develop civic and cultural

networks is that their contacts with Irish people are somewhat limited and they are thrown back on their own resources. Greater cultural diversity has been accompanied by the emergence of racism. Active measures have been taken to combat racism such as the establishment of the National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism and the adoption of anti-racist codes of practice in the media and politics. An ethnic minority media has also begun to emerge and some parts of the domestic media have appointed special correspondents to report on racial affairs and to present news programmes aimed at promoting cultural diversity.

All resident non-nationals may vote in local elections and resident EU nationals may vote in European elections. A majority of black and ethnic minorities do not believe that local political representatives adequately represent their interests. In the local elections in June 2004 a number of non-nationals contested local elections and a small number of them were elected to local councils. Research shows that there is a need for the main political parties to take active steps to encourage immigrants to participate in politics.

Asylum seekers and refugees have better support than migrant workers to help them to integrate into the community. The government's direct provision system for asylum seekers provides their accommodation, food and other needs through the Reception and Integration Agency. Some aspects of direct provision have been criticised but the way in which support should be provided for asylum seekers and refugees leaves little room for manoeuvre as other disadvantaged groups claim that they do not receive the same level of official support.



3.5 Italy

Over the past three decades, Italy has undergone a major transformation, shifting from an emigrant nation (there are currently four million Italians still living abroad) to an immigrant destination. From 1970 until today, the foreign citizens with regular residence permits in Italy have increased tenfold, and the rhythm of growth seems to be unstoppable. In 2003, following the last act of regularization, almost 700,000 non-EU workers were legalized. This figure, when added to the one and a half million aliens who were already living on the Italian peninsula, increases the total foreign population to two and a half million people, including minors.

These substantial figures outline a complex situation, characterized by immigrant flows from more than 191 countries, especially Central Eastern Europe (Rumania, Albania and the Ukraine), Northern Africa (Morocco), the Far East (China) and the Indian subcontinent (Pakistan, India, and Sri Lanka).

This historically important phenomenon requires in-depth analysis and more effective intervention policies in order to find concrete solutions to help immigrants settling in our country, with its aging population and its labour market in need of additional workers.

Unfortunately, there is still a great amount of rigidity with respect to this new social phenomenon. Although Italian immigration legislation is one of the most advanced in Europe (Consolidated Act No. 286/98), its application is still difficult. The quota system still appears as inadequate with respect to labour needs, and the grant of a permanent residence permits is affected in some cases by slow and heavy procedures. In fact, the matching of labour demand and supply may seem as difficult to realize, which may result in encouraging irregular work.

The immigration phenomenon is affecting the various regions in Italy in different ways.

Indubitably the greatest number of non-EU citizens resides in Central Northern Italy, where there are more job opportunities. Large urban centres, especially Rome (more than 200,000 immigrants) and Milan (more than 150,000), host substantial numbers of immigrant populations. Unfortunately, immigrants have difficulties in finding housing, since it is very expensive, especially in the cities, which forces them to reside together.

Various studies have indicated that immigration is not perceived negatively by the native population. On the contrary, the general attitude is more positive than in other European countries, despite the fact that the media tends to focus its attention almost exclusively on the negative aspects of this phenomenon, such as illegal immigration and crime, which, indubitably, are some of the biggest problems.

Over the past several years, great progress has been made in integrating foreign citizens into our country, beginning with the attendance of foreign minors at schools, a widespread phenomenon that has achieved good results.

The annual "Indici di inserimento territoriale degli immigrati" (Immigrant Territorial Integration Index), a study, carried out annually by Caritas on behalf of the National Council for Economy and Labour (CNEL), indicates that immigration is a significant, widespread phenomenon in Italy (it has even affected little towns and agricultural areas) characterized by considerable annual entries as well as by the significant needs of the labour market.

Nevertheless, it still has not been possible to strike a balance between the needs of immigrants and the needs of Italians, even if there are several indications that it is possible to go beyond the image of an immigrant as merely a worker and consider him as a citizen of a new inter-ethnic society with intercultural prospects. Sometimes, immigration is regarded as a temporary, rootless phenomenon that only marginally affects the receiving society. However, reality and, especially, data, prove otherwise.

3.6 The Netherlands

This pilot project 'A review of recent literature on the impact of immigration on Dutch society' is the contribution of the National Contact Point in the Netherlands within the European Migration Network (EMN) to the report on 'the impact of immigration on Europe's societies'.

The pilot project has a two-fold aim, namely:

1. to test the already existing national network of immigration experts and researchers
2. to answer the EMN's questions concerning the impact of immigrants on Dutch society.

Regarding the first aim, the conclusions are that a network of immigration experts and researchers in the Netherlands has been built up. However, due to capacity problems of the National Contact Point the national network has not been fully utilised concerning this pilot project. The study was discussed with a few national partners only on a superficial basis. Since February 2005 the capacity of the National Contact Point has been enlarged to improve this situation.

A draft report was sent in December 2004 to the coordinator of the European Migration Network (the Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research) so it could be used in their synthesis report. From January until March we have continued working on the report so that we could publish this final version with the other national contributions of the NCPs.

The following sections summarise the conclusion that can be drawn regarding the EMN's questions.

Overview of immigration history and development

Not much data is available about third-country nationals. For the Netherlands, the formal nationality of immigrants is a far from satisfactory manner for gaining insights into the non-Dutch population, because a relatively high number of immigrants have acquired Dutch nationality. Besides, many immigrants from the former Dutch colonies (Surinam, Netherlands Antilles) already had Dutch nationality. In most literature and research the definition *allochthon* is being used. An *allochthon* is a person who either was born abroad or has one or two parents born abroad. Third country nationals are best described as non-Western *allochthons*.

Like many countries in Western Europe, immigration has played an important role in the Netherlands. From the 1950s until recently, the number of immigrants has always been higher than the number of emigrants.

At first immigration to the Netherlands was especially linked to the colonial past of the country, with colonies such as Surinam, the Netherlands Antilles and Indonesia (Moluccas).

From the 1950s on, young men from a number of southern European countries (Spain, Italy, Greece, Portugal, Yugoslavia) came to the Netherlands as 'guest workers' based on government recruitment treaties.

From the early 1960s, the first migrant workers from Turkey and Morocco were recruited for relatively simple work.

During the 1970s the economic situation in the Netherlands worsened. A majority of the migrant workers from the southern European countries returned to their countries. During the 1980s the Netherlands realised that the migrant workers from Turkey and Morocco did not intend returning when their families started to come over to live in the Netherlands with their husbands. The Netherlands had in fact become an immigration society. Family reunification and family formation too accounted for and still account for a large proportion of the immigrants coming to the Netherlands.

An increasing influx of asylum seekers led to new groups of immigrants in the Netherlands in the 1990s. The highest number was reached in 1994: 50,000 requests for asylum. The number of asylum requests stayed high with an average of 24,000 a year in the period 1999-2001. Since then the number has declined sharply: in 2003 only 13,000 asylum requests and in 2004 even a little less than 10,000 asylum requests. Asylum seekers come from various countries. The five largest refugee groups living in the Netherlands at present are: Afghans, Iraqis, Iranians, (former) Yugoslavians and Somalis.

Impact of immigrants on the Dutch society

Economy

The last few years have seen increasing attention being devoted to the economic aspects of immigration. This has been partly prompted by the question whether immigration can offer a solution to the ageing population.

Recently (end of 2004) the maximisation of economic benefit has also been an important starting point in the admission policy for migrant workers.

A fair amount of research has been carried out in the Netherlands into the socio-economic position of immigrants (first and second generation together). Labour participation, dependence on benefit and the disposable income of immigrants are researched thoroughly.

A new longitudinal database makes it possible to follow the socio-economic dynamic of immigrants in time. This database enables research questions about year of arrival, country of birth and migration motives of cohorts of immigrants to be answered within the context of labour participation, dependence of benefit and income of non-Dutch immigrants.

Research on the costs and benefits (taxes, pension funds etc.) of immigrants on the Dutch welfare state also exists in the Netherlands.

Less research has been found on other topics. For example, though some research on ethnic business owners exists, no research has been found on the

impact of ethnic business owners on the overall economic development in the Netherlands. Moreover, virtually no empirical research has been carried out into the effects of the highly qualified immigrants on the Dutch society. Only one study was found concerning a select group of modern migrant workers on three year working permits. Literature on the economic sectors, in which immigrants have been involved, exists. However, there is no clear overview.

Research gaps were encountered when looking at the impact immigrants have (had) on national consumption, on imports and exports and on the employment sector. Literature on the presumed effect immigrants have on the employment sector does exist, but it is only theoretical in nature. Another research gap exists concerning the effect of cultural diversity on the Dutch economy and competitiveness in international contexts.

Generally speaking, a rather negative picture emerges from what is known about the participation of immigrants in the economy: previous migrant workers (guest workers) and their successors (those coming to form or reunite their families) would seem to be a greater burden than benefit to the Dutch welfare state from an economic point of view. In view of the high level of dependence on benefit and low labour participation of (a number of) asylum migrant groups, this could be concluded for these groups too.

An exception to this would appear to be (some of) the modern migrant workers (often highly educated and usually Western). They can make a positive contribution to the Dutch welfare state and knowledge economy.

Conclusions with regard to taxes, pensions and benefits

No explicit studies have been found that provide an answer to the question as to what proportion of taxes paid and pension contributions can be attributed to immigrants.

A relatively large amount of research has been carried out into the relationship between the costs and benefits of immigrants for the Dutch welfare state. It can be concluded that the benefits (contributions) are lower than the costs (benefits received etc.) of non-Western immigrants.

The amount of income provides an indirect answer to the question about the contributions of immigrants to pensions and taxes.

The disposable income of non-Western allochthons is on average only three-quarters of the disposable income of autochthons. Contributions from non-Western allochthons are therefore on average lower than that of autochthons.

As far as receiving benefits is concerned, a relatively high number of publications have been found on the use of social provisions by immigrants. It can be concluded that non-Western allochthons, compared to autochthons, claim benefit at a disproportionately high (2.5 times more) level.

It is not only among the four classic migrant groups that the proportion of benefit recipients is high, but also among the relatively new asylum migrants.

Conclusions regarding consumption

No literature has been found which explicitly answers the questions about national consumption that can be attributed to immigrants and a potentially changing demand for local products due to the presence of immigrants.

No literature has been found either on the consumption patterns of immigrants.

However, something can be said indirectly about consumption by immigrants. The disposable income of non-Western allochthons is on average only three-quarters of the disposable income of autochthons. It is also known that allochthons do not spend their entire income in the Netherlands. They send some of it to family members in the country of origin. Non-Western allochthons would therefore appear to account for a lower percentage of national consumption than would be expected based on their proportion of the population. Their consumption level would appear to be lower than that of autochthons.

Conclusions regarding employment

No empirical studies have been carried out in the Netherlands into the effects of immigration on the labour market position of the low-skilled (displacement). The publications that have been found are only theoretical in nature.

In general it can be concluded that non-Western allochthons are on average less skilled than autochthons and that the native population with skills comparable to those of immigrants lose out.

Hartog & Zorlu (2002) conclude that a 10% increase in ethnic minorities from non-EU countries decreases the earnings of low-skilled workers by 0.42% and increases the earnings of highly-skilled workers by 0.21%. Medium-skilled natives are virtually unaffected.

There is a great deal of information available about the labour participation of allochthons.

The employment ratio of non-Western allochthons is roughly three-quarters of the national average.

Labour participation is low not only among the four classic migrant groups, but also among the relatively new asylum migrants.

The rising unemployment in 2003 affected non-Western allochthons more than autochthons.

Non-Western allochthons are on average less skilled than autochthons.

The participation of non-Western allochthonous women in the labour market is generally lower than among autochthonous women.

Conclusions with regard to ethnic business owners

No literature has been found on the effect on the economic development of ethnic business ownership.

However, there is some information known about ethnic business owners:

- although the number of non-Western allochthonous business owners has increased substantially during the last few years, the business ownership rate among non-Western allochthons is still significantly lower than among the population in the Netherlands as a whole;
- this is partly the consequence of the small number of allochthonous women business owners;
- the proportion of non-Western allochthonous business owners whose businesses survive is smaller than that of autochthonous business owners;
- the business income of non-Western allochthonous business owners is lower than the business income of autochthon business owners.

Conclusions regarding highly qualified immigrants

As far as the former migrant workers are concerned who came to the Netherlands in the 1960s (guest workers), it can be concluded that they did not bring with them any new qualifications that were not already available. The guest workers usually carried out the work that was generally regarded in the Netherlands as heavy or dirty work.

The costs of this earlier labour migration and the family reunification and formation linked to this (benefits, education etc.) turned out to be higher than the benefits (taxes paid) for the Dutch welfare state.

The Foreign Nationals (Employment) Act that has been in force in the Netherlands since 1995 stipulates that migrant workers are only admitted if it is clear after a strict test that there is no labour supply available within the Netherlands and the EEA to fill the job. This means that the modern migrant worker must indeed possess qualifications that are not, or not sufficiently, available in the Netherlands or the EEA.

Virtually no empirical research has been carried out into the effects of the highly qualified migrant worker on the Dutch economy.

A single study concerned a select group of modern migrant workers (those on three-year work permits). In view of their high disposable incomes, it can be concluded that they have a positive effect on the Dutch economy. It is not clear to what extent this select group of modern migrant workers is comparable to the group highly qualified migrants.

Highly qualified migrants are expected to have a positive influence on the Dutch economy by contributing to the strengthening and innovation of the Dutch business sector. However, no (clear) empirical research has been found that supports this (otherwise quite plausible) theory.

Conclusions regarding specific economic sectors

There is some literature on the economic sectors in which immigrants work. However, there is no clear overview.

The policy pursued by the Dutch government is for labour migration to take place if persons without work are reintegrated.

However, in certain areas in the Netherlands the

situation is such that there is a shortage of specific labour, both highly-skilled and low-skilled.

Immigrants work in specific sectors of the labour market.

We see in the Netherlands that second-generation immigrants in the labour market are moving into other sectors.

Conclusions regarding exports and imports

No research has been found into the effects of immigration on imports and exports. No records are kept of ethnicity with imports and exports.

No research has been found either into the effects of immigration on Dutch participation in international trade.

Conclusions regarding cultural diversity and competitiveness

Some literature has been found on cultural diversity, but this is mostly theoretical in nature. The literature that have been found are not very consistent on the nature and extent of cultural diversity within the Dutch organisations and companies.

No research has been found on the effects of this cultural diversity on the Dutch economy and on the competitive position of the Netherlands on the international market.

Civil society and culture

The Netherlands has many immigrant grassroots organisations with highly diverse compositions and objectives. Some research has been carried out into the effect of grassroots organisations on the indigenous civil society, however no clear-cut picture emerged from this.

Little is known about the effect on the indigenous civil society of the participation of minorities in local organisations.

Although much has been published in the Netherlands on culture and a fair amount on the participation of allochthons in culture, little is known about the impact of immigrants on society and culture.

As regards the media, quite a bit of research has been carried out, particularly into participation in the media. There is less literature found in other areas examined (sport, fashion and food).

Regarding cultural terrains as media, arts, food, sports and fashion we see growing participation of migrants and there is clearly influence. But participation is still lower than that of indigenous residents, and still occurs in separate circuits in too many cases.

The Dutch government takes as a starting point the assumption that culture can provide an important contribution to the integration of newcomers. As a result, its cultural policy devotes a great deal of attention to immigrants. Besides the aim to increase the cultural participation of immigrants, an effort is now being made to create links between the separate cultural circuits (from separate 'pillars' towards more interaction between the pillars).

Politics

There is a reasonably large amount of literature and research into the extent of political participation (both active and passive) of allochthons at the level of local elections. Research into the participation and voting behaviour of immigrants at a non-local level hardly exists. Only two studies into the political participation of immigrants in national parliamentary elections were found. There is also little known about the participation of allochthons in trade unions.

In general the focus of the research is on the four, still most important, ethnic groups in the Netherlands; the Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese and Antilleans. At a local level this is supplemented by large ethnic groups, such as the Cape Verdeans in Rotterdam. No research has been found on the political participation of relatively new immigrant groups (asylum groups).

No research has been found that answers the question whether the participation of immigrants in political organisations has changed these organisations.

Since 1985, aliens who have been living legally in the Netherlands for five years have had voting rights for local elections. Only residents of Dutch nationality may vote in national elections.

As far as the use of passive voting rights is concerned, two developments can be observed: there are more and more (local as well as national) allochthonous representatives, and the ethnic diversity of these representatives is also increasing. Nevertheless, there is still not a proportional representation of allochthons in the municipal councils or in the Lower House of the Dutch Parliament.

Parties of and for immigrants remain in a minority and are not successful. The presence of allochthons in municipal councils and the Lower House firstly depends on the choices of the traditional, general political parties: they decide whether or not to place allochthons on their list of candidates.

The turnout of allochthonous voters at municipal elections lags significantly behind that of indigenous voters.

Allochthons who vote nationally would appear, just as those who vote locally, to be more inclined to have left-wing views rather than right-wing views, although to a lesser extent.

If we look at the turnout percentages and the number of members of the municipal councils, we can conclude that the Turks as a group are the most strongly integrated into Dutch local politics. The high turnout of Turkish people at elections could possibly be explained by the high level of cohesion of the Turkish community.

Factors impacting on immigrants

Social position of immigrants

In the Government's view, the current position of residents from an immigrant background is characterised by too great a social, cultural and economic disadvantage.

Around the year 2000, almost 500,000 first-generation allochthons (approximately 30% of the total number of first generation allochthons) did not have a sufficient command of Dutch to be able to participate successfully in the various social markets.

At present more than 180,000 women of Turkish, Moroccan, Surinamese and Antillean origin (approximately 30% of the total number of women of these origins) are socially in a deprived position.

Turkish and Moroccan pupils who were born in the Netherlands still lag behind at the end of primary school by about two school years as far as language is concerned. The educational level of more than two-thirds of the Turks and Moroccans has not reached the level of a starting qualification. Young people from ethnic minorities are far better educated than older people, but among them too the proportion without a starting qualification is some 20% higher than among autochthonous young people.

The net labour participation of minorities is 15 percentage points lower than the total level of participation (65%). The participation percentage of 15-24 year-olds among the minority population is 36 percentage points lower than the total.

The proportion of those claiming benefit is twice as high among minorities as among the native Dutch population.

The majority of second-generation Turks and Moroccans choose a partner from the country of origin. Many marriages between Turks or Moroccans on the one hand, and native Dutch residents on the other hand, end in divorce.

Information on social contacts points to limited social integration. Among Turks and Moroccans, most contacts are within their own group.

Young people from minority groups are over-represented among suspects of crime.

The vast majority of residents with a minority background live concentrated together in particular neighbourhoods, which also means that they have fewer social contacts with native Dutch residents. The living conditions in these neighbourhoods are generally relatively unfavourable.

Access to labour and housing market

Residents of third countries do not have free access to the Dutch labour market.

The Netherlands pursues a selective, demand-driven labour migration policy for third-country migrant workers, based on economic motives.

Asylum migrants may only undertake limited work as long as they do not have resident status.

A special scheme has been in effect since 1 October 2004 in order to fast-track knowledge migrants without a work permit into the Netherlands.

Third-country nationals have equal access with Dutch nationals to housing in the Netherlands with respect to legislation. These legal rights are obtained immediately upon receiving a residence permit and count equally for migrants in general as for recognised refugees.

Access to language education

The Netherlands is increasingly imposing requirements on the level of integration (knowledge of Dutch language and culture) of aliens, linking this to obtaining a permanent residence permit and the Dutch nationality. The new integration policy increasingly places the responsibility for integration on the alien himself. Within this context, in the near future immigrants will have to pay for Dutch language courses themselves.

Access to health, education and welfare services

Immigrants have equal access with nationals, with respect to legislation, to healthcare, education and social security assistance. They obtain these legal rights immediately upon receiving a residence permit.

Access to politics

Only persons of Dutch nationality have voting rights at a national level.

Since 1985, aliens who have been residing legally in the Netherlands for five years have had voting rights in local elections.



3.7 Portugal

In March 2000, The European Council of Lisbon established a new strategic goal and a Global strategy for the European Union – The Lisbon Strategy – aiming toward:

- i) an economy and society based on knowledge through applying better policies in the domain of the information society and R&D;
- ii) modernising the European social model, investing in people and combating social exclusion;
- iii) sustaining healthy economic perspectives and favourable predictions for growth, applying a suitable combination of macro-economic policies.

With this strategy in view, an “open method of coordination” was developed in this Council with a goal of spreading the best practices and favouring a greater convergence with regard to the main objectives of the EU. In essence, it is a way of organising a learning process at the European level with a view of helping Member States improving their national policies, encouraging a real convergence in the EU, and reassessing policies of economic and social cohesion.

Therefore, this document constitutes the Portuguese contribution to benchmarking (as quantitative as possible) of the impact of immigration on society, with special emphasis on demographic, social, economic, cultural and political areas.

In the last three decades, Portugal has experienced a strong growth in the foreign population living in the national territory. To the post-colonisation flow coming from the PALOPs, new flows – with unexpected vigour – are originating from Brazil and Eastern Europe, as well as others in lesser quantities.

From an analysis of the various aspects characterizing the Portuguese Society and previously examined, we conclude by summarising as follows.

Portugal provides – de jure – access to social services for immigrant citizens almost without discrimination, however the implementation of these many times fails to be regulated by criteria of positive discrimination. For instance in the case of education, where the actuality – observed from the point of view of scholastic success – is disagreeable for immigrant communities.

Portugal has received a vast African community, leaving its destiny at the gates of the main cities, which were slow in waking up and responding to their problems – of housing, employment, education, etc. – with social consequences that are well-known. An ostrich policy can only contribute to the worsening of this picture.

Portugal has recently welcomed heavy migratory flows coming from Brazil and East Europe having a certain level of education and professional qualification, especially in the case of the East Europeans, higher, even superior to national levels. Inadequate recognition and consequently not taking advantage of this demographic and economic value will surely constitute a waste of human capital in a country that lacks so much of it.

Portugal is formally an anti-racist society, without distinct militant racism problems, but where the road to an inter-ethnic and inter-cultural relationship still needs to be worked out. Segregation of the foreign community persists; not being political nor legal, it is above all economic, since it is – by consequence – urban, social and cultural.

Today Portugal has, through immigration, an unparalleled cultural diversity in its recent history, which constitutes – we can start by affirming this – a challenge. The act of meeting challenges is called development.



3.8 Sweden

The Economy: taxes, pensions and the impact on the welfare system

The economic crisis in the 1990s, structural changes in the Swedish economy and other factors have contributed to a high degree of dependency on the welfare system among the foreign-born population. This means that the tax income and other economic contributions from immigrants as a group have been quite modest during the period of review (from 1999 onwards).

Immigrants as consumers and the impact on exports and imports

Although this area lacks re-search, it is clear that the introduction of ethnic food in Sweden has led to a demand for import of foreign products. There is a large number of ethnic grocery stores, restaurants, etc. in the larger Swedish cities that target immigrants as potential customers, as well as Swedish consumers, which has an impact on the amount and variety of imported goods and products from foreign countries.

Impact on specific economic sectors and ethnic entrepreneurs

The majority of foreign citizens in Sweden are active in a limited number of specific economic areas and they are over-represented in the manufacturing industry, the hotel & restaurant industry, the education sector and service industries. Many foreign born workers have low-skilled jobs with low salaries and it is more likely for an immigrant to have a manual job than it is for a Swedish-born person. The majority of the non-Swedish entrepreneurs are found in the service sector, which includes grocery stores, cleaning agencies and taxi companies. It is very difficult to estimate the effect that they have on the economy,

but they do create work opportunities and have a positive effect on economic development at a local level. Immigrants with a low level of education and/or a non-European background are over-represented among ethnic entrepreneurs. Some research suggests that this is consistent with the fact that non-European immigrants have severe difficulties entering the labour market, and see self-employment is a way out of this. Other research, among which a not yet published report from Ceifo on ethnic entrepreneurs, show a different picture. The report states that ethnic entrepreneurs start their business for many other reasons, among which to make their dreams come true, to be independent and to earn money.

Highly-qualified immigrants

Extensive immigration has led to a massive influx of highly educated men and women into Swedish society but the highly educated refugees from the 1990s, in particular, have had severe problems entering the Swedish labour market (among the foreign born however, it is easier for the highly qualified to get a job than it is for immigrants with a low education level). One reason is that it can take up to two years before immigrants receive their residence permit and are allowed to work in Sweden. At the same time, there is a shortage of skilled labour in Sweden today, which means that there is an enormous waste of human resources when skilled immigrants are kept outside the labour market. The highly skilled immigrants that have been able to get a job are often forced to work with tasks that are way below their educational level.

Cultural diversity and competitiveness

The Swedish government has worked with these issues since the late 1990s, when it began to encourage employers to work towards increased ethnic diversity among their employees, and to adopt plans for ethnic diversity. Employers in the public sector are considered to have a special responsibility. As they are publicly financed, they are seen as role models for other employers and it is regarded as important that their employment structure reflects the structure of the total population in terms of ethnicity. There are examples of private employers (and to some extent public employers) who nowadays have a management perspective with regard to ethnic and cultural diversity; it is believed that increased ethnic diversity among staff

will result in more creativity, efficiency and thereby profitability. It is difficult to show any economic effect as a consequence of the increasing focus on ethnic diversity. More research is needed in the area of the economic effects of ethnic diversity. While the number of employees with a foreign background has increased, the majority come from the Nordic countries and the European Union. Immigrants with a non-European background continue to have problems in entering the labour market.

The impact of immigration on Swedish society: the civil society and the cultural context

Immigrants and civil society

Although immigrants and foreign citizens are largely underrepresented as members of different organisations, there is a relatively large number of immigrants that are members of trade unions and environmental organisations. On the other hand, there are relatively few immigrants that are members of political parties and/or women's organisations. Current research shows that it is also more difficult for immigrants to be elected as representatives in both community organisations and trade unions. The immigrants' own organisations play an important role in Swedish society. They function as reference groups in the decision-making process, they give the members a chance to participate in Swedish society, they help create an identity for the immigrants, act as lobby groups and as sources of recruitment to political parties. They also help facilitate the integration process into Swedish society.

Immigrants and the cultural context: food, sport, fashion, the arts and media

Immigrants, and especially young immigrants, participate very actively in different kinds of sports. The National Sport Federation in Sweden perceives itself as a good example when it comes to work with integration. The large number of athletes with foreign backgrounds is indicative of a successful integration process in this area of Swedish society. Sports also make immigrants more visible in Swedish society and immigrant athletes have begun to act as role models for other immigrants. Although sport is regarded as an area of society with a good level of integration, there

has been very little research conducted in this field. It is not possible to estimate the actual impact that immigrants have had in this sector.

The research situation is even weaker when looking at the cultural realms of food, fashion and arts. There is hardly any research available on the impact of immigration in these areas, despite the fact that immigrants have had an obvious effect on, for instance, the food industry. The last decades have seen an explosion in the number of ethnic restaurants, something that has naturally affected Swedish food culture. There is need for more research in this field before the questions in this study can be answered. The same is true for the arts and the fashion industry. It is not possible to draw conclusions about what impact immigrants have had in the areas of art and fashion but it is likely that they have been affected.

The impact of immigration on Europe's societies: the political context

Foreign citizens have the right to vote in the municipal elections, provided that they have lived in Sweden for at least three years. However, voter participation among foreign citizens has decreased over the years, and in the 2002 general elections, only 35% of foreign citizens took part. Foreign citizens also have a relatively low political participation when it comes to party membership and political contacts. This might be due to their limited resources, poor language skills and that they sometimes are not considered to be a group of interest for political parties. Low voter participation can also be explained by the fact that immigrants lose interest in the political process, since foreign citizens do not have the right to vote in national elections. Therefore, foreign citizens are excluded from large parts of political life.

Political parties are aware of the fact that immigrants are underrepresented and they are also working actively to increase the number of party members and elected representatives with a foreign background. However, since all parties have found it necessary to work with attitudes towards immigrants within their own party organisations, this points at the existence of negative attitudes towards immigrants among party members. Immigrants, and especially foreign

citizens, are also underrepresented in the trade union movement. The situation for foreign citizens has been described by researchers as "including subordination", meaning that, although it is easy to become a trade union member, foreigners are still not considered "real workers". Moreover, the presence of racism and discrimination within the trade unions is not perceived as a problem by trade union officials. This has led to a situation where trade union members with a foreign background are organising themselves in a separate network in an attempt to set the question of discrimination and racism within the organisations on the agenda.

Compared with the extensive research in the economics field, there is limited research in the area of political participation.

Factors affecting the impact of immigrants on Europe's societies: the provision of support and restrictions

The current integration policy was adopted in 1997 in an attempt to deal with the increasing problems faced by immigrants in Swedish society. The goal of the policy is to ensure equal rights, obligations and opportunities regardless of ethnic and cultural background. The aim is that the Swedish society should be characterized by mutual respect and tolerance for everyone regardless of background. One practical measure in this policy was the creation of the Swedish Integration Board in 1998. The new authority took over the responsibility for integration issues from the Swedish Migration Board.

There are constant problems especially for refugee immigrants in establishing themselves in Swedish society. One of the main reasons being that they often choose to live, or have no other alternative than to live in close communities with friends and relatives, which leads to increasing problems of segregated housing, difficulties in school for the children and problems for adults in finding employment. For adult immigrants, especially highly educated, there are still problems in getting their real competences validated and recognized in Sweden and in getting supplementary training.

There are a number of fundamental economic, organisational, political and social problems that have to be solved before Swedish integration policy, with its focus on successful integration, citizenship and human rights, can be fulfilled. The Swedish integration policy is very ambitious and well-thought-out, but it is complicated by unsuccessful implementation methods, ethnic discrimination, economic problems, world events and disagreements between different national actors. In implementing the integration policy, the municipalities tend contradictory to the policy to focus on collective solutions rather than on individual ones. The considerable difference in participation in the labour market between immigrants from non-European countries and European immigrants can mainly be explained by structural and institutional discrimination, but this is an area where more research is needed. The same goes for the situation in housing and in language courses for immigrants. There is also a need for political reforms in order to increase the political interest among the foreign citizens.

3.9 United Kingdom

This report summarises the key findings from literature published between 2001 and 2004 that discussed the impact of immigrants on the UK economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena. It was compiled by the Immigration Research and Statistics Service as part of a pilot project for the European Migration Network (EMN). In addition to providing a contribution to the literature, an important aim of the project was to test the network's ability to collate research in each of its member states to provide an overview of migration in Europe.

The literature review is divided into five sections. The first section gives an overview of immigration history and development from 1945 to the present day. The main body of the review covers immigrants' impact on the economy, civil society and culture, and the political arena. The final section documents the factors that impact on immigrants, such as the supportive measures or restrictions.

This was not a fully systematic review: no quality check was made on the evidence that informed the literature. In some sections, where few sources of material were found, care should be taken in interpreting the findings since they may have been based on small-scale studies or lack of research might mean that no check on reliability was possible. This applies particularly to the impact section on civil society and culture. Literature has, therefore, been included in the review that is not necessarily representative of the UK immigrant or the indigenous population. Every effort has been made to mitigate this limitation by a) stating the evidence on which literature is based and b) noting in brackets the definition of migrant that has been used.

The literature found for the review is not exhaustive and covers only literature published between 2001 and 2004. This restriction was applied in order to

make the pilot project manageable; it is important to recognise that different conclusions might have been reached, had the time period covered by the review been extended. In addition, there may in fact be research evidence in areas where gaps have been identified, because it had not been captured by the method employed for the review (see section 2.2.1). Note however that the date restriction applies to when the literature was published, and it is expected that the literature would contain much evidence of impacts during earlier periods.

The introduction explains the methodology used in the review and gives a breakdown of the types of data sources and the various definitions of immigrants used in the literature.

The first section of findings reviews literature and statistics to give an overview of immigration history in the UK from 1945 onwards. What is highlighted is the change from policies that primarily encouraged immigration to policies that introduced greater restriction. The review concentrates on the current UK concern – positively managing migration while, at the same time, preventing abuse of the asylum and immigration system.

It is worth highlighting that, although economic, cultural and political impacts have been considered separately in the report, these impacts are not independent of one another. For example, employment and political participation may be linked to social inclusion. Hence, impacts in one arena will have impacts on another. Please see the introductory paragraphs at the start of each section, for an explanation of the limitations of the review.

Key findings on the economy section

Little or, in some sections, no literature on the impact that migrants have had on the economy. The largest body of research was found on the impact on employment.

Where research on migrants was found, it was not helpful to consider migrants as a homogeneous group, rather they should be considered as heterogeneous, with different types of migrants having different impacts, which also varied, by sector.

When highly skilled migrants and specific economic

sectors are considered, a more positive impact on the economy was apparent.

Generally, migrants do appear to be more entrepreneurial than their native counterparts, who were categorised as 'White'. Again, differences between groups are apparent.

Key findings on the civil society and culture section

Very little research was identified specifically relating to the impact that migrants have had in this area.

Research into ethnicity suggested that participation of minority ethnic groups was more likely at the grass-roots level.

Migrants had made a large impact on the UK's food industry – the largest amount of research was found on this area.

The literature suggested impacts in other areas but was insufficient to provide a detailed or definitive picture.

Minority ethnic groups differed in their participation rates in terms of volunteering and social participation.

Key findings on the political arena section

Little research focussed specifically on migrant population, as distinct from ethnic groups.

Voting registration and turnout varied considerably between ethnic groups.

Minority ethnic candidates were under-represented at the national and local level.

Evidence was found that migrants favour participation at the grass-roots levels.

Evidence was also found to support the view that the migrant population is a significant lobbying group.

In section five, the social position of immigrants in the UK, regulation of the labour market, the main routes of entry into the UK, entitlements to public services and political participation rights are discussed.

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