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### Research on migration and integration in Europe

*Achievements and lessons*

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A portrait of Rinus Penninx, a man with a long white beard and glasses, wearing a dark jacket. He is positioned in front of a bookshelf filled with books. The background is slightly blurred, focusing attention on the man.

# Research on Migration and Integration in Europe

*Achievements  
and Lessons*

RINUS PENNINX

 VOSSIUSPERS UvA

# Research on Migration and Integration in Europe



# Research on Migration and Integration in Europe

*Achievements and Lessons*

Valedictory lecture

on the occasion of his retirement from the University of Amsterdam  
held in the Aula of the University of Amsterdam  
Wednesday, 29 August 2012 at 18.00 hours

by

prof. Rinus Penninx

 VOSSIUSPERS UVA

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*Ladies and gentlemen,*

*At the beginning of this lecture, I owe you an explanation for the somewhat unusual form of this meeting.*

Many of you who are used to Dutch university folklore will have expected a valedictory lecture of a professor who has reached retirement age (65 in the Netherlands) and is given the opportunity – surrounded by his colleagues in their university gowns – to look back at and evaluate his work during his years at the university.

This meeting does not meet these usual requirements in several respects. *Firstly*, I have not yet reached the formal retirement age, although I am now just four months removed from the 65-year milestone. *Secondly*, I formally retired from this university in September last year; or shall I say in awkward but nicely ambiguous English, ‘I have been officially retired since then’. *Thirdly*, as some of you may have learnt in the meantime, I did not retire from a number of activities that I personally find important and interesting. I have continued to work with a number of PhD students and some master’s students at this university. But it has been primarily work for the IMISCOE Research Network – this unique collaboration of some 30 research institutes from all over Europe<sup>1</sup> – that I have done since my official retirement more intensively than ever, and I intend to continue this in the near future.

This last point is the reason why I decided to give this valedictory lecture at the end of the 9th Annual IMISCOE Conference, which took place over the last two days here in Amsterdam. Having this European IMISCOE audience here in Amsterdam dictated the language that I should use today (English instead of Dutch). It also determined the focus of my lecture: ‘What have we achieved in the field of research on migration and integration in Europe, and what not?’ And, ‘What lessons could we possibly draw from such an evaluation?’

Finally, planning the lecture at the end of the Conference, at an unusually late academic hour, meant that some of the ceremonial aspects like the cortège of colleagues in university gowns would not be available. I believe, however, that the credibility of what I am going to say will not and should not be determined by ceremonial aspects like wearing a university gown.

## A bird's eye view of my engagement with migration and integration (1970-2012)

I have been involved in research and in policymaking in the field of migration and integration for more than 40 years. I started doing research on the social and economic consequences of emigration in the early 1970s in Tunisia<sup>2</sup> and later in Turkey.<sup>3</sup> Essentially, this was early research on migration and development,<sup>4</sup> a topic that has recently become popular again. In that period, I learned basically to look at what was then called 'guest worker migration' from the perspective of the migrants themselves, their families and their place of origin.

In the late 1970s – back in the Netherlands – I changed perspective and started to look at how Dutch society, and particularly its institutions, perceived and treated post-war newcomers in the Netherlands. Some of these newcomers were from the former Dutch colonies in the East (repatriates from the East Indies and Moluccan soldiers of the former Dutch colonial army) and the West (Suriname and the Dutch Antilles). Some were Cold War refugees, and some were the supposedly temporary 'guest workers'. The crucial question I asked myself was would the position of these newcomers in Dutch society develop towards integration, and would these groups become an accepted part of Dutch society. Or would they, or some of these groups, become in the sociological sense minority groups, whose social position would remain at the bottom of Dutch society and who would be regarded persistently as ethnically and culturally different by the mainstream?<sup>5</sup> Would their settlement process be one of minority formation as had happened in the past for Dutch travellers and gypsies (*woonwagenbewoners* and *zigeuners*)? Or would they become an accepted part of Dutch society, as had happened to most of the earlier immigrant groups that had settled in the Netherlands in the past centuries?<sup>6</sup>

The report that I wrote in 1978 for the Scientific Council for Government Policy<sup>7</sup> on such key questions and on policies related to immigrants in Dutch society triggered explicit integration policies under the name 'Ethnic Minorities Policies in the Netherlands' from the early 1980s on.<sup>8</sup> But it also changed my personal position: suddenly, I was working at the ministry responsible for developing and coordinating ethnic minorities policies.<sup>9</sup> For ten years I was immersed in the preparation and making of policies, in monitoring policies, and in commissioning and funding the research that was deemed important for policy development.<sup>10</sup>

In the land of the blind, the one-eyed man is king. That was certainly the situation at the beginning of those ten years at the ministry. But as the new policies unfolded in the 1980s, the number of governmental agencies involved grew as well, as did their budgets. In other words, the number of kings in-

creased.<sup>11</sup> The initial one-eyed king was gradually declared myopic. Even in the absence of the strong politicisation of the topic of migration and integration as we now know it, bureaucratic mechanisms did shift the balance of influence of research on policymaking.<sup>12</sup> It was time to return to academia.

My dissertation of 1988 at this University – that indeed focused on the question of whether minority formation took place among the newcomers in the Netherlands<sup>13</sup> – formed the passport for such a return. The first step, in late 1988, was to the Department of Social Research Methodology at the Free University in Amsterdam where I was lucky to sharpen my methodological knowledge during more than four years. It was also there that I received recognition for my special knowledge of the field through my nomination to a part-time professorship in Ethnic Studies and Minority Questions<sup>14</sup> in 1991.

My full-time academic return to the study of international migration and the settlement process of immigrants took place in 1992, when the Board of the University of Amsterdam – the ‘other university in the city’ – decided that a new interfaculty and interdisciplinary research institute should be established.<sup>15</sup> That institute was to bring together the existing expertise at the university and develop a promising internationally oriented research programme. In 1993, I was named the founding director of this Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) at the University of Amsterdam.

The challenge during the first years was twofold. Firstly, I had to convince migration researchers in different faculties and departments, such as anthropology, sociology, geography, economics and law, that joining forces in IMES would have great advantages.<sup>16</sup> Secondly, I needed to stimulate disciplines not yet involved in the topic to become active in the field. In this respect, IMES has been particularly successful in mobilising the disciplines of political science, policy analysis and history<sup>17</sup> in its research programme. Admittedly, the success of getting the different disciplines involved in the IMES research programme was much helped by the fact that IMES could spend part of its own budget to develop proposals for research and acquire funding for them.

After having organised research within the University of Amsterdam, the next challenge was to develop cooperation with research institutes in the Netherlands and abroad and to develop cross-national comparative research projects. The basic idea was that such systematic comparison would enable us to better see the essence of the Dutch case and to advance theory development. Indeed, IMES took the initiative to get cross-national research programmes off the ground, and the institute became an international leader in a number of areas. I mention five of them:

- The comprehensive multidisciplinary study of the Turkish garment industry in Amsterdam in the 1990s by Stefan Raes,<sup>18</sup> Adem Kumcu,<sup>19</sup> Marja

- Dreef,<sup>20</sup> Flavia Reil<sup>21</sup> and Jan Rath<sup>22</sup> formed the basis for a substantive line of research on immigrant entrepreneurship within the IMES programme.
- The systematic study of migrant organisations in the Netherlands by Anja van Heelsum,<sup>23</sup> Meindert Fennema, Jean Tillie,<sup>24</sup> Floris Vermeulen,<sup>25</sup> Liza Mügge<sup>26</sup> and others led to another strong research line with specific theoretical innovations.
  - The study of trade unions and their relation to immigration and immigrants in the Netherlands by Judith Roosblad<sup>27</sup> led to a European comparative project and book<sup>28</sup> that still seems to count as a standard work in this field, though it is actually in dire need of updating in light of the substantial changes that have taken place in the world of industrial relations, trade unions and international migration. I intend to do that update, together with Stefania Marino<sup>29</sup> in the coming period.
  - A study of local integration policies<sup>30</sup> in Dutch cities<sup>31</sup> formed the basis of large-scale comparative projects led by IMES, such as the ‘MPMC project’ (Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities)<sup>32</sup> and later the ‘CLIP project’ (Cities for Local Integration Policies).<sup>33</sup>
  - Maybe the most comprehensive, and internationally most recognised, has been the line of research on the integration of the second generation in Europe, developed by Maurice Crul and Hans Vermeulen: the TIES-project and its offspring.<sup>34</sup>

The international orientation within IMES and IMES’s international reputation were reflected in and reinforced by the growing number of PhD students from abroad. It was also visible in the central role that IMES played in international networks. In 1998, I became co-chair of the International Metropolis Project for the next ten years, and the European Secretariat of Metropolis was located at IMES. In 2003, IMES took the initiative to organise the most important research institutes in Europe into the IMISCOE Network of Excellence. That five-year EU-funded project (2004–2009) was experienced as a great success by its partners, prompting it to extend itself after the EU-funding period as the IMISCOE Research Network, again coordinated by IMES. Yesterday and today we held IMISCOE’s 9th Annual Conference with more than 300 researchers participating.

### *Key issues and structure of the rest of this lecture*

This quick overview sketches my engagement in the issue of migration and integration spanning different capacities – as a researcher and leader of a research institute, as a policymaker and policy advisor – and at different levels –

the local level of cities, the national level and the EU and supranational level, as well as in countries of origin and destination. In my present evaluative exercise I pick three themes to focus on:

- research in the field of migration and integration;
- policies in that field;
- the connection between the two, or the research-policy nexus.

I will build up the rest of this lecture as follows. In a first step, I will briefly contextualise the topics of international migration and integration processes, policies related to these processes and the development of research in Europe. What happened in Europe over the last four decades? In a second step I will appraise what we have achieved (and have not achieved) in the understanding of and theory-building on processes of migration and integration of immigrants, irrespective of policies. In a third step, I will look in more detail at (the study of) policies and the policy-research nexus. These three steps will enable me to draw, in step 4, some conclusions on how we could possibly improve our efforts to fulfil scientific expectations, in terms of what we should do and how we should organise ourselves. Finally, I will acknowledge the contributions of many colleagues who have inspired and supported me in what I have felt to be a mission in the past twenty years.

## **The context: Migration and integration in Europe, studying a moving target**

So, step one, what has been the context in Europe during the last four decades when it comes to international migration and integration of immigrants in Europe? The shortest answer is: these phenomena have changed drastically in size and nature, and in the way they are perceived. Let me mention a few crucial aspects of these changes.

### *Growth and diversification of international migration in Europe*

Firstly, there are the simple but basic numbers. While the number of international migrants worldwide increased nearly two and a half times between 1965 and 2005<sup>35</sup> such figures for the European continent were much higher. In the 15 years from 1985 to 2000, migrant numbers grew from an estimated 23 million<sup>36</sup> to more than 56 million, or 7.7 per cent of the total European population.

Europe factually became an immigration continent. This thesis is reinforced if we look at the relative importance of migration in the demography of Europe. In view of the low fertility rates in Europe, net migration has become a more substantial contributor to population growth than natural growth in the member states of the European Union. For the near future, prognoses expect that net migration will prevent an absolute decrease of the EU population until the year 2025.<sup>37</sup>

However, the distribution and impact of this sizeable immigration and of the settlement patterns of immigrants is basically uneven, both in time and in space. Some West European countries, such as Switzerland, Belgium and France, have a long pre-war history of immigration. Other countries in the Western part of Europe only started to acquire their immigration experience in the decades following the Second World War. For a number of European countries that used to be emigration countries until the 1980s, such as Italy, Spain, Portugal, Greece, Ireland, Norway and Finland, the current immigration experience spans a period of about two decades. Still other countries, among them most of the twelve EU member states that acceded since 2004, are experiencing emigration, transit migration and immigration at the same time. Obviously, such historical differences are reflected in the size and composition of immigrant populations.

The unevenness of the immigration experience in scale and in time is as much noticeable *within* the countries in question. More than in the past, new immigrants in recent decades have flocked to urban areas. Large cities have seen their composition rapidly changed. They have become the visible face of globalisation. In the Netherlands, for example, more than 60 per cent of all immigrants and their descendants live in the Western conurbation, while in a city like Amsterdam nearly half of all inhabitants have a migration background. They themselves are immigrants, or one of their parents is an immigrant. Similar observations can be made about other larger European cities.<sup>38</sup> Within these metropolises, moreover, there is almost always a skewed distribution of these newcomers over districts and wards.<sup>39</sup>

A novel characteristic of migration in recent decades lies in what is called the 'new geography' of migration.<sup>40</sup> Up until the 1980s, the pattern of origin of migrants in Europe could conveniently be grouped under three headings:

- migration with a colonial background, connecting certain European countries to their former colonies;
- labour migration, with a number of 'recruiting countries' linked to a limited number of 'sending countries';
- refugee migration, strongly dominated by movements from East to West Europe.

The geographical patterns of migration have thus embraced Europe and the Mediterranean countries, plus a limited number of (former) colonies. Nowadays, however, that picture is blurred completely. Immigrants come to Europe from all over the world in significant numbers and for more divergent reasons. The following are just some of the major immigrant categories:

- expats working for multinational companies and international organisations;
- skilled workers, including nurses and doctors, from all over the world;
- refugees and asylum seekers from Africa, the Near East and Asia, the Balkans and the former Soviet Union countries;
- students from China;
- undocumented workers from Africa.

In some places this has resulted in such heterogeneity that Vertovec<sup>41</sup> coined the new term ‘super-diversity’ to describe it, illustrating this with the case of the London Metropolis.

Another specific characteristic of present-day European migration relates to changed forms of migration and settlement. While migration in the past tended to be viewed predominantly as a ‘one-off movement’ leading to permanent resettlement, recent migration has shifted to more fluid practices of international mobility – helped by greatly improved transport and communication facilities. Migrants today tend to have consecutive stays in different countries, to alternate their residence between countries, et cetera. This also leads to new practices of residence, integration and community formation. Researchers are exploring these new phenomena under the notion of transnationalism.<sup>42</sup> Policymakers are asking the uneasy question of what such practices mean for integration.

Finally, the development of the European Union as a new political and policy unit in Europe has created a different context for international mobility and migration. On the one hand, the EU established a fundamental right to move and settle within the EU area for citizens and long-term residents of its member states.<sup>43</sup> On the other hand, EU member states have developed common restrictive and defensive policies in relation to immigrants from non-EU countries. This amounts to the paradoxical trend in EU migration policy of ‘free mobility’ for those within, and increasing closure for those outside the European Union. For EU integration policy, this implies that ‘integration’ is applicable only to third-country nationals: citizens of EU member states are supposedly already integrated.

## *Reactive policies of European countries*<sup>44</sup>

The dynamics of both migration and integration have thus changed, as expressed in the new characteristics listed above. In reaction, policies too have changed regarding these quite different processes of migration on the one hand and integration on the other. As for migration, a first observation is that although Europe has factually become a continent of immigration, European states consistently define themselves as non-immigration countries. Rhetoric about being a 'nation of immigrants', as is usual in countries like Canada, Australia and the United States, is completely absent in Europe.<sup>45</sup> Such a framing of the migration question has been a constant factor in Europe, despite the fact that quite a few European countries have had higher immigration rates than the classic immigration countries just mentioned.

This particular framing has had pervasive consequences. Since the first oil crisis of 1973, it brought about restrictive immigration policies justified by a simultaneous decrease in demand for migrants, particularly lower skilled ones. This was paired with an increase in supply-driven migration, presenting itself under the policy categories of 'family reunion and formation' and 'refuge and asylum'. New measures of restriction and control solicited a spiralling rise of 'innovative' new forms of entrance (like smuggling and trafficking), which in turn led to new control-oriented requirements and procedures (such as for asylum and family migration). New dynamics thus developed, and new actors were brought into play.<sup>46</sup> Immigration was increasingly criminalised, as the tougher regulations led, by definition, to more illegality and irregularity. International political terrorism, furthermore, brought migrants into focus from a security perspective.<sup>47</sup> Migration thus became associated first and foremost with problems and threats and as such rose to the top of the political agenda in many countries.

The idea of not being an immigration country had consequences for settlement and integration policies. North-Western European countries 'solved' the contradiction of not being countries of immigration, while having imported significant labour in the 1960s and early 1970s, by defining these migrants as 'temporary guests'. That meant limited facilities for accommodation in anticipation of their eventual return. But the 'fact' that a significant portion stayed for good and formed communities that gradually grew by using their right to bring families and spouses, contradicted perceptions and expectations of temporariness.

Nevertheless, changes in the framing of not being an immigration country were exceptional and partial. Only in the early integration policies of Sweden and the Netherlands in the 1970s and 1980s was the idea accepted that integra-

tion of long-term residents was a necessity for sound and cohesive societies.<sup>48</sup> These two countries developed early integration policies that were strongly rights-based, covering not only the socio-economic, but also the political and cultural spheres of life. For all other governments in Europe, such ideas went too far. They maintained the illusion of return and ad hoc adaptive measures, leaving the integration responsibility in practice to parties in civil society, such as trade unions, churches and welfare organisations.<sup>49</sup>

Ultimately, such ‘policies of neglect’ resulted in migration and integration questions becoming contentious topics in European politics in the 1990s. In the politicised climate, immigration policies did not change – the norm of not being an immigration country remained. But the specific meaning of integration in policy discussions did change. Countries in North-Western Europe moved from earlier conceptions of integration policies focused on the position of newcomers in society, such as in Sweden and the Netherlands, to a conception of integration policies that primarily focuses on the cohesion of societies as a whole and on commonalities that are supposedly crucial for such social cohesion. Such discussions led to questions of how the society into which newcomers (should) ‘integrate’ essentially defines itself. The claims and outcomes of such discussions on the ‘identity’ of receiving societies (as modern, liberal, democratic, laïcist, equal, enlightened, etc.) have consequences for newcomers and for what their integration should mean. In practice, they are translated into civic integration requirements (and courses) that are used, at the same time, to make immigration restrictive and selective.<sup>50</sup>

The picture that I outline here is strongly based on developments in the North-Western European countries. South European states have a much more recent experience in immigration and integration. Their institutional framework for regulation is new. It was actually forced upon them as part of the EU accession procedures through the EU *acquis*. Their practices are much less determined by a long history of migration regulation and the path-dependency that it entailed for North-Western European countries. In certain respects that leads to quite different policy practices, such as the frequent regularisations of the Southern European countries.<sup>51</sup>

For most of the twelve recent members of the European Union the topic of migration and integration is relatively new and takes multiple forms: emigration, immigration and transit migration co-exist in most of these countries.<sup>52</sup>

### *Research on migration, integration and social cohesion in Europe*

Following broadly the unfolding of the developments outlined above, research on migration and integration in Europe has expanded greatly in recent dec-

ades. Initially in the 1960s and 1970s, just a few individual researchers engaged in such research. They often focused on one particular flow of migrants, on one immigrant group or on the specific nature of the immigration, such as the 'guest worker' type of temporary migration.<sup>53</sup>

The first research institutes in Europe were established in the 1980s: the Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations (CRER) in Warwick, United Kingdom, the Centre for Research on Immigrants (CEIFO) in Stockholm, Sweden, and MIGRINTER in Poitiers, France.<sup>54</sup> These new focal points were often directed by leading scholars who inspired young researchers, such as John Rex at CRER, Tomas Hammar and Jonas Widgren at CEIFO and Gildas Simon at MIGRINTER. All of these early institutes were university based and received initially most of their funding from the university and national science foundations. Their programmes and ways of framing topics and questions reflected national ways of looking at immigration and immigrants. Such national framings were not necessarily governmental ones, since explicit governmental policies were lacking at that time. CRER's programme, for example, focused on racial and ethnic relations, following the race relations and community cohesion focus of debates and policies of that period in the United Kingdom.

The decade of the 1990s witnessed a significant growth of specific research institutes on migration and integration, particularly in North-Western Europe.<sup>55</sup> The Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies – IMES – of the University of Amsterdam was one of them.

In the first decade of the new millennium, research institutes were established in the new immigration countries in the South of Europe. In Central and Eastern Europe, researchers started to organise themselves only recently, with Polish researchers being the first.<sup>56</sup>

In general, this developing migration and integration research has been strongly embedded within national contexts, both in terms of its framing of the questions and selection of what questions should be researched, and in its funding.<sup>57</sup> Topics and priorities related primarily to destination countries and their policy preoccupations.

Apart from the development of specific research institutes, it is relevant to mention that since the late 1990s, a rapidly growing number of international research and data-collecting organisations<sup>58</sup> have been established.<sup>59</sup> Expanding EU policy action in the fields of migration and integration since 1997 and the concomitant funding of research and data collection by the European Commission have contributed to this.

We can draw two basic conclusions from this brief outline of the context. The *first* is that we have been studying a moving target. Phenomena of migration and integration have changed in size and nature, and the related percep-

tions and policies have changed significantly as well. Research, however, tends to be reactive and following. The *second* conclusion is that social scientists studying migration and integration are themselves part of the context and reality that they study. Their interest in international migration and settlement processes of migrants varies with the size and development of migration itself. The attention that societies devote to these phenomena, the way they frame and define them, influences not only individual researchers, but also the collective structures for research, its organisation and its funding.<sup>60</sup>

## **Achievements and challenges of research on international migration and integration**

What have we achieved in recent decades, and what are our present challenges? In my inaugural lecture upon my appointment as Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies at the University of Amsterdam in June 1994, I formulated a number of conditions for the development of a fruitful programme of research.<sup>61</sup>

One of these was that processes of international migration and settlement of migrants be studied at different levels at the same time and in a single interpretative frame: that of the micro-level of individual migrants and their households, the macro-level of structural factors that influence these processes and the meso-level of organisations (of migrants themselves and of civil society in general). A second condition was that research be interdisciplinary, as bringing together the different theoretical perspectives of disciplines and their empirical results would advance our understanding. A third condition – in view of the fact that theory formation was meagre and fragmented – was that our efforts to theorise be built on open heuristic models; that is, on theoretically informed frameworks that enable us to trace explanatory factors and conditions. Such heuristic models should inspire choices for rigorous empirical research, and empirical data in return should sharpen these models. A fourth condition was that systematic comparative research (between immigrant groups, in time, and in space) would be the best way to identify essential elements of the processes studied as opposed to specific time and space conditions.

Those of you who have followed IMISCOE from the beginning will recognise these principles in the original programme of the IMISCOE Network of Excellence (in 2003) and again in the state of the art study that IMISCOE published on the basis of reports of its nine research clusters in 2006.<sup>62</sup>

Today I ask myself did we actually make progress in building a sound understanding of processes of international migration and settlement of newcomers in a society. My answer is ambiguous. Yes, there has been a strong increase of cross-national comparative research, and more disciplines have become involved in research in these fields, as I showed in the overview of IMES key issues earlier. This is illustrated even more clearly by the long list of large research projects of IMISCOE partners, many of them funded by the European Commission.<sup>63</sup> Certainly, many more aspects have been studied, and often indeed comparatively.<sup>64</sup>

But the crucial question is whether we have built a larger but fragmented knowledge base, or whether we have also gathered accumulated knowledge for a better holistic understanding. Yes, some efforts have been made that aimed for the latter. Within IMES we have worked on heuristic models of causes and consequences of international migration<sup>65</sup> and immigrant incorporation and integration. The most recent version is shown here as Figure 1.<sup>66</sup> Within IMISCOE we saw interesting exercises in the ‘Feasibility Studies’ on Europe as a migration system,<sup>67</sup> on integration,<sup>68</sup> and on social cohesion.<sup>69</sup> In the IMISCOE publication series, the recent publication of the essays of the late Michael Bommers is noteworthy.<sup>70</sup>

Nevertheless, I have come to appreciate that our holistic understanding is still unsatisfactory. Theory development is piecemeal at best. The predictive capacities of our knowledge are limited on the whole, as we are told time and again by outsiders, policymakers in particular.

Why is this? I see two main reasons. *Firstly*, given that theory development is traditionally strongly connected to disciplines, one of the consequences of a multidisciplinary or interdisciplinary approach<sup>71</sup> is that we need to build more comprehensive heuristic and explanatory models, from scratch as it were. *Secondly*, phenomena of international migration and settlement processes of immigrants in societies are perhaps an integral part of larger processes of change and globalisation in societies, as convincingly claimed by Stephen Castles.<sup>72</sup>

My conclusion is that we – within our research institutes and within IMISCOE – still have a lot of work to do, both in terms of developing comprehensive heuristic models as tools for understanding and theory formation and in terms of doing real interdisciplinary research. By that last I mean research that is conceived and designed from the beginning as interdisciplinary instead of the usual post hoc efforts to put together results that are disciplinary in nature.

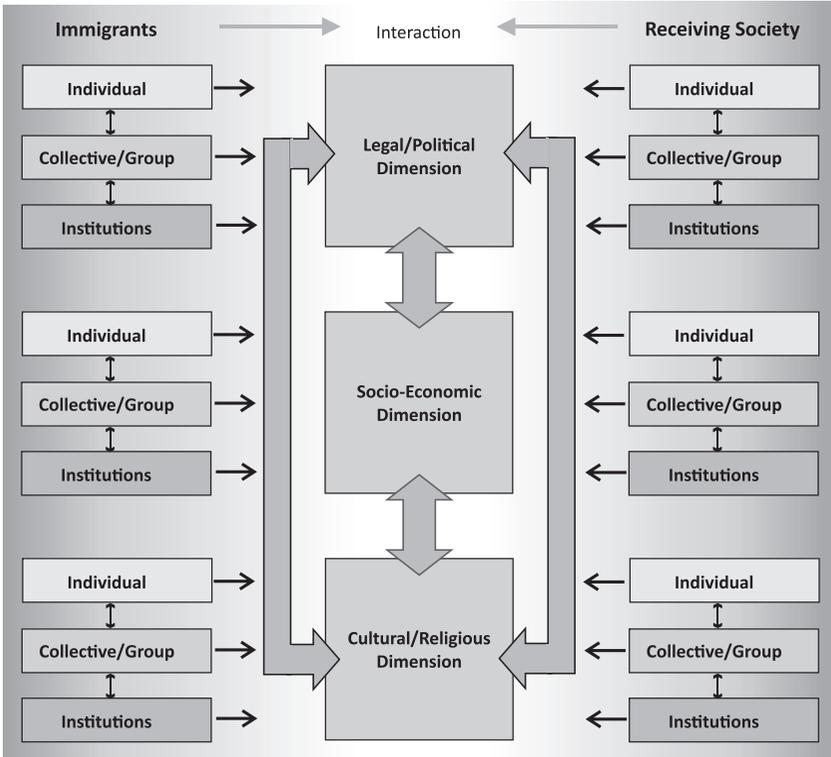


Figure 1 A heuristic model for the study of integration processes

## The study of policies and the policy-research nexus

The evaluative remarks above relate primarily to the study of processes of international migration and settlement of immigrants, irrespective of policies. The study of policies – their making, content and outcomes – has in practice become an important part of research as well. This is certainly the case within IMISCOE. Many of the 56 books in the IMISCOE publication series<sup>73</sup> even feature the word ‘policies’ in their title (‘citizenship policies’, ‘integration policies’, ‘migration policies’); and many more address the subject in their actual content. Furthermore, as we saw in the context overview, relations between research and policy have been rather intensive.

That is why I would like to say a few things on the study of policies and the policy-research nexus. I would have liked to present here a heuristic model for the systematic study of policies, but that one is still in the making. I will simply list a number of key elements that in my view should be the basis of such a heuristic model.

*First*, the study of policies is fundamentally different from the study and understanding of those processes that policies aim to address. The essence of policies is their intention to guide and steer processes in society – in our case processes of immigrant integration. Explicit policies are part of a political process of a normative nature in which the topic of integration is formulated as problem. The problem is given a normative framing (What do we want to be the outcome of the integration process?) and concrete actions are designed and developed to reach the desired outcome. Therefore, the systematic study of policies should investigate the framing and normative elements<sup>74</sup> as well as practice and what relation these have (or do not have) with the process of integration as empirically measured. Ideally, this should be done using a terminology that is independent of policy concepts.

*Second*, in democratic societies, policies are part of political systems in which majorities decide on policies. In the case of immigrant policies, there is an inherent danger of policies representing expectations and demands of the majority rather than their being based on negotiation and agreement with immigrants themselves. This may lead to the outright exclusion of segments of immigrant populations (as alien non-citizens) from the formal political system. Even in situations where immigrants are partially or fully included in politics, their voices may be marginalised by the majority influence. The way that immigrants are perceived turns out to be a significant factor in such processes – indeed often stronger than the facts. This is even more the case if issues of immigration and the position of immigrants are turned into politicised questions. This holds for the different levels of policymaking: national and local. That mechanism may result either in a virtual absence of (explicit) integration policies and an avoidance of issues related to immigrants, or in one-sided, patronising policies reflecting majority interests and disregarding the needs and voices of immigrants.

*Thirdly*, as integration policies are adopted and implemented in practice, another aspect of the logic of policymaking emerges. In contrast to integration processes, which are long term in nature (normally taking at least a generation), the political process in democratic societies requires that policies bear fruit within much shorter time-frames: the spaces between elections. Unrealistic promises and demands that arise from such ‘democratic impatience’<sup>75</sup> often produce backlash. A good example is the debate on the alleged failure of Dutch

integration policies that has taken place since 2000.<sup>76</sup> Even more difficult than democratic impatience are situations in which anti-immigrant sentiments are translated into political movements, leading to a strong politicisation of the topics of immigration and integration.

*Fourthly*, what we need in studying policies is a broad concept of policies. Integration policies are part of the total system of institutional arrangements in a society. This has two important consequences for what we study under the heading of policies. The first is that explicit integration policies should always be studied as part of the total system of institutional arrangements. The second is that not having an explicit integration policy is also a policy.

*Finally*, important aspects of policy studies are the questions of which actors are involved in policies, at which levels – local, national or supranational – and how actors and levels relate to one another. Within IMISCOE we have a research group that has given itself the name ‘the multi-level governance of migration and integration’. Interesting work has been done in that group, as can be seen in the IMISCOE publications on local integration policies by Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert<sup>77</sup> and on the making of migration and integration policies in ten European countries by Giovanna Zincone, Maren Borkert and myself.<sup>78</sup> But in my view, this is only the beginning of what should be developed much more systematically in the future.

I have discussed up to now the state of affairs of studying processes of international migration and integration, on the one hand, and offered some basic starting points for the study of processes of policymaking on the other. Earlier in this lecture, I hinted at the fact that research and policymaking are in practice often interwoven. Policy agencies may fund research and researchers may advise policy agencies. Such relations may have consequences in terms of the framing of the problem to be studied and the ensuing choice of research topics and priorities. But apart from such direct influences, there are also significant indirect influences, such as the simple fact that researchers use (or have to use) administrative data that are based on policy categories. ‘Temporary worker’ (or temporary worker’s permit), ‘asylum seeker’ and ‘refugee’ are examples.

The interwovenness is furthermore present in the language that we use. Researchers have to convey their messages in a terminology that is continuously changing according to normative societal and policy discourses. We – researchers – are (made) part of the societal question that we study, whether we want to be or not.

Research-policy dialogue, defined broadly as ‘all forms of interaction between research and policy in the domain of immigration and immigrant integration’, is therefore an interesting field of research. Peter Scholten and myself have taken this up. The book that we are working on now will look system-

atically at how migration and integration research has contributed to the development of immigration and immigrant policies in various European countries, as well as how the development of migration and integration policies over the past decades has influenced the development of research. I feel tempted to explain to you how we want to go about studying this intriguing topic and how it relates to the thesis of methodological nationalism of Glick-Schiller and Wimmer<sup>79</sup> and to critical debates on ‘national models of integration’, and that these models are policy myths rather than scientific constructions.<sup>80</sup> But time does not allow me to do so.

## Lessons for research and its organisation

Let me try to draw some conclusions now from the foregoing analysis in terms of what is needed for research to develop. In my view, two aspects have been crucial in the past and will be crucial for the next phase. The first is that the history of IMES has shown that a focused organisation (including an own budget), leadership, and an explicit programme of research have been crucial conditions for IMES’s development and reputation. The second is that an interdisciplinary approach (preferably one that starts with the programming of research and the research teams) is an important condition for further development.

In these two respects, the Faculty of Social Sciences of the University of Amsterdam has taken unfortunate and in my view unwise decisions in recent years. It decided to merge IMES – as per 1 January 2010 – with other research institutes of the Faculty into the large-scale Amsterdam Institute for Social Science Research. IMES thereby lost the crucial conditions that made it successful before: a focused organisation, leadership, an explicit programme and its own budget.

The merger implied furthermore that former IMES researchers have been ‘re-disciplined’ into programme groups of their own original discipline within the new AISSR. According to the management philosophy of the new AISSR, researchers are furthermore ‘individualised’, that is, researchers are responsible for acquiring funding for their own research; competition is regarded more important than cooperation.

IMES and the new directors have lost important organisational facilities that would offer added value to the many talented individuals in Amsterdam and contribute to a research programme in the longer term. I would wish that such facilities be rebuilt.

At the European level, IMISCOE has, in my view, become an important catalyst for positive developments in research. It has been able to bring to-

gether researchers from diverse disciplines, national origins and perspectives, thereby creating ‘a natural medicine’ against methodological nationalism and state-centred approaches. It has in practice become the cradle of numerous large-scale comparative research projects, prepared within IMISCOE groups and funded elsewhere. It has also become an important source of training and organisation of young researchers and an independent outlet for publications.

This judgement on IMISCOE is obviously shared more widely. Since IMISCOE transformed itself from an EU-funded Network of Excellence into an independent fee-based research network in 2009, it has increased its institutional membership from the original 19 to 30 research institutes throughout Europe.

The IMISCOE Research Network clearly fulfils important functions for the development of research in this field in Europe. But there is also room to improve the organisation and its work in the near future, such as to increase the participation of certain disciplines (like economics and law) and to encourage membership of research institutes from underrepresented areas in Europe.

Personally I have committed myself to continue my coordinating tasks within IMISCOE beyond my retirement. I am grateful that the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies and the University of Amsterdam have decided to endorse the prolongation of coordinatorship of IMISCOE until April 2014 in Amsterdam. The University of Amsterdam will thus continue to host the Network Office of IMISCOE and its coordinator in the near future, and you will find us in the coming period at the usual place in the Spinhuis.



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## Acknowledgements

In the foregoing I have tried to outline my engagement in research on migration and integration over a period of 40 years. Some of you may wonder how it is possible to be 'engaged' in one field for so long and still find it interesting, challenging and fruitful. Well, the topic itself helped. It has unfolded itself, changed and offered new puzzles to understand all the time. Further, there have been stimulating people around me who inspired and challenged me, with whom I have cooperated, and from whom I have learnt.

First of all, there are two persons who I will call 'my godfathers'. The first is Hans van Amersfoort, who in 1973 was the first researcher in the Netherlands to defend his dissertation on 'minority formation in the Netherlands'. At this university he later became a professor of population geography, whom I chose as supervisor for my dissertation. For those who have read work from both of us, it will be clear that I am intellectually strongly indebted to him. Hans was also instrumental in bringing me back to the University of Amsterdam as Director of IMES in 1993, and he has been a member of IMES throughout its existence.

The second godfather is André Köbben, former professor of anthropology at the University of Amsterdam. He was a master in inspiring students, in organising funds for research and in liaising between research and policy (and protecting the researcher's position vis-à-vis the commissioners of research).<sup>81</sup>

Secondly, there are a number of age-mates with whom I started to work in research or in action-oriented projects in the 1970s and with whom I continued to work later. They happen to have different disciplinary backgrounds, and all of them have retired in recent years. There is the historian Jan Lucassen and the economist Leo van Velzen. We did our first joint publications in 1973 and quite a few followed later. There is migration law specialist Kees Groenendijk, anthropologist Frank Bovenkerk, sociologist Han Entzinger, economist Hans Heijke and demographer and sociologist Carlo van Praag.

The IMES period would not have been such a fruitful one without the valuable contributions of many researchers within the IMES programme. I mentioned a number of names earlier in listing the major topics in which IMES has gained an international reputation. I would like to add here Leo Lucassen, Wim Willems, Veit Bader, Marlene de Vries, Jeroen Doomernik, Mies van Niekerk and Flip Lindo.

One of the things I have enjoyed most during my professorship was supervising PhD projects and dissertations. I did some 25 of them. It was enjoyable, in the first place because good supervising is the best opportunity for the supervisor to learn. Many and diverse students, topics and approaches were

included. In the second place, it was an enjoyable learning experience because I applied a strategy of always asking a specialist on the theme as co-supervisor. Supervising dissertations thus implied learning issues and disciplinary approaches from policy analysts, economists, lawyers, historians, demographers, social gerontologists, and the like. I recommend this strategy to all of my colleagues.

So here I thank my colleague supervisors Henk van de Graaf, Joop Hartog and Jan Lambooy, Kees Groenendijk, Jan Lucassen and Marcel van der Linden, Kees Knipscheer, Maurice Crul, Jack Burgers, Humphrey Lamur, Saskia Keuzenkamp, Jenny Gierveld, Jan Rath and Hans Vermeulen.

So far so good for my learned godfathers, colleagues and students. Let me now turn to 'relevant others'. Anyone who has worked in an organisation knows that facilitating personnel is crucial for success. I have been lucky to have the best secretarial, logistical, financial and managerial assistants for IMES and IMISCOE: Yolande Brand, Hannie Hoekstra, Hanneke Grotenbreg, Karen Kraal, Emilie van Tol, Karina Hof and Michelle Luijben. You made it happen. Thank you.

Finally, all of the things I mentioned up to now happened at the workplace. But I could not have done all these things, during all these years, in so many different places, if I had not had the full support of our Home Sweet Home in Gouda and its inhabitants over all these years. Our housemates Jan Lucassen (here he is again), his wife Lieske and their children Maria, Ties and Geertje, and our sons Job and Joost have been witnesses and supporters, if only by letting me do 'my thing' and helping to receive the rather massive IMES parties once a year in Gouda.

The most crucial support at home – strong and consistent up to and including this final lecture – I received from my wife Margriet. 'Dank je wel', Margriet.

Thank you.

## Notes

1. IMISCOE stands for International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion in Europe. See [www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org).
2. See Penninx, Rinus (1973), 'Tunesië als ontwikkelingsland en land van emigranten'. Series of five articles in *Nieuwsbrief Buitenlandse Werknemers*, published by the Dutch Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work: 1: 1-10, 2: 25-36, 3: 61-70, 4: 89-98, 5: 117-125.
3. The two most important publications of the Turkish part of the REMPLOD project (Reintegration of Emigrant Manpower and Promotion of Local Opportunities for Development) were Abadan-Unat, Nermin, Ruşen Keleş, Rinus Penninx, Herman van Renselaar, Leo van Velzen & Leyla Yenisey (1976), *Migration and Development: A Study of the Effects of International Labor Migration on the Boğazlıyan District*. The Hague/Ankara: NUFFIC. (Also in published in Turkish as *Göç ve gelişme*, Ankara 1976.), and Penninx, Rinus & Herman van Renselaar (1978), *A Fortune in Small Change: A Study of Migrant Workers' Attempts to Invest Savings Productively through Joint Stock Corporations and Village Development Co-operatives in Turkey*. The Hague/Ankara: NUFFIC. (Also published in Turkish as *Gurbet, mihnet ve üç kuruşluk servet*, Ankara 1979.)
4. See Penninx, Rinus (1982), 'Migration and development: A critical review of theory and practice, the case of Turkey', *International Migration Review* 16 (4) 781-818.
5. Hans van Amersfoort developed this concept in his dissertation: Van Amersfoort, J. M.M. (1974), *Immigratie en Minderheidsvorming: Een Analyse van de Nederlandse Situatie, 1945-1973*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom. In the English version of 1982 his definition reads:
  - 1) A minority is a continuous collectivity within the population of a state. This continuity has two important aspects: (a) the minority consist of several generations, (b) membership of the minority has priority above other forms of social categorization.
  - 2) The numerical position of a minority excludes it from taking effective part in the political system.
  - 3) A minority has an objectively disadvantaged position in the sense that its members do not participate in the same degree as the majority population in the four following 'public' fields: (a) the legal system, (b) the educational system, (c) the labour market, (d) the housing market' (Van Amersfoort, H. (1982), *Immigration and the Formation of Minority Groups: The Dutch Experience, 1945-1973*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p. 29-30).
6. I have worked on these long-term historical comparisons with historian Jan Lucassen. See Lucassen, Jan & Rinus Penninx (1985), *Nieuwkomers: Immigranten en hun Nakomelingen in Nederland, 1550-1985*. Amsterdam: Meulenhoff; Lucassen, Jan & Rinus Penninx (1994), *Nieuwkomers, Nakomelingen, Nederlanders: Immigranten in Nederland, 1550-1993*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, Lucassen, Jan & Rinus Penninx (1997), *Newcomers, Immigrants and their Descendants in the Netherlands, 1550-1995*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

7. Penninx, Rinus (1979), 'Naar een algemeen etnisch minderhedenbeleid?', in: Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid, *Etnische Minderheden*, pp. 1-174. WRR Report 17. The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij. In 1980 this work was also published in English: Penninx, Rinus (1980), 'Towards a general ethnic minorities policy', in: Scientific Council for Government Policy, *Ethnic Minorities*. The Hague: State Publishers.
8. The policies started in 1980, with a formal reaction of the government to the 1979 WRR report and the establishment of a coordinating unit within the Ministry of Home Affairs. It took until 1983 for the full-fledged policy document to be developed, widely discussed and accepted: Ministry of Home Affairs (1983), *Minderhedennota*, The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij (see also *Handelingen van de Tweede Kamer* 1982-83, 16102, nr. 21).
9. Formally I was a civil servant at the Ministry of CRM (Culture, Recreation and Social Work); factually I was seconded for periods and tasks to the Ministry of Home Affairs, which coordinated ethnic minorities policy.
10. An intensive dialogue between research and policy took place in these years in the Advisory Committee on Research on Minorities (ACOM). This advisory body had been installed in 1978 by the Ministry of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. Initially, I was a member of ACOM, but I became the ministerial representative in ACOM from October 1978 to 1988. For an extensive analysis of relations between research and policy in the Netherlands see Scholten, Peter (2011), *Framing Immigrant Integration: Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective*. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
11. The intensive relations between research and policy and its possible consequences became an issue of discussion quite early on in the Netherlands. The following publication refers to such a discussion at that time: Penninx, Rinus (1984), 'Research and policy with regard to ethnic minorities in the Netherlands: A historical outline and the state of affairs', *International Migration* 22 (4) 345-366. In a publication in 1988 I tried to document particularly the funding of research by governmental agencies in the Netherlands between 1955 and 1985: Penninx, Rinus (1988), *Wie Betaalt, Bepaalt? De Ontwikkeling en Programmering van Onderzoek naar Migranten, Etnische Minderheden en Woonwagenebewoners, 1955-1985*. Amsterdam: Sociaal-Geografisch Instituut, University of Amsterdam.
12. Once the bureaucracies of the ministries involved had incorporated ethnic minority policies and departments had been set up for implementation (including budgets), research questions formulated by these bureaucracies shifted towards practical issues such as what instruments should be used and, later, to evaluating and monitoring (effects of) policies.
13. Penninx, Rinus (1988), *Minderheidsvorming en Emancipatie: Balans van Kennisverwerving ten Aanzien van Immigranten en Woonwagenebewoners, 1967-1987*. Alphen aan den Rijn: Samsom. A brief English version was published as Penninx, Rinus (1989), 'Ethnic groups in the Netherlands: Emancipation or minority group formation?' *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 12 (1) 84-99.
14. The professorship 'Etnische Studies en Minderheidsvraagstukken (ESM)' started as of 1 July 1991. The Free University also offered the first master track in the Netherlands for students under the same name.

15. The Board of the University of Amsterdam had asked me in 1992 to chair a committee to advise the Board on how the university should organise research in the field of migration and settlement of immigrants. After the report and recommendations were accepted, the University of Amsterdam asked me to implement them. I was appointed Professor of Ethnic Studies and Director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies as of 1 March 1993.
16. The sizeable capacities for research in anthropology, led by Hans Vermeulen, and for geography, led by Hans van Amersfoort, formed the core of IMES from the beginning. Economics and law were brought in through special projects, but their participation in IMES has not been stable over time.
17. Political sciences developed strongly as a new discipline in the IMES programme through the engagement of Meindert Fennema and Jean Tillie. Policy analysis was stimulated through the participation of Rob Hoppe and Henk van de Graaf. History as a discipline in the IMES programme was anchored by Annemarie Cottaar, Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems, all of whom moved with their projects from Leiden University where their specialisation was not appreciated at that time. (Leo Lucassen and Wim Willems later 'returned' to Leiden University as professors.)
18. Raes, Stephan (2000), *Migrating Enterprise and Migrant Entrepreneurs: How Fashion and Migration have Changed the Spatial Organization of the Clothing Supply to Consumers in the Netherlands*. PhD thesis, Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
19. Kumcu, Adem (2001), *De Fil en Aiguille: Genèse et Déclin des Ateliers de Confection Turcs d'Amsterdam*. PhD thesis, Amsterdam: Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam.
20. Dreef, Marja (2004), *Politiek, Migranten en de Informele Economie: Politieke en Bestuurlijke Ontwikkelingen ten Aanzien van de Amsterdamse Confectieateliers, 1980-1997*. PhD thesis, Amsterdam: IMES.
21. Reil, Flavia & Ton Korver (2001), *En Meestal Zijn het Turken: Arbeid in de Amsterdamse Loonconfectie-industrie*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
22. See Rath, Jan (2000), *Immigrant Businesses: The Economic, Political and Social Environment*. Houndmills: Macmillan Press, and Rath, Jan (2002), *Unravelling the Rag Trade: Immigrant Entrepreneurship in Seven World Cities*. Oxford/ New York: Berg Publishers.
23. Van Heelsum, Anja (2004a), *Migrantenorganisaties in Nederland: Deel 1, Aantal en Soort Organisaties en Ontwikkelingen*. Utrecht: FORUM, and Van Heelsum, Anja (2004b), *Migrantenorganisaties in Nederland: Deel 2, Functioneren van de Organisaties*. Utrecht: FORUM.
24. Fennema, Meindert & Jean Tillie (2004), 'Civic communities and multicultural democracy', in: S. Rossteutscher (ed.), *Social Capital: A Democratic Elixir?* London/ New York: Routledge.
25. Vermeulen, Floris (2006), *The Immigrant Organising Process: Turkish Organisations in Amsterdam and Berlin and Surinamese Organisations in Amsterdam, 1960-2000*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
26. Mügge, Liza (2010), *Beyond Dutch Borders: Transnational Politics among Colonial Migrants, Guest Workers and the Second Generation*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

27. Roosblad, Judith (2002), *Vakbonden en Immigranten in Nederland, 1960-1997*. Amsterdam: Aksant.
28. Penninx, Rinus & Judith Roosblad (eds) (2000), *Trade Unions, Immigration, and Immigrants in Europe, 1960-1993: A Comparative Study of the Attitudes and Actions of Trade Unions in Seven West European Countries*. New York/Oxford: Berghahn Books.
29. I had the honour of supervising Stefania Marino's dissertation, which compares Dutch and Italian trade unions in relation to migrants and migration. See Marino, Stefania (2009), *Trade Union Representation of Migrant Workers: A Comparison between the Dutch and Italian Cases*. Settore Scientifica Disciplinare SPS/09. Manuscript. Milano: Università degli Studi di Milano.
30. Local integration processes and policies was a specific topic within IMES and within integration studies in general. As to the Dutch case, two overview studies on integration and policies should be mentioned: Vermeulen, Hans & Rinus Penninx (eds) (1994), *Het Democratisch Ongeduld: De Emancipatie en Integratie van Zes Doelgroepen van het Minderhedenbeleid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis, and Vermeulen, Hans & Rinus Penninx (eds) (2000), *Immigrant Integration: The Dutch Case*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.  
As to integration and policies at the EU level, see Penninx, Rinus (2003), 'Integration: The role of communities, institutions, and the state', published on the website of the Migration Policy Institute, 1 October 2003, <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Feature/display.cfm?ID=168>. Also, see Penninx, Rinus (2004), 'Elements for an EU framework for integration policies' and 'Identification of a framework for common principles, guidelines and objectives for integration', pp. 94-110, in: R. Süßmuth & W. Weidenfeld, *Managing Integration: The European Union's Responsibilities Towards Immigrants*, Gütersloh: Verlag Bertelsmann Stiftung, and Penninx, Rinus (2005), 'Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions', pp. 137-152, in: M. Macura, A. L. MacDonald and W. Haug (eds), *The New Demographic Regime: Population Challenges and Policy Responses*. New York/Geneva: United Nations.
31. See, for example, Wolff, Rick, Anja van Heelsum & Rinus Penninx (1999), *Erkend, Aangesproken, Aanspreekbaar? Evaluatie van het Migrantenbeleid van Voormalig Stadsdeel Oost en de Participatie van Organisaties van Migranten, 1996-1998*. Amsterdam: Stadsdeel Oost/Watergraafsmeer. Also see Penninx, Rinus (2005), 'Integratiebeleid in Angers, Haarlem en Osnabrück: Visies, strategieën en de praktijk', 'Integrationspolitiek in Angers, Haarlem en Osnabrück: Ansichten, Strategien und Praxis', 'Politique d'intégration à Angers, Haarlem en Osnabrück: Points de vue, stratégies et pratique', respectively, pp. 9-16, pp. 43-52, and pp. 77-86, in: *Multiculturalité et Intégration à Angers, Haarlem et Osnabrück, Multiculturaliteit en Integratie in Angers, Haarlem et Osnabrück, Multiculturalität und Integration in Angers, Haarlem et Osnabrück*, Haarlem: Gemeente Haarlem. Available at [www.eukn.org/netherlands/themes/Urban\\_Policy/Social\\_inclusion\\_and\\_integration/Integration\\_of\\_social\\_groups/multiculturality-in-angers-haarlem-and-osnabruck\\_1024.html](http://www.eukn.org/netherlands/themes/Urban_Policy/Social_inclusion_and_integration/Integration_of_social_groups/multiculturality-in-angers-haarlem-and-osnabruck_1024.html)
32. Penninx, Rinus, Karen Kraal, Marco Martiniello & Steve Vertovec (eds) (2004), *Citizenship in European Cities: Immigrants, Local Politics and Integration Policies*. Aldershot/Burlington: Ashgate.

33. Between 2006 and 2012, CLIP produced comparative reports on four aspects of the local integration policies of some 30 European cities: (i) on housing policies, (ii) on diversity policies in employment and service provision, (iii) on intercultural policies and intergroup relations, and (iv) on immigrant entrepreneurship. These comparative reports, and most of the underlying city reports, can be found in the digital library of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions: [www.eurofound.europa.eu](http://www.eurofound.europa.eu).
34. IMISCOE series feature a number of publications from the TIES project. The most comprehensive is Crul, Maurice, Jens Schneider & Frans Lelie (eds) (2012), *The European Second Generation Compared: Does the Integration Context Matter?* IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Furthermore, two country reports were published: Vetik, Raivo & Jelena Helemäe (eds) (2011), *The Russian Second Generation in Tallinn and Kohtla-Järve: The TIES Study in Estonia*. IMISCOE Reports. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, and Crul, Maurice & Liesbeth Heering (eds) (2008), *The Position of the Turkish and Moroccan Second Generation in Amsterdam and Rotterdam: The TIES Study in the Netherlands*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press. Country studies of Sweden, Switzerland and Germany are forthcoming. The TIES Research and Training Network project has led to a number of dissertations based on the TIES database of some 10,000 interviews in eight European countries and fifteen cities.
35. GCIM (2005), *Migration in an Interconnected World: New Directions for Action*. Global Commission on International Migration, [www.gcim.org/en/finalreport.html](http://www.gcim.org/en/finalreport.html); IOM (2008), *World Migration 2008: Managing Labour Mobility in the Evolving Global Economy*. Geneva: International Organization for Migration, p. 2.
36. United Nations (1998), 'Population distribution and migration'. Proceedings of the United Nations Expert Group Meeting on Population Distribution and Migration, Santa Cruz, Bolivia, 18-22 January 1993, New York, p. 1.
37. Eurostat (2005), 'EU-25 population rises until 2025, then falls'. News release. Luxembourg: Eurostat, and Eurostat (2006), 'First demographic estimates'. *Statistics in Focus 1/2006*. Luxembourg: Eurostat.
38. See, for example, Alexander, Michael (2007), *Cities and Labour Immigration: Comparing Policy Responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*. Aldershot: Ashgate, and Penninx, Rinus (2009), Vergleichende Studien zu Integrationspolitiken europäischer Städte, pp. 611-634 in: Frank Gesemann & Roland Roth, *Lokale Integrationspolitik in der Einwanderungsgesellschaft: Migration und Integration als Herausforderung von Kommunen*, Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
39. See, for example, Musterd, S., W. Ostendorf and M. Breebaart (1998), *Multi-Ethnic Metropolis: Patterns and Policies*. Amsterdam: Kluwer Academic.
40. See King, Russell (2002), 'Towards a new map of European migration', *International Journal of Population Geography* 8: 89-106. See also a number of contributions in Bonifazi, Corrado, Marek Okólski, Jeannette Schoorl & Patrick Simon (eds) (2008), *International Migration in Europe: New Trends and New Methods of Analysis*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
41. Steve Vertovec (2006), 'The Emergence of Super-diversity in Britain', Working Paper WP-06-25, Oxford: ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, University of Oxford.

42. See Bauböck, Rainer & Thomas Faist (eds) (2010), *Diaspora and Transnationalism: Concepts, Theories and Methods*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  43. For an interesting history of the free movement of workers see Goedings, Simone (2005), *Labor Migration in an Integrating Europe: National Migration Policies and the Free Movement of Workers, 1950-1968*. The Hague: SDU.
  44. For a comparative analysis of migration and integration policies and their making in ten European countries see Zincone, Giovanna, Maren Borkert and Rinus Penninx (eds) (2011), *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  45. Doornik, Jeroen & Michael Jandl (eds) (2008), *Modes of Migration Regulation and Control in Europe*. IMISCOE Reports. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  46. See, for example, Van Liempt, Ilse (2007), *Navigating Borders: Inside Perspectives on the Process of Human Smuggling into the Netherlands*. IMISCOE Dissertations. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  47. For an analysis of parliamentary debates on increasing controls on immigration in the UK and the FRG, see Vollmer, Bastian (2010), *Policy Discourses on Irregular Migration in Germany and the United Kingdom, 1973-1999*. PhD dissertation, Amsterdam: Faculty of Social and Behavioural Sciences, University of Amsterdam.
  48. For a contemporary comparative policy analysis of Sweden, the Netherlands, Great Britain, France, the FRG and Switzerland in the 1980s, see Hammar, Tomas (ed.) (1985), *European Immigration Policy: A Comparative Study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. For a contemporary description of Dutch policies in the 1980s, see Penninx, Rinus (1981), 'The contours of a general minorities policy', *Planning and Development in the Netherlands* 13 (1) 5-25.
  49. See Penninx, Rinus (2005), 'Integration of migrants: Economic, social, cultural and political dimensions', pp. 137-152 in: M. Macura, A. L. MacDonald and W. Haug (eds), *The New Demographic Regime: Population Challenges and Policy Responses*. New York/Geneva: United Nations.
  50. See, for example, Guild, Elspeth, Kees Groenendijk & Sergio Carrera (eds) (2009), *Illiberal Liberal States: Immigration, Citizenship and Integration in the EU*. Farnham: Ashgate.
  51. See the chapters on Italy and Spain in Zincone, Giovanna *et al.* (2011), note 44. For Spain see also Garcés-Mascareñas, Blanca (2012), *Labour Migration in Malaysia and Spain: Markets, Citizenship and Rights*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  52. See, for example, Black, Richard, Godfried Engbersen, Marek Okólski & Christina Pantiru (eds) (2010), *A Continent Moving West? EU Enlargement and Labour Migration from Central and Eastern Europe*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, and Okólski, Marek (ed.) (2012), *European Immigrations: Trends, Structures and Policy Implications*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Interestingly, such a situation has also developed in so-called 'sending states' like Morocco and Turkey. For Turkey see İçduygu, Ahmet & Kemal Kirişçi (eds) (2009),

*Land of Diverse Migrations: Challenges of Emigration and Immigration in Turkey.* Istanbul: Istanbul Bilgi University Press.

53. For an early overview of literature on guest worker migration in Europe, see Lucassen, Jan, Rinus Penninx, Leo van Velzen & Ap Zwinkels (1974), 'Trekarbeid van de Middellandse Zeelanden naar West-Europa: Een bibliografisch overzicht', *Kroniek van Afrika*, Leiden: African Studies Centre, 1: 12-38, 2: 85-118, and 3: 190-235. A slightly revised edition of these articles was published under the same title in 1974 as a book, *Sunschrift 84*, Nijmegen: SUN.
54. The Centre for Racial and Ethnic Relations (CRES) in Amsterdam was established in the mid-1980s at the University of Amsterdam. It was disbanded in 1992 and succeeded by the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) in 1993.
55. Most of the 19 institutes that formed the consortium of the IMISCOE Network of Excellence at its start in 2004 were established in the 1990s.
56. The Centre of Migration Research of the University of Warsaw, founded and led by Marek Okólski, was already established in the mid-1990s.
57. I did an analysis of all major research projects in the Netherlands between 1945 and 1988 and found that the overwhelming majority of these projects were commissioned and funded by Dutch governmental agencies. See Penninx, Rinus (1988), note 11. Basic research questions in that period were thus policy driven and not formulated as part of a broader scientific framework. Only from the mid-1980s did universities and national funders of scientific research (such as NWO in the Netherlands) start to be involved as funders of research programmes and infrastructure. Admittedly, this situation is probably more pronounced in countries like the Netherlands and Sweden, which combined a strong tradition of applied research in general with early explicit governmental integration policies. There are indications, however, that a similar process took place later – from the 1990s on – in other North-Western European countries. At the time the IMISCOE Network of Excellence was recruiting the major research institutes in this field – in 2003 –, the great majority of these turned out to be research institutes with a minor structural funding from universities and scientific funding institutions and a strong dependency on commissions and funding from policy-driven institutions at varying levels, from the local and national to the EU and global.
58. Early initiatives for systematic data collection were initiated by international organisations: (i) the SOPEMI annual reporting system of the OECD came into operation in 1973 as part of the OECD labour market monitoring studies (Système d'Observation Permanente des Migrations); (ii) the CDMG of the Council of Europe published data on migration as part of its study of demographic development; (iii) the United Nations Population Division included international migration early on in its demographic studies and reporting; (iv) the UNECE (the UN Economic Commission for Europe) started to study migration from an economic point of view in the 1990s; (v) ILO started to study migrants and their labour market position quite early; (vi) UNHCR (the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees) has reported since its inception on the specific categories of refuge and asylum.
59. Some of the more important are (i) International Metropolis, which is a worldwide forum for exchanges among researchers, policymakers and stakeholders in the field of migration and integration ([www.international.metropolis.net](http://www.international.metropolis.net)); (ii) Migration Policy

- Institute (Washington and recently also in Brussels) and its Migration Information Source ([www.migrationinformation.org](http://www.migrationinformation.org)); (iii) European Migration Network (EMN) (<http://emn.intrasoft-intl.com/html/index.html>); (iv) European Urban Knowledge Network (EUKN) ([www.eukn.org](http://www.eukn.org)); (v) IMISCOE ([www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org)); (vi) Migration Policy Group (Brussels) ([www.migpolgroup.com](http://www.migpolgroup.com)).
60. As noted earlier, this issue has been discussed in the Netherlands since the 1980s. Internationally, relations between research and policy have been put on the agenda over the past decade or so by various authors. See, for example, Wimmer, Andreas & Nina Glick-Schiller (2003), 'Methodological nationalism, the social sciences and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology', *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 570-610, Bommès, Michael & Ewa Morawska (2005), *International Migration Research: Constructions, Omissions and the Promises of Interdisciplinarity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, Thränhardt, Dietrich & Michael Bommès (eds) (2010), *National Paradigms of Migration Research*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.
  61. Penninx, Rinus (1994), *Raster en Mozaïek: Uitgangspunten voor Onderzoek naar Internationale Migratie, Etnische Processen en Sociale Ongelijkheid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
  62. Penninx, Rinus, Maria Berger & Karen Kraal (eds) (2006), *The Dynamics of International Migration and Settlement in Europe: A State of the Art*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
  63. For an overview of some 34 large-scale projects on migration and integration funded by DG Research of the European Commission, see Singleton, Ann (2009), *Moving Europe: EU Research on Migration and Policy Needs*. EUR 23859, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Commission.
  64. Note that the comparisons are predominantly cross-national ones, promoted by the European Commission because it wants to have the same data for all member states.
  65. See, for example, Van Amersfoort, Hans (1998), 'An analytical framework for migration processes and interventions' and Van Amersfoort, Hans & Rinus Penninx (1998), 'Western Europe as an immigration area', respectively, pp. 9-21 and pp. 42-70, in: Hans van Amersfoort & Jeroen Doomernik (eds), *International Migration: Processes and Interventions*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
  66. It is an elaboration of the heuristic model that I developed in my dissertation (1988) cited earlier.
  67. See, Entzinger, Han, Alfons Fermin & Jeannette Schoorl (2008), *International Migration Affecting the European Union and Countries of Origin: Feasibility Study EUROLINKS*. Working Paper 23. Available via [www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org).
  68. Heckmann, Friedrich & Wolfgang Bosswick (2006), *Integration and Integration Policies: IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study*. Bamberg: European Forum for Migration Studies, University of Bamberg.
  69. D'Amato, Gianni & S. Baglioni (2006), *IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study: Social Cohesion and Immigration, Actors, Beliefs and Dynamics of a Contested Space*. Neuchâtel: Swiss Forum for Migration and Population Studies.
  70. Boswell, Christina & Gianni d'Amato (eds) (2012), *Immigration and Social Systems: Collected Essays of Michael Bommès*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

71. I prefer to use 'multidisciplinary' as a quality of research institutes, teams and programmes indicating that researchers of several disciplines are involved. I use 'interdisciplinary' specifically as an adjective of research projects, indicating that the central questions and the design of the project is conceived as an integrated and complementary work across disciplines beforehand, which expresses itself in the coordinated collection of material, integrated analysis and reporting.
72. Castles, Stephen (2010), 'Understanding global migration: A social transformation perspective', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 36: 10: 1565-1586.
73. All IMISCOE publications are open access. For an overview see the publications tab of the IMISCOE website ([www.imiscoe.org](http://www.imiscoe.org)).
74. One of the best examples for Dutch integration policies is Scholten, Peter (2011), *Framing Immigrant Integration: Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
75. See Vermeulen, Hans & Rinus Penninx (eds) (1994), from note 30.
76. Prins, Baukje & Sawitri Saharso (2010), 'From toleration to repression: The Dutch backlash against multiculturalism', pp. 72-92, in: Steve Vertovec & Susanne Wessendorf (eds), *The Multiculturalism Backlash: European Discourses, Policies, and Practices*. London: Routledge.  
 Note that the debate in the Netherlands is predominantly at the national and rather abstract level. Local authorities and policy practitioners have partly ignored or even resisted it. The consequences for policy reorientation have focused largely on a few highly symbolic topics of national policy, such as the civic integration courses (their mandatory character and content, as they require learning not just the Dutch language but also cultural norms and values), stricter requirements for naturalisation and, of course, more restrictive admission policies (see Bruquetas, Maria, Blanca Garcés-Mascareñas, Rinus Penninx & Peter Scholten (2011), 'The case of the Netherlands', pp. 129-164, in: Giovanna Zincone, Maren Borkert & Rinus Penninx (eds), *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
77. Caponio, Tiziana & Maren Borkert (eds) (2010), *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
78. Zincone, Giovanna, Maren Borkert & Rinus Penninx (eds), *Migration Policymaking in Europe: The Dynamics of Actors and Contexts in Past and Present*. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
79. Wimmer, Andreas & Nina Glick-Schiller (2003), 'Methodological nationalism, the social sciences and the study of migration: An essay in historical epistemology', *International Migration Review* 37 (3): 570-610.
80. Bommers, Michael & Ewa Morawska (2005), *International Migration Research: Constructions, Omissions and the Promises of Interdisciplinarity*. Aldershot: Ashgate, and Thränhardt, Dietrich & Michael Bommers (eds) (2010), *National Paradigms of Migration Research*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress.
81. His critical work on the production of knowledge, engagement of researchers and the policy-research nexus is well reflected in a work he wrote after his retirement: Köbben, André J. F. (2003), *Het Gevecht met de Engel: Over Verheffende en Minder Verheffende Aspecten van het Wetenschapsbedrijf*. Amsterdam: Mets & Schilt.