Framing Immigrant Integration

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Framing Immigrant Integration

Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective

Peter Scholten

IMISCOE Research

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Preface

This book is the outcome of the many years that I have journeyed in the field of migration research and policymaking. Being a policy scientist, I entered this field as a relative outsider. The thorny issue of immigrant integration challenged many of the lessons I had been taught as a student of public policy. It defied much of what I had learnt about rationally defining social problems, organising processes of policymaking and evaluating policy programmes. Somehow, much of the traditional policy scientist's toolkit did not make sense when confronted with the 'wicked policy problem'. This became even more evident when, just after the turn of the millennium in the midst of my schooling in public policy and public administration, immigrant integration emerged forcefully onto the Dutch public and political agenda. In spite of decades of policy, the Dutch approach was now being declared a 'failure'. Furthermore, the credibility of those experts who had been closely involved in the making of these policies was now publicly on the line. Clearly, the role of scientific experts in the making of Dutch immigrant integration policies was changing.

This is precisely what motivated me to undertake research on the relations between migration research and policymaking in the Netherlands. Culminating in my dissertation entitled 'Constructing immigrant policies: Research-policy relations and immigrant integration policymaking in the Netherlands', I completed my PhD in January 2008 at the University of Twente in Enschede, the Netherlands. The entire process was an adventure into the very lively and dynamic field of Dutch migration research. After immersing myself in migration literature and policy documents, I talked to many key scholars and policymakers and visited the most relevant institutes in the field. This lifted the lid on a complex, dynamic and, at times, contested area. Making sense of this controversial domain that I had ventured into required me to review the many traditional ideas I held about the role of research in policymaking. As a policy scientist, this has shaped my understanding of how policymaking works in practice and how the division of labour between research and policy is actually produced and reproduced.

Since obtaining my PhD, I have continued working on the reconceptualisation of research-policy relations in this specific policy domain. This led to an international conference in May 2008 entitled Research-Policy

Dialogues on Migration and Integration in Europe, which I organised together with Rinus Penninx, who has been involved in such research-policy dialogues for decades, both in the Netherlands and at a wider European level. The gathering was graciously hosted by the University of Twente's Department of Social Risks and Safety Studies, where I held an assistant professorship. It was supported by the IMISCOE Research Network concerned with, as its acronym suggests, international migration, integration and social cohesion in Europe and by the Institute for Governance Studies (IGS). The conference created an opportunity for policymakers and migration scholars to engage in dialogue on their mutual relations. It also allowed me to broaden the scope of my interest in research-policy dialogues beyond the Netherlands, posing questions such as whether or not it is an exceptional case, or if there is something more general that we can learn from the Dutch experience?

This book is the product of my broader reflections on the dialogue between migration and migration policymaking. With it, I intend to contribute to a better empirical and theoretical understanding of research-policy dialogues on intractable policy controversies such as immigrant integration. In this respect, I consider immigrant integration a revelatory case as it represents a policy domain in which traditional ideas about policymaking and the role of social research within it have been seriously challenged. Furthermore, I intend to contribute to shaping more reflective research-policy dialogues in this field in the future. Clearly, both governments and researchers are struggling to come to terms with the 'wicked' problem, yet there appears to be little progress in terms of taming the ongoing controversies on immigrant integration. This study may not necessarily provide a resolution for the problem of immigrant integration, but it does bring about more reflexivity in the related dialogues.

This study would not have been possible without the attention and help of various people, whom I cannot thank enough for getting me acquainted with the world of migration research. Rinus Penninx has not only been an invaluable source of information, but also a great motivator throughout my research; without him there would have been no Research-Policy Dialogues conference and no book about it either. The Department of Social Risks and Safety Studies honed my skills as a researcher and, in particular, my promoters Bert de Vroom and Romke van der Veen dealt patiently with my uncertainties and shortcomings as I developed as a social scientist. Han Entzinger, one of the supervisors of my Master's thesis, was a tremendous inspiration and instructor from early on, and he has continued to be there for me, meticulously reviewing various drafts of this book. Christina Boswell and Virginie Guiraudon were of enormous assistance in broadening the scope of my research interest beyond the Dutch case and reviewing parts of the international comparative chapter. Rob Hoppe has been my guide in the world of science studies and helped me develop my

PhD dissertation into this book. Let me thank Leo Lucassen from Leiden University and Elke Winter from the University of Ottawa for their rigorous reviews and constructive comments on its latest versions. I also wish to thank Anna Yeadell and Karina Hof for their unwearied reviewing of the final text.

Finally, much gratitude is due to my young family, who had to live with this evolving manuscript for at least four summers. My wife Amal and our children Safae and Ilyas have been a huge support, remaining endlessly patient and indulgent. It is to them, therefore, that I dedicate this book.

Rotterdam, April 2011

Abbreviations

Abbreviation	Name in full	English name
ACOM	Adviescommissie Onderzoek Minderheden	Advisory Committee on Minorities Research
BAMF	Bundesamtes für Migration und Flüchtlinge	German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees
CBS	Centraal Bureau voor Statistiek	National Statistics Office
CAZ	Commissariat van Ambonezenzorg	Commissioner's Office for Welfare of Moluccans
CDA	Christen-Democratisch Appel	Christian Democratic Appeal Party
CRE		Commission for Racial Equality
CRER		Centre for Race and Equality Research
D66	Democraten 1966	Liberal Democratic Party
DCIM	Directie Coördinatie Integratie Minderheden	Directorate for the Coordination of the Minorities
EBB	Enquête Beroepsbevolking	Labour Force Surveys
FAS	Fond d'Action Sociale pour les Travailleurs Immigrés et Leur Familles	Social Work Fund for Labor Migrants and Their Families
GELD	Group d'Études et de Lutte contre les Discriminations	Group for Studying and Combating Discrimination
HALDE	Haute Autorité de Lutte contre les Discriminations et pour l'Egalité	The French Equal Opportunities and Anti-Discrimination Commission
ICM		Independent Commission on Migration to Germany
INED	Institut National des Études Démographiques	National Institute for Demographic Studies
INSEE	Institut National de la Statistique et des Études Économiques	French Statistics Office
IRR		Institute for Race Relations Research
ISEO	Instituut voor Sociologisch-Economisch Onderzoek	Institute for Social and Economic Research
IWM	Inspraakorgaan Welzijn Molukkers	Consultation Body for the Welfare of Moluccans
LAO	Landelijk Advies en Overleg Orgaan voor Minderheden	National Advisory and Consultation Structure for Minorities
LISW	Landelijk Inspraakorgaan van Surinaamse Welzijnsinstellingen	Foundation of Surinamese Welfare Organisations
LPF	Lijst Pim Fortuyn	Pim Fortuyn Party

Abbreviation	Name in full	English name
Ministry of CRM	Ministerie van Cultuur, Recreatie en Maatschappelijk Werk	Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work
NCB	Nederlands Centrum Buitenlanders	Dutch Centre for Foreigners
OVB	Onderzoek en Verificatie Bureau	Research and Verification Office
PSI		Policy Science Institute
PvdA	Partij van de Arbeid	Social Democrat Party
REMPLOD	Project voor de Reintegratie van Migranten en Bevordering van Locale Kansen en Ontwikkeling	Reintegration of Emigrant Manpower and Promotion of Local Opportunities and Development Project
RMO	Raad voor Maatschappelijke Ontwikkeling	Council for Social Development
ROB	Raad voor het Openbaar Bestuur	Council for Public Government
SCP	Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau	Social and Cultural Planning Office (also Institute for Social Sciences)
TWCM	Tijdelijke Wetenschappelijke Commissie Minderhedenbeleid	Temporary Scientific Committee for Minorities Policy
VVD	Volkspartij voor Vrijheid en Democratie	Liberal Party
VWJ	Verwey-Jonker Instituut	Verwey-Jonker Institute
WODC	Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek-en Documentatiecentrum	Scientific Research and Documentation Centre of the Department of Justice
WRR	Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid	Scientific Council for Government Policy

1   Introduction

Dutch society has long been held up as an exemplary case of successful multiculturalism. Yet, the 'multicultural model' is now widely – and sometimes wildly – rejected by large parts of the population. The controversies about this model have become a symbol of how contemporary governments struggle to tame complex, heated issues such as immigrant integration and, more generally, how they cope with rapid societal transformation as the result of seemingly unstoppable phenomena like globalisation, migration and cultural diversification. The incorporation of migrants has evolved into a major social and political concern for contemporary Dutch society. Now that the modernist belief in rational societal steering has significantly decayed, how can governments respond to the challenges of our time?

Since the late 1970s, when governments first developed policy efforts aimed at immigrant integration, there has been an explosion of social science research in this area. Initially, a relatively small network of researchers – mainly anthropologists and sociologists – focused on the social and cultural position of migrants or 'ethnic minorities' in Dutch society. In particular, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) played a key role in stimulating and coordinating research on this issue. At that time, ACOM held a rather exclusive position in this field. However, since the late 1980s, the research network has broadened extensively, with a variety of social science disciplines becoming involved, as well as an increasing institutional fragmentation of the research field. Today, immigrant integration research takes place at almost all universities in the Netherlands, and a variety of specialised institutes has evolved, for instance, in the production of quantitative data on the integration process, studying integration processes at the local level and providing science-based policy advice.

Social science research has, at various stages, played a major part in the development of Dutch immigrant integration policy. Particularly in its infancy, ACOM's research had a direct relation with the science-based policy recommendations from the Scientific Council for Government Policy (Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, WRR) and development of the Dutch ethnic minorities policy of the 1980s and the integration policy of the 1990s. Social researchers in this period played a central role

in the production of the multicultural model for which the Netherlands has
become so well known.

However, the participation of social researchers and research institutes in
policy development has become fiercely contested. Whereas the research-
policy nexus had been one of the key axes for policy development in the
1980s, during the 1990s the nexus was gradually dismantled and by 1992
ACOM was discontinued. WRR, whose reports were the main precursors
of policy change from the late 1970s to the 1980s, issued two reports in
2001 and 2007 that remained largely ignored. Furthermore, the credibility
of social researchers was publicly put on the line. The association between
researchers and the Dutch multicultural model became particularly contro-
versial once this model was publicly rejected. At the same time, political
developments after the turn of the millennium, including the rise of Pim
Fortuyn and other populist politicians, such as Geert Wilders, contributed
to immigrant integration becoming highly politicised. Rather than ground-
ing their policies in scientific recommendations, the politicians' objective
was to show that they had a distinct political vision that took the concerns
of 'ordinary people' very seriously. Finally, the emerging political cynicism
towards scientific expertise seems to have been fuelled further by manifest-
ing conflicts of knowledge among researchers. The consensus that once un-
derpinned the multicultural model now made way for several competing
discourses, which contributed to growing uncertainty about which knowl-
edge claims to select.

A recent episode vividly illustrates how research-policy relations in this
domain became contested. In 2003, following what was dubbed the 'long
year of 2002' in Dutch politics – characterised by the rise and subsequent
assassination of Fortuyn – Dutch Parliament established an investigative
committee to enquire why the country's integration policies showed little
signs of success. This committee commissioned an extensive study by a
well-known research institute to evaluate the effects of past policies.
However, the study concluded that the integration process had been rela-
tively successful in some aspects. In the fields of education and labour par-
ticipation, the committee recorded significant progress – this was seen as
indication of the successful integration of immigrants into Dutch society.

Researchers apparently understood integration in terms of the participa-
tion of immigrants in these domains. Yet, this definition of integration was
not broadly shared in government or politics. Disagreement emerged over
what immigrant integration actually meant. The researchers and the parlia-
mentary committee were highly criticised in public and political debates.
Leading politicians discarded the conclusions of the researchers as naïve
and biased, and held on to their original conclusion that the policy was a
failure. Government referred to crucial areas such as social cohesion, reli-
gion and criminality, which the investigative committee had ignored. The
government could agree that the policy was partially successful, but also

insisted that it was unsuccessful in the aforementioned areas. Clearly, instead of providing a new impetus for immigrant integration policy, this research and the parliamentary investigative committee added yet another episode to the ongoing controversies surrounding the issue.

This episode illustrates the difficulties that researchers and policymakers face when the very definition of an underlying problem is contested. Researchers, politicians and policymakers involved in this episode focused on different facets of immigrant integration, and had differing ideas about how the integration process should be evaluated. Their various understandings led them to select different truth claims and interpret available evidence differently so as to come to an evaluation of either policy success or failure.

Furthermore, the dialogues put the division of labour between research and policy at stake. The credibility of the concerned researchers and research institutes was called into question because of their alleged multicultural bias and their involvement in developing the policies that they were now supposed to evaluate. In addition, the committee's decision to ask researchers to evaluate the policy received scathing criticism, as it was considered the task of government to provide a new policy approach, not that of researchers. The year 2002 was a vexing one in Dutch politics. It led to wide rejection of what was considered an elitist way of policymaking, reflecting a perceived interference by scientific expertise and systematic politicisation. The disagreement in this episode was not only about the definition and understanding of immigrant integration, it was also about how research-policy dialogues should be organised in this social process of problem definition.

This book aims to unravel how and why changes in the research-policy nexus were connected to changing definitions of immigrant integration in policy and research. It does not seek to explain how and why these changes in definitions took place, but rather to discuss the role the research-policy nexus has played in these changes. From a sociological and policy science perspective, it aims to explain that nexus by analysing its changing make-up over the past decades, as well as by analysing how and why its consequently varying shapes influenced the definition of immigrant integration in policy and research. Explored, too, will be the extent to which the patterns of research-policy relations in the Dutch case are unique, or whether they represent a broader prototype that can also be found in other European countries – namely, France, Germany and the United Kingdom. In other words, is there a Dutch exceptionalism? Or are there more general patterns in how the research-policy nexus contributes to the rise or fall of specific problem definitions?

This book also aims to contribute to a better empirical and theoretical understanding of research-policy relations in the field of immigrant integration. Although it is commonly recognised that research is a driving factor

in how immigrant integration policies are instituted across Europe, the research-policy nexus has been – surprisingly – overlooked as an object of empirical examination. There are a few notable exceptions, such as Boswell (2009) and Favell (2001) who emphasise the importance of the research-policy nexus for the development of immigrant integration research. Favell even speaks of a strong correlation between the development of integration policies and what he describes as an 'integration paradigm' in immigrant integration research. To develop a better understanding of the past development of immigrant integration research and to further develop this subject as an autonomous research field, it is crucial to understand how their nexus affects both policies and research.

In theoretical terms, the book borrows insights from policy sciences, sociology and science studies. A typology of different forms of research-policy nexus (enlightenment, engineering, bureaucracy, technocracy) will be applied to interpret and compare research-policy relations in different periods and across countries. The endeavour here is to contribute to a better understanding of how research-policy dialogues can be organised in such a way that 'dialogues of the deaf' (Van Eeten 1999) – where frame differences inhibit constructive dialogues, as in the immigrant integration scenario described above – can be averted. Further, under what conditions can the research-policy relations contribute to critical dialogues between research and policy at the level of problem definition?

1.1   Immigrant integration: An intractable social problem

The Netherlands has become known worldwide for its multicultural approach to immigrant integration. In both national and international literature, there is a prevailing description of the Dutch approach in terms of a national 'multicultural model'. This model is characterised by a tendency to institutionalise cultural pluralism in the belief that the cultural emancipation of immigrant minorities is the key to their integration into Dutch society. It is frequently connected to the Netherlands' history of pillarisation, which yielded an institutional differentiation of large sections of society into different national minorities (Catholics, Protestants, socialists, liberals).

Upon closer inspection, it becomes apparent that several discourses or 'models' of integration have coexisted and competed in the Netherlands over the past decades. Alongside multiculturalism, there has also been a more social-economic discourse, which stresses participation in areas such as education and labour, as well as a more cultural assimilationist discourse, which emphasises the importance of national identity, norms and values and social cohesion in relation to immigrant integration (Entzinger 2005). In fact, the idea of cultural assimilation has become more prominent over the past decade, as Dutch policy experienced the same 'assimilationist

turn' observed in many other European countries in this period (Joppke & Morawska 2003).

It seems, then, that rather than one dominant multicultural model's presence, it is a persistent uncertainty regarding how to model the approach to immigrant integration that characterises Dutch policymaking in recent decades. Indeed, a multiplicity of models marks the struggle to come to terms with this intractable social problem. Dutch society has struggled with various facets of immigrant integration for some time. This includes the arrival and position of migrants in society, as well as the wider effects on society itself. When migrants started to arrive in the Netherlands following World War II, the Dutch had a tradition of spreading themselves across the globe rather than being faced with migration at home. There were relatively early experiences with immigration, such as the influx of Protestants (Huguenots) from France. However, from the second half of the twentieth century onwards – roughly parallel to decolonisation – the Netherlands met a growing scale of migration.

Various categories of migrants can be traced. Firstly, colonial migrants arriving from Surinam, the Dutch Antilles and the Moluccas. This group also included so-called repatriates from the former Dutch East Indies (Schuster 1999). Secondly, in the 1960s, labour migrants began arriving from, in particular, the Mediterranean countries (Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Morocco, Tunisia and Turkey). Thirdly, family migrants could be distinguished, incorporating both the reunion and formation of families by migrants who had already settled in the Netherlands. Finally, especially from the 1990s onwards, refugee migrants have come to the Netherlands from Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the Far East.

At the beginning of the new millennium, migration's consequences were becoming increasingly obvious in Dutch society. In 2005, the Netherlands was home to 3.1 million immigrants (defined as people born outside the Netherlands, or those with at least one parent born outside the country). This amounted to 19.2 per cent of the Dutch population.[1] For the same year in the major cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, immigrants comprised as much as 34.2 per cent and 35.1 per cent, respectively, of the municipal population.[2] The largest immigrant groups in the Netherlands, as defined by national origin, are Turkish (320,000), Surinamese (309,000) and Moroccans (272,800).[3] In addition to the country's traditional migrant groups – including Moluccans, Southern Europeans, Chinese, Antilleans and Arubans – new migrant groups have arrived, including Iraqis, Iranians, Pakistanis, Afghans and Syrians. An indication of the Netherlands' flourishing cultural and religious diversity is found in the numbers – in 2004, Muslims in Dutch society reached a total of 944,000, or 5.8 per cent of the Dutch population.[4] Only recently did this immigration trend break, notably due to the rise in emigration figures.[5]

In spite of this migration history, it has often proven difficult to define the consequences of migration for Dutch society and, in turn, to develop appropriate strategies for coping with these consequences. Although immigrant integration is commonly defined as a social problem, its meaning has remained unclear, uncertain and even contested. Some commentators speak of emancipation or 'integration with retention of identity', while others refer to adaptation, participation or segregation. In fact, the notion of integration has been subject to controversy in academic literature as well as in political debates because of its presumed normative bias. In addition, policy approaches to immigrant integration by various countries have diverged strongly over the past decades. Whereas the French have adopted an assimilative approach, the Germans have stressed social-economic participation and the British have followed their own national form of multiculturalism.

It can appear that the only given in immigrant integration is the migrants themselves. However, the definition of what a migrant is has also proven to be a complex and, at times, controversial issue. Migrants can be divided into various categories, as mentioned above, and also into national or ethnic groups or communities (e.g. Turkish, Surinamese, Moroccan). They can also be placed into one broad category of individuals (non-natives or, as called in Dutch, 'allochtonen'[6]). Any method for defining 'migrants' leads to questions about why some groups or categories are included while others are not. For instance, Chinese migrants and migrants from Western European countries who are resident in the Netherlands are not defined as minorities that need to be 'integrated'. Furthermore, a distinction is often made between first-, second- and even third-generation migrants, depending on whether an individual or one parent or grandparent is born outside the Netherlands. Moreover, there has been controversy over whether migrants must be defined at all. More and more migrants are becoming naturalised as Dutch national citizens, while sometimes also maintaining their original nationality. Attempts to specify those migrants who need to be integrated (versus those who do not) has incited criticism about the labelling effect this process has on them and its adverse effect on their integration (Rath 1991).

Even if migrants are defined in general terms, there is no general theory of how immigrant integration is to be achieved. The position of migrants is multifaceted. A distinction is often made in the literature between the social-economic, social-cultural and political-legal position of migrants (Fermin 1997: 19). This concerns social-economic issues such as educational achievements, labour market participation and housing; social-cultural issues such as cultural organisations, discrimination, racism and social cohesion; and political-legal issues such as naturalisation regulations, dual nationality, equal treatment regulations and voting rights. As the investigative committee from 2003 illustrated, different actors will deem differing facets of the position of migrants as being most central to integration. For

instance, in spite of the progress observed in social-economic domains such as education and labour, other members of the committee held on to the conclusion that integration had failed because of insufficient progress in, primarily, the social-cultural domain.

Finally, how immigrant integration is defined draws on many broader societal values. Immigrant integration is a value-laden notion that has often been connected to specific normative conceptions of the nation-state. In fact, it is the nation-state that defines international migration and that defines immigrant integration as a social issue. For many countries, the definition of a migrant and consequent approaches to immigrant integration are correlated with nation-state conceptions (such as foreigners in the exclusionary ethnic German state, racial minorities in multiracial British society and mere immigrants in the inclusive French Republic). In the Netherlands, too, immigrant integration has become associated with nation-building legacies such as the history of pillarism and tolerance for religious and cultural differences. Moreover, at the turn of the millennium, immigrant integration became an important issue for the Netherlands' revision of its national imagined community in the context of globalisation as an ongoing social process.

Thus, immigrant integration is a far from self-evident notion. Although 'integration' has become broadly accepted in academic and policy discourse in the Netherlands, as in many other European countries (Favell 2001: 3), its meaning has been weakly articulated. Rather, as the Dutch case will reveal, there is a multiplicity of models – or 'frames', as I will describe them – that provide a specific meaning to integration. This multiplicity marks immigrant integration as a so-called 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Webber 1973) or an 'intractable controversy' (Rein & Schön 1994). These are problems that seemingly defy definition and resolution and which involve a multiplicity of problem definitions, also referred to as 'frames'. Moreover, they are seemingly resistant to resolution through studying the underlying facts, as the facts are themselves often selected and interpreted very differently.

1.2   The co-evolution of immigrant integration research and policies in the Netherlands

The multiplicity of problem frames that characterises these intractable controversies is reflected in immigrant integration policy and research in the Netherlands. Both have struggled over the past decades to come to terms with this complex social problem. Rather than there being one dominant national model of integration, as is often suggested in national and international migration literature, previous decades have witnessed the rise and fall of several models of integration.

In fact, neither research nor policy spoke of immigrant 'integration' until the 1990s. Before then, terminology referred to emancipation, the eventual return of temporary migrants or 'international commuters'. Since the 1990s, the meaning of integration has remained contested, as the example of the investigative committee discussed above illustrates. In addition, migrants have been defined inconsistently over the years – as guest labourers, as ethnic or cultural minorities, as allochthonous or as newcomers and 'oldcomers'. Immigrant integration has also endured various explanations, for instance, in terms of structural impediments to the emancipation of particular groups or citizenship on the part of migrants themselves. It has been categorised in different normative perspectives, such as cultural equality in a multicultural society, social-economic equity in a viable welfare state and national social-cultural cohesion in an age of globalisation.

These diverging interpretations have contributed to a series of shifts in Dutch immigrant integration policies in recent decades (Entzinger 2005). The development of this policy area has followed a rifted pattern at times (Scholten & Timmermans 2004). Until about the 1970s, only ad hoc welfare measures existed for temporary migrants. In the 1980s there was a minorities policy, the 1990s saw an integration policy and, since 2003, there has been a shift towards an integration policy 'new style'. Throughout these policy episodes, immigrant integration was defined in different and sometimes conflicting ways (Snel & Scholten 2005; VWJ 2004). For instance, policy in the 1970s was aimed at preventing integration so as to facilitate return migration. This contrasts with later policies endeavouring to promote integration. Furthermore, the minorities policy of the 1980s provided various facilities to groups, as opposed to the subsequent integration policy, which instead focused on individual migrants.

Changes in terms of how immigrant integration has been defined have also occurred in immigrant integration research. In the 1970s and especially the 1980s, there was a dominant minorities paradigm (Bovenkerk 1984; Rath 1991). This paradigm has since been challenged by other ways of understanding immigrant integration that have evolved since the 1990s. Later research invoked the citizenship or integration paradigm, as well as perspectives seeing immigrant integration as linked to processes of internationalisation and globalisation (Entzinger 2002; WRR 2001b; Van Amersfoort 2001) or to rising concerns about national identity and social cohesion (Koopmans 2003; SCP 2003). The disagreements on how to define and understand immigrant integration show that research on the issue has been a far from coherent enterprise. Rather, it has been subject to controversies about what integration means, how it should be studied and what the role of research about integration should be.

The aim of this book is to analyse empirically the dialogues between research and policy in the construction of these frames of immigrant integration, as well as to contribute to theory-building on how these mutual

dialogues affect developments in both policy and immigrant integration research. There are important indications that the research-policy nexus has been pivotal in shaping policies and research in the Netherlands over the past decades. The literature on immigrant integration policymaking contains many references to the prominent role that research institutes, advisory bodies and particular experts have played in this domain (Entzinger 1984, 2003; Penninx 1988b, 2005). For instance, several reports by the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) have had a major impact on policy turning points in recent years (De Jong 2002; VWJ 2004). Various other institutes on the research-policy nexus, including ACOM and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) have also had an important influence on policy developments. The status of the research-policy nexus as a venue for policy development has also invoked harsh criticism. It has been argued, for instance, that scientific expertise has interfered with ethnic expertise (Penninx 1988b: 27; Van Putten 1990: 361). Scientific expertise has also been said to have facilitated the depoliticisation of this issue, offering an alternative venue for policymaking that allowed avoiding open political debates (De Beus 1998; Rath 2001; Van Amersfoort 1984).

Furthermore, the research-policy nexus influenced the development of specific problem definitions in scientific research. For instance, government research programming and the establishment of ACOM for the coordination of research contributed to the development of a minorities paradigm that defined immigrants as ethnic minorities characterised by social-economic deprivation and social-cultural deviance (Rath 1991). In addition, government-associated institutes, such as SCP, coordinated their selection and acquisition of scientific data on the position of migrants according to government demands for information. After the turn of the millennium, public and political discourse put more emphasis on social-cultural issues. In response, SCP (2002: 13) started to pay more attention to social-cultural integration. Researchers and research institutes were often strongly oriented towards, or associated with, national government institutes (Favell 2001: 10). Critics have argued that the policy involvement of research in this area contributed to the rise of specific problem definitions and the exclusion of alternatives (Rath 2001: 140). Moreover, the alleged 'symbiosis' (Van Amersfoort 1984) between research and national government institutes contributed to a highly national orientation in terms of research on immigrant integration. Only during the last ten years, as a result of the research-policy nexus rising on local and European levels (Geddes 2005), has the national orientation been challenged by more international or post-national perspectives.

The research-policy nexus's indelible contribution to shaping problem understandings in research and policy is indicated by a number of obvious parallels during the periods in which each domain underwent change. At the end of the 1970s and in the early 1980s, both research and policy came

to view immigrant integration in terms of social-cultural emancipation and social-cultural participation of ethnic minorities (the aforementioned minorities paradigm and minorities policy). Later, at the end of the 1980s and especially in the early 1990s, the problem framing in both fields changed towards a more individualist orientation regarding citizenship and social-economic participation (i.e. the citizenship paradigm and integration policy). Finally, after the turn of the millennium, policy and research went through another period of significant change, though this time not entirely in the direction of a shared understanding on immigrant integration (i.e. transnationalism, assimilationism and the integration policy 'new style'). This suggests that immigrant integration research and policy have, at least to some extent, co-evolved in terms of the ways in which they define and understand immigrant integration (Timmermans & Scholten 2006).

There was, however, no single given or fixed research-policy nexus. Different actors participated during different periods, including ACOM, WRR, SCP, the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, the Department of Home Affairs and various others. Whereas the nexus was distinctly institutionalised in the 1980s, later it became more institutionally fragmented (Penninx 2005). Different scientific disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, economics and political science, were involved at various times. An array of expertise was provided, such as conceptual policy recommendations by WRR and ACOM, but also more quantitative data by SCP. That policymakers generally believed in the contribution social sciences could make to the rational feasibility of social problems also played an important role (Blume, Hagendijk & Prins 1991). This belief has made room for a more sceptical attitude towards scientific expertise in recent decades, as illustrated by controversies surrounding the parliamentary investigative committee on integration policy. There has also been a growing number of disagreements about what constitutes proper scientific research. Examples include the struggles between ACOM and WRR in the early 1990s concerning proper research methods and proper relations with policymakers; the commotion surrounding international comparative research's methodological premises following an article by the researcher Koopmans (2003), which compared Dutch integration policy with German policies; and furore about the alleged multiculturalist bias of Verwey-Jonker Institute (VWJ) researchers who carried out a policy evaluation study for the parliamentary investigative committee on integration policy.

There has been significant variation in the shape of the research-policy nexus in this field over the past decades. The nexus did not adhere to one of the often-formulated clichés of the research-policy nexus such as 'science speaking truth to power' or 'politics on top, science on tap'. In fact, the shape of the research-policy nexus seems to have been subject to plenty of uncertainty and controversy, just like the problem definition of immigrant integration. The nebulous problem definition combined with

institutional incertitude about how research and policy could tame this complex social issue makes immigrant integration an intractable controversy.

This book seeks to unravel the connection between the research-policy nexus's reshaping over time and the changing manner of defining immigrant integration as a social problem. It reaches beyond a mere suggestion that the research-policy nexus played an important role in policy and research developments by analysing how and why it was structured in specific ways over the past decades and how and why it has affected the definitions of immigrant integration in research and policy. Rather, the endeavour is to explore the extent to which the research-policy nexus's varying shapes have structured how immigrant integration has been interpreted in both research and policy.

1.3   Research-policy dialogues on immigrant integration

Apart from the recognition that research-policy dialogues were important for research and policy developments, another issue concerns the role these dialogues had in resolving the intractable social problem of immigrant integration. The persistent controversies associated with a multiplicity of integration models in policy and research suggest that it is far from resolved. Furthermore, disagreements about the shaping of the research-policy nexus indicate how difficult it is to conduct fruitful dialogue between research and policy in the context of developing a fundamental understanding of immigrant integration – not least, who is involved, how it should be approached and why it would be a problem in the first place. In fact, policymakers have been criticised for being overly selective, simply cherry-picking from those strands of expertise that fit their problem definitions (Penninx 2005). Moreover, researchers have been challenged for being unable to reflect critically on their own problem definitions due to their entwinement with policy (Rath 2001).

This book pursues a better understanding of how the research-policy nexus could contribute to critical reflection concerning how to define immigrant integration. In this case, reflection means taking the models of integration as objects of analysis rather than as a starting point for research. Through an empirical analysis of research-policy relations and their effects on policy and research, it hopes to overcome a dreaded dialogue of the deaf at the level of problem definition and to generate insights about how to organise critical exchange between research and policy on how to define immigrant integration. This book will not resolve the ongoing debates by providing a new and superior 'model of integration.' Rather, it takes a step back to focus instead on the structure of the research-policy nexus. It will analyse how and why the research-policy nexus was structured in specific ways and how and why its different structures had certain effects on

problem understandings in policy and research. Furthermore, this study will not determine what has or has not constituted proper scientific research. It will make no claims about the scientific character of institutes or researchers. Rather, it will take a more empirical approach to studying a myriad of research-policy nexus structures and to determining the extent to which they contributed to or inhibited critical reflection.

To encourage reflection, it is necessary to step beyond objectivist and relativist perspectives on the research-policy nexus. Objectivist perspectives further a belief that scientific research that follows proper scientific methods and norms can tame intractable controversies by producing objective knowledge about the nature of a particular social problem and countervail the irrationality of politics. This provides the foundation of the normative model of the research-policy nexus as 'science speaking truth to power' (Wildavsky 1979), which has been very influential in the social sciences overall and the policy sciences, in particular (Radin 2000). It has, however, been harshly criticised for its idealised image of science as a producer of objective knowledge claims, as well as for ignoring the many contingencies among scientific practices and policymaking (Ezrahi 1990; Hoppe 2005; Latour 1993; Mulkay 1984; Nelkin 1979). Objectivist methods ignore, for example, that running parallel to the scientification of politics is a politicisation of science (Weingart 1999). Conversely, relativism requires a more cynical take on the role of scientific research in intractable controversies. In this perspective, the contingency of scientific practices and the inherently normative character of scientific knowledge are stressed to such an extent that the role of scientific research in resolving controversies is considered negligible (Knorr-Cetina 1995; Latour 1993). Relativism often stresses the role of political ideas or the institutional interests of scientists, and argues how the production of scientific authority would be primarily a matter of discourse (Gieryn 1999).

This book adopts an empiricist approach to understanding social relations between policymakers, researchers, policy and research institutes. It also evaluates how such exchanges have promoted critical reflection on defining immigrant integration. Thus, 'research-policy dialogues' are spoken of as a way to incorporate the diverse methods for organising research-policy relations. Instead of adopting an ex ante model of the research-policy nexus, a way is sought out to empirically reconstruct the framework of the research-policy nexus during the periods that the research and policy perspectives on immigrant integration changed. Based on an empirical reconstruction of the research-policy nexus's role in these changes, an analysis is made as to how and why this nexus did or did not contribute to reflection at the level of problem definition. Moreover, it focuses on the correspondence between the research-policy nexus's structure and the definition – the framing – of immigrant integration. The attempt is to unravel to what extent the nexus was structured to contribute to critical reflection,

or whether it played a different role in the changing problem definitions in policy and research.

Through empirical analysis of the research-policy nexus's role in policy and research developments, this book will generate insights about how the nexus can be structured so as to promote critical dialogues between research and policy at the level of problem definition. Alas, it will not resolve the controversies over immigrant integration by developing a new definition of integration or creating a normative model of the research-policy nexus. Rather, it aims to contribute to the 'situated' resolution of such controversies by actors within the structural settings of research and policy. This will be done by offering insights into how actors might organise the research-policy nexus in a way that is characterised neither by objectivism nor relativism, but rather by an effort to engage in a critical dialogue on how to define immigrant integration.

1.4   Dutch exceptionalism?

Although it seems plausible that social researchers played a central role in the construction of the Netherlands' models of immigrant integration, the Dutch case says little about how research can contribute to the rise or fall of specific models. In other words, is there a Dutch exceptionalism in what seems to be the co-evolution of immigrant integration research and policy over the past decades? Or, does the Dutch case reveal patterns in research-policy dialogues that can be found in other countries as well? In addition, what lessons can be drawn from the organisation of research-policy dialogues in other countries? Inevitably, any international comparison will run into problems, for the simple fact that integration policy and research in various countries have developed in such divergent social and political contexts and in the face of frequently differing patterns of immigration. Consequently, it is difficult to isolate factors that may be common to different nations. For instance, Germany's immigrant integration issue has been connected to its own specific twentieth-century history, which witnessed the nation's splitting into two separate states. In the UK, however, it has been connected to a national history of world-dominating colonialism (Joppke 1999b). That said, there are some commonalities that justify international comparison and may provide applicable insights for the Dutch case.

One commonality is that immigrant integration has become an issue of high politics in many Western European countries over the past decade (Geddes 2003). Just as in the Netherlands, immigrant integration is an intractable policy controversy in Germany, the UK and France. All these countries have recently experienced contention about their 'national models of integration'. Germany, after finally being recognised as a country of

immigration, is gradually replacing its differentialist approach with a more citizenship-oriented approach *à la française* (Joppke 1999b). The UK, after persistently holding on to a typical British multiculturalism-on-one-island, is now gradually moving towards a more assimilative approach (Joppke 2003). France, with its clearly articulated republican model and long being considered the cradle of assimilationism, has been gradually introducing more multiculturalist elements in its policy approach. This is, in part, a result of the growing problems in the *banlieues* of its major cities (Favell 1998b; Schain 1995). Despite a slow but gradual process of Europeanisation, particularly in the fields of migration and anti-discrimination policies, there are persistent national differences in the approach to immigrant integration (Favell 2001). Though integration is inherently connected to issues of globalisation and cultural diversity, most policy responses seem to be driven by specific 'national models of integration'.

Moreover, in many of these countries, social research also seems to have been integral to the construction of these national models of integration. There has been, as Favell (2001) described, an undeniable association between national policy models and national research paradigms. For instance, in the UK, researchers played a crucial role in the so-called 'race relations industry' closely tied into the British colour-oriented approach to immigrant integration. Mirroring the situation in the Netherlands, various research institutes in the UK have had significant influence on policy developments across the country, including the Centre for Race and Equality Research (CRER), the Institute for Race Relations Research (IRR) and the Policy Science Institute (PSI). In line with the differentialist approach, researchers in Germany have been key to the development of a denizenship status for migrants, which means that while migrants are not recognised as full citizens, they do enjoy most social rights. In France, despite sharp politicisation of the public debate on immigrant integration, the republican model has been sustained by several 'public intellectuals'. However, this republican model has become increasingly contested in recent times, as has the nexus between intellectuals and politicians. This is most evident in typical rivalries about whether social researchers in France should be allowed to gather statistics about ethnic categories. This controversy about *statistiques ethniques* seems to be at the heart of the controversy surrounding the French Republican model, as well as the French way of organising research-policy dialogues in this domain.

Much debate in migration literature concerns an 'assimilationist turn' that has been taking place throughout Europe since the turn of the millennium (Joppke 2003; Joppke & Morawska 2003). Rather than convergence by Europeanisation, the turn is compelled by internal policy dynamics in the countries themselves and, in particular, by the politicisation of immigrant integration. At the same time, there are indications of dissatisfaction with research-policy dialogues on immigrant integration throughout

Europe. In addition to the Dutch example of questioning the credibility of immigrant integration researchers, the policy orientation of public intellectuals in France has been contested and, in the UK, the race relations industry is being replaced by a more centralised policy regime. There seems to be a correlation between the ongoing politicisation of immigrant integration and a growing disenchantment with the policy role being played by social researchers. One of the aims of this book's international comparison thus is to identify ways to organise research-policy dialogues in a more fruitful manner. How can we remedy disenchantment with and in these dialogues? And, furthermore, how can we create a more reflective dialogue on how to shape migration policies and immigrant integration research for the future?

2 Research-policy dialogues and the framing of immigrant integration

The focus of this book is on how research-policy dialogues have contributed to the rise and fall of specific frames of immigrant integration. It renounces the historical-institutionalist tradition of 'models thinking'. Instead of studying the genesis and persistence of national models of integration per se, this study focuses on the much more dynamic ways researchers and policymakers frame immigrant integration in a setting characterised by a multiplicity of models of integration. Furthermore, this book focuses on the diverse ways in which research-policy dialogues can be organised within the dynamic process of problem framing. Although it is widely recognised that the research-policy nexus has been an important vector for both policy development and the development of immigrant integration research, there has been surprisingly little empirical research into how and why the nexus has played such a role. The aim here is to contribute to theory-building on how research-policy dialogues influence the process of problem framing. 'Research-policy dialogues' are consciously spoken of in order to capture the often dynamic ways in which research-policy relations can be configured.

The theoretical framework on which this study rests will incorporate insights from various disciplines – namely, sociology, science studies and policy sciences. This melding will be based on the theoretical groundwork of Bourdieu's structuralist-constructivist perspective. Incorporating insights from the more generic disciplines in the study of immigrant integration policies is a deliberate choice; it minimises chances for contamination between the theoretical perspective of this study and the various frames and research paradigms present in the field of immigrant integration research. Furthermore, it contributes to opening up the thriving yet, at times, closed field of immigrant integration research by connecting it to the more generic theories developed in the academic disciplines of sociology, science studies and policy sciences.

2.1   Structuralist-constructivism: Beyond 'models thinking' and radical constructivism

Before elaborating on the conceptual framework of the structuralist-constructivist perspective, it will first be positioned within broader contemporary literature from migration studies.

2.1.1   Beyond 'models thinking' in immigrant integration research

The structuralist-constructivist perspective parts with more historical-institutionalist ones that have acquired great resonance in contemporary migration literature. This has manifested itself most obviously in the so-called 'models' literature, which discusses the genesis and persistence of, mostly notably, national models of integration. A classic reference in models thinking is Brubaker's 1992 book *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Juxtaposed here are the models of citizenship that provided the foundations for the integration policies in these countries: an assimilationist approach in France and a differentialist approach in Germany. Whereas the Germans stressed exclusive membership of the German community based on ethnic ties (ius sanguinis), the French adopted a more inclusive model oriented towards full citizenship for everyone born on French soil (ius soli). As a true historical-institutionalist, Brubaker shows how the historical conditions in both countries led to the construction of these national models: a well developed cultural and apolitical sense of national belonging in Germany versus the state-centric tradition of nation-building in France.

   Models thinking has resonated widely in migration studies. Take, for instance, the work of Joppke (1995) who has used the national model as a starting point for comparative studies of immigrant integration, although his more recent work has become more explicit about how countries are increasingly deviating from their traditional models. Or Ireland (1994) who, in a comparative study of France and Switzerland, posits that national institutional conditions provide the best explanation for the type of policies developed. In his Dutch-German comparison, Koopmans (2003) takes the differences in national models as a point of departure for evaluating the effectiveness of the Dutch and German approaches. The notion that Germany denounces the Dutch multicultural model as a failure can also be found in the work of Sniderman and Hagendoorn (2005).

   One of the reasons models have gained such wide acceptance in migration studies (and in other sectors) is that they reduce complexity. Models can simplify the otherwise highly complex and contested matter of immigrant integration. They can also help construct international comparative studies to assess processes of convergence or divergence between various European countries. Furthermore, by comparing ideal-typical models with

specific periods, modelling can provide insights into a country's history. In this context, Castles and Miller (2003) and, in their footsteps, Koopmans and Statham (2005) have extended Brubaker's dichotomy into a fourfold typology of integration models: civic-assimilationism, cultural pluralism, ethnic-differentialism and civic-republicanism. An important distinction in Brubaker's historical-institutionalist modelling is that it concerns ideal-types that can be used for studying country cases, rather than models to be seen as representative of national approaches per se.

That said, the danger of models is that they are not just taken as tools for international comparison or for understanding historical periods. When a model begins to shape our understanding and beliefs about policies it becomes more than just a model – it becomes a historical reconstruction of policy rather than a model of it. Models then take the place of adequate historical analysis. In social science literature, this has often led to instances where a model is 'blamed' for the success or failure of a particular policy approach. For example, various authors have blamed the Dutch multicultural model for the alleged failure of immigrant integration in the Netherlands (Koopmans 2003; Sniderman & Hagendoorn 2007).

In addition, models tend to oversimplify policies and overemphasise the alleged coherency and consistency of these policies (Bertossi & Duyvendak 2009). Policy practices tend to be far more resilient and diverse than most policy models would suggest. For instance, in Dutch as well as in French literature, there have been many references to differences between how policies are formulated at the national level and how they are put into practice at the local level; some even talk of the decoupling of national and local policies in this respect (Favell 1998; De Zwart 2007; Poppelaars & Scholten 2008). In fact, even when policymakers claim to operate according to a specific policy model, their reasons for doing so may be more pragmatic and flexible than the policy model itself in its ideal-typical form. For instance, the reason some politicians in the 1980s framed immigrant integration in terms of the multicultural model may have more to do with their fear of anti-immigrant parties playing the race card than with their multicultural policy beliefs (Penninx 1988; Scholten 2007).

A structuralist-constructivist perspective gives way to a much more empirical and dynamic approach to immigrant integration. Here, the so-called 'models of integration' are the object of empirical analysis, rather than simply a starting point for analysis. In fact, the association between researchers and certain models of integration is one of the central issues that will be problematised in this book. Thus, models are taken as specific frames that may emerge in policy and research, and the primary objective of this study is to analyse how and why these frames rise and fall, rather than to establish whether a particular frame is true or false. In short, this book appreciates the dynamics behind the models more than the theoretical value of the models themselves.

This does not, however, imply a radical-constructivist approach to immigrant integration. Such would deny the possibility of defining immigrant integration in any meaningful way and deny any empirical relevance of models of integration. However, it cannot be ignored that international migration and growing cultural diversity have been affecting contemporary societies in the Netherlands and other European countries in very real ways, or that governments have made very real efforts to develop policies for coping with these social effects. Indeed, immigration has had an impact on key social institutions, such as the welfare state, and has been challenging social cohesion and traditional ideas about national identity. In some cases, it has led to an ethnicisation of the underclasses. In fact, immigrant integration has now become an urgent policy concern for most European countries. In this sense, the structuralist-constructivist perspective adopted in this book is not so much meant to deconstruct immigrant integration policies as mere discourse but rather, to develop better understanding of how and why specific discourses emerge and change over time.

2.1.2   Outline of a structuralist-constructivist perspective

Structuralist-constructivism goes a step beyond models thinking and relativism in the study of social structures and social problems. It combines a constructivist view on social structures, such as science and policy, with a structuralist perspective on the construction of problems like immigrant integration (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 11). It adopts an empirical position when examining how scientific research and policymaking are constructed in actual social relations and the practices of actors in these fields. It also takes an empirical approach to how these structured fields influence the way actors socially construct the world around them, for instance, how they define social problems like immigrant integration, or how they conceptualise the research-policy nexus.

Structuralist-constructivism is based on specific ontological and methodological premises. In terms of ontology, it sees the research-policy nexus and problem frames as products of structured social relations. This means that the distribution of power and the rules of the game manifested in dealings between actors in a certain domain are considered explanations for how and why these actors construct the research-policy nexus and frame problems. In terms of methodology, structuralist-constructivism promotes an empirical approach to the study of the research-policy nexus and problem framing. Only by studying the social practices of actors and the social relations between then can we begin to understand how and why the research-policy nexus is shaped the way it is and how and why resulting problems are framed as they are. In short, structuralist-constructivism neither nullifies nor reifies the research-policy nexus or problem framing; rather, it