



Stockholm
University

Department of Political Science

Unconditional Conditions

A study of how civic integration policies affect migration flows
in Europe

Anton Ahlén

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Supervisor: Ulf Mörkenstam

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Abstract

In the last decade, there has been a diffusion of civic integration policies in Europe, which requires immigrants by certain category of entry to accomplish integration tests for acquisition of residence. Despite a flurry of literature based on civic integration policies, attention drawn to the implication of these policies has been quite rare. This thesis examines how civic integration strategies associate with immigration, and tests if civic integration policies are connected to variations of immigration by certain category of entry. I argue in this thesis that the conditional factor in civic integration policies creates a barrier for affected migrants and their possibility to gain long term residence in the host country. Based on theories of immigrant integration that relate civic integration to the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe, the thesis emphasize a reasoning in which the push for internal inclusion seems to be associated with excluding implications. The result presented here shows that there are connections between the extension of civic integration policies and reduced family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. The connection between the variables can however not be discerned from other integration requirements. The main concern is the lack of harmonized data, which obstructs the possibility to test for causality and to draw generalizing conclusions. However, the thesis reveals noteworthy correlations between the concepts, which contribute to the research field by connecting civic integration to immigration and by showing what implications civic integration policies may result in.

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1. Introduction

Issues of migration and immigrant integration are, undoubtedly, brought forward as central topics in the current political debate. Following the progression of contemporary flows of globalization, and the accompanying deterritorialization of economic, political and social spaces (Harvey 2005:177), increased pressure is put on the territorial boundaries of the nation state. The social integration of newcomers have accordingly emerged as an important political subject in the last decades, channelled through question of how cultural and religious diversity should be addressed and on what basis immigrants should be permitted residence (Kymlicka 1995:5; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:1).

On the political arena, the problem of immigrant integration has gained more attention in recent decades. In 2010, for example, when Angela Merkel expressed in a speech that the multiculturalist approach in Germany has failed (BBC 2010), she pinpointed an on-going trend shift in European migration and integration politics. Merkel's public proclamation could partly be seen as a indication of a growing concern among European politicians to find new strategies to counteract, what is described as, a growing social segregation, increased socio-economic inequality and social exclusion – which is often associated with ethnic and cultural fragmentation in modern democracies (see for example Koopmans 2010). Merkel's statement also, perhaps above all, relates to the current discursive shift in European politics regarding immigrant integration (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). As an alternative to the traditional dichotomy between, on the one hand, the multicultural approach and, on the other, the assimilationist approach, *civic integration* has emerged as a new strategy in several European countries (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007a). Scholars disagree whether the diffusion of civic integration strategies indicates a backlash against multiculturalism in Europe. Some stresses that civic integration reflects a countermovement against the multicultural model in which identity loss, societal pluralism and socioeconomic divergence are being uplifted as a central issues in the on-going debate (Michalowski & Van Oers 2012). Others argue that the new strategies of civic integration rather should be considered as a policy layer on top of an otherwise extensive multicultural framework (see for example the discussion in Banting & Kymlicka 2013). Nonetheless, civic integration is highlighted as the new trend of immigrant

integration, which in turn can be related to some of the political influences in contemporary Europe.

Civic integration is an expression of immigrant incorporation in a recipient country, which, in addition to economic and political integration, also includes individual commitment to the knowledge, norms and traditions that characterize the host country (Carrera 2006). In contrast to assimilation, the civic integration strategies do not, necessarily, promote cultural affinity, but stress the importance of functional autonomy within the societal context (Goodman 2010). The strategies used to enhance civic integration are often based on various tests that examine language skills, country knowledge and social values. As scholars argue, there has been a rapid diffusion of civic integration policies in Europe the last decade (Bertossi 2011; Carrera 2006; Jacobs & Rea 2007). The debate on the subject has mainly been characterized by the ambition to classify and understand the scope of civic integration policies. Research that draws attention to the implications of civic integration policies has however been quite rare, and the potential impact of these policies on immigration have not been examined systematically. The implementation of civic integration has mainly been motivated based on concerns about immigrant integration. However, the orientation of this thesis concerns the implications of civic integration policies. What are the implications of civic integration policies? How does the connection to the inflow of immigrants look like?

One distinctive component in civic integration policies, which is of great interest here, is the conditional factor. In some countries, to some extent, certain migrants are obligated to pass certain tests, in combination with other conditional requirements, to gain long-term residence (Goodman 2010). The situation causes an inverse causality – where residence is the target and integration is the way to it. Consequently, civic integration policies could possibly have the effect of limiting the inflow of certain categories of immigration, thus giving rise to a discussion of whether the transition from multiculturalism to civic integration leads to a more excluding immigration politics.

1.1. Purpose

The aim of this thesis is to test if civic integration policies affect migration flows. The theoretical part discusses if civic integration policies provide states with tools to control and limit the inflow of immigration by certain category of entry. This assumption underpins the

hypothetical reasoning, where the extent of civic integration policies is expected to be correlated with a decreasing family immigration and also labour immigration over time. Hence, this thesis intends to categorize the spread of civic integration policies, and to test if civic integration policies are connected to variations of family immigration and labour immigration in selected countries over time.

1.2. Research Questions

The thesis has three research questions:

- Does the extent of civic integration policies correlates with a reduced inflow of family immigrants in European countries over time?
- Does the extent of civic integration policies correlates with a reduced inflow of labour immigrants in European countries over time?
- How could the implications of civic integration policies be understood based on theories of immigrant integration?

Based on a theorising where civic integration policies are argued to have excluding implications, this thesis intends to deduce indications that can support the aim of the first and second research questions. The first question constitutes the main question in relation to the quantitative examination and is embossed by the hypothetical assumption presented below. The question is examined statistically and intends to test whether there is a connection between civic integration policies and the inflow of family immigration. The second question emanates from the same theoretical framework and intends to examine if civic integration policies affects labour immigration. Following the quantitative testing, the result is associated to an articulated theoretical framework that relates the implications of civic integration policies to theories of immigrant integration. Hence, the third research question is addressed theoretically, and discusses how the proliferation and potential implications of civic integration policies can be understood based on theories of immigrant integration.

1.3. Hypotheses

The empirical analysis is based on a hypothetical reasoning, where civic integration policies are expected to correlate with a reduced inflow of affected immigrants. The theoretical assumption, preceding the expected relationship stated above, emphasizes that conditional integration requirements make it more difficult for some immigrants to meet the established standards, and thus resulting in a reduced inflow of affected immigrants. As argued for, this is especially relevant for family immigration.

H1: The level of civic integration policies correlates with variations of the inflow of family immigration in European countries over time.

H2: The level of civic integration policies correlates with variations of the inflow of labour immigration in European countries over time.

Since the theoretical part in this thesis is designed to deduce the hypothetical reasoning, a more thorough explanation of the assumptions and articulated hypotheses is presented in the theoretical discussion in section “2.3. *Theory*” on page 13.

2. Theoretical Framework

The hypothetical expectations and the quantitative examination are preceded and underpinned by a theoretical reasoning emanating from research on immigrant integration strategies in Europe. In short, the theoretical puzzle starts with a description of the development of immigrant integration strategies in Europe, and the notion of a discursive trend shift in European integration politics during the last decades. Based on a grounded understanding of this discussion, the study outlines a framework of civic integration, which represents the contemporary emphasis of immigrant integration in Europe. In line with previous research, this thesis analyses how the development of civic integration strategies is motivated as a political reaction to, what is argued to be, the prominent problems of immigrant integration in Europe. From this perspective, the thesis then discusses whether civic integration strategies could provide states with increased opportunities to reduce the inflow of specific categories of immigrants.

Obviously, civic integration policies are formally part of an integration strategy. However, the conditional factor and, as Goodman puts it, the ‘contractual purpose’ immanent to these policies could also, perhaps, reduce the inflow of affected immigrants (Goodman 2010:769). The political motives behind these policies are not fully transparent. One tendency, which is illustrated above, is however that European politicians have expressed their concern about the social consequences of an increasing proportion of foreign-born in the population (Carrera 2006; Koopmans 2010). The ambition to strengthen the inclusion of people within the country could thus perhaps lead to an excluding frame against certain outsiders. So, among other objectives, could it also be as some scholars have outlined (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007a): that the implementation of civic integration policies is preceded by a potential motive to reduce the inflow of specific groups of immigrants? The theoretical puzzling thus culminates in a discussion of whether civic integration policies can affect the inflow of immigrants by certain category of entry.

2.1. A Backlash Against Multiculturalism in Europe

The development of multicultural policies in Europe occurred in connection to the increased

migration flows after the Second World War, and the gradual demographic transformation in several European countries (Kymlicka 2010:35). During the 1970s and onward multicultural policies were furthermore implemented in several countries as a political response to the increased societal heterogenization (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:4). The concept of multicultural policies includes a patchwork of various policies, institutions and services designed to facilitate and support cultural diversity, rights of ethnic minorities and religious practices etc. (Kymlicka 2010:33-4). These modes of multiculturalism differ across countries, both in scope and in form, which makes a singular principle of measurement and comparative analyses rather complicated. Scholars have although identified some indicators that roughly represent the societal framework of multicultural policies, for example: public recognition as in support for ethnic minority organizations and public institutions incorporating such organizations; legal protection from discrimination; allowance for sub-religious accommodation; mother tongue teaching in schools; consideration for various practices sensitive to the values of specific ethnic and religious minorities in schools and other institutions etc. (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:3). In a more general perspective, the aggregated objectives of multicultural polices could be outlined as policies that intends to boost the embodiment and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities, and to promote pluralism and intercultural solidarity (Kymlicka 1995:194).

The opposite philosophy compared to multiculturalism is assimilation – a strategy of integration that has been rather influential in some European countries during certain periods of time (Joppke 2010:112-3). Where the multicultural approach promotes a more tolerant and inclusive society based on the presence of the diversity of cultures in the contemporary western societies, the assimilationist approach emphasize an urgency to acclimate sub-cultures into the cultural tradition of the dominant group (Phillips 2007:14). In the post-World War II era, multicultural policies gradually overpowered the assimilationist approach of forcing immigrants to desert from their culture of origin as a requirement for residence (Joppke 2010:97). However, the multiculturalism-assimilation dichotomy represents the extremes of integration politics. In reality, European countries have rather combined policies from both approaches, although leaning in one direction or the other (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:2). Nevertheless, multiculturalism has, more or less, had a hegemonic position in the immigrant integration discourse in European politics (Kymlicka 2010:32).

Multicultural models have also had the normative upper hand in the research field, and have developed into something that could be interpreted as a paradigm since the 1970s (Ibid:35). In

the last decades, however, an increasingly amount of critical voices have been raised towards the capability of multicultural models to actually generate mutually beneficial integration of immigrants, where some even question the plausibility of multiculturalism in contemporary liberal societies (Banting & Kymlicka 2013; Barry 2001; Koopmans et al 2005; Phillips 2007). A common critique against multiculturalism is, for example, presented distinctly by Brian Barry (2001). He claims that multiculturalism preserves ‘politics of difference’ – that multicultural policies focuses on illusionary antagonisms and reproduces cultural, ethnical and religious differences (Ibid:5f). He questions: “*If public policy treats people differently in response to their different culturally derived beliefs and practices, is it really treating them equally?*” (Ibid:17). Instead Barry stresses the importance of universal political rights that subjugates differences and guarantees equality irrespective of any cultural preferences (Ibid:323f).

The strong position of multiculturalism in Europe has been challenged fundamentally during the last decades. Within the political community – including the media, among scholars and in the public opinion – there has been a growing scepticism towards multiculturalist models of immigrant integration, culminating in what Vertovec and Wessendorf describes as a verbal backlash against multiculturalism (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010). This perception was, for example, clearly symbolized in the in British *Daily Mail* on 7 July 2006 where the headline proclaimed that ‘Multiculturalism is dead’, as a reflection on the first anniversary of the London bombings in 2005 (Ibid:1). A main issue among critics concerns what is argued to be the failure of immigrant integration – that multiculturalism cause ethnic separatism, social segregation and the rejection of common national values (Barry 2001:17f; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:7). This argumentation is underpinned by some studies that connect multicultural policies with poor integration outcome. Drawing upon a comparative policy analysis of integration outcomes in European countries, Ruud Koopmans stresses that multicultural models of immigrant integration are counterproductive in regard of the main objective of boosting the embodiment and participation of immigrants and ethnic minorities (Koopmans 2010). Reversely, Koopmans stresses that European countries that have combined multicultural policies with a generous welfare state are facing low levels of immigrant participation on the labour market, high levels of segregation and an overrepresentation of immigrants in the criminal statistics (Ibid:20-1). He argues that this is contingent to the lack of incentives in multicultural integration models, for example the absence of requirements of language acquisition and interethnic contacts (Ibid:9-10).

Another type of element that underlies and nurtures the growing opposition against multiculturalism is of a rather civilizational and ideological concern, and reflects an escalating and transboundary emphasis of identity, nationhood and societal cohesion (Goodman 2010; Kymlicka 2010). The intensified emphasis of societal cohesion built on shared values and defined characteristics of national identity are discernible in much of the rhetoric that refutes the multicultural idea (Joppke 2010:108-9). A rather customary interpretation of this rhetoric is to suggest that a nationalistic dialectic have started to permeate the European migration and integration politics, following a most worrying dogma that promotes western cultural supremacy (Ozkirimli 2012). This might be of some relevance and is undeniably of great worry, however the general uptake and implementation of counter-multicultural policies are in fact based on a much more moderate procedure. As argued by scholars, the formal political desertion from multicultural policies is undertaken and promoted based on liberal premises and objectives (Joppke 2010; Kymlicka 2010; Phillips 2007). Moreover, this new line of argumentation and political action represents a new trend and even, as some argues, a discursive shift in European immigrant integration politics (Ibid).

2.2. Previous Research

2.2.1. The evolvement of civic integration

Without having agreed on a single concept, scholars more or less place the new approach of immigrant integration in between multiculturalism and assimilation. Given that this discursive displacement occurs simultaneously with a strong liberal political paradigm in western democracies, some scholars describe this as a liberal integration strategy of anti-discrimination policies (see for example: Carrera 2006; Michalowski & Van Oers 2012; Mouritsen 2011; Joppke 2010:108-10), or simply, as suggested by Kymlicka, “*liberal multiculturalism*” (Kymlicka 1995). There are as well several components included in the contemporary integration strategies that are based on liberal ideology and values. What is perhaps particularly characteristic for the contemporary strategies of immigrant integration, as outlined further on, is on the one hand the emphasis of the fundamental values of a liberal democracy, and on the other the fear of a withering of the nationhood (Goodman 2010; Jacobs and Rea 2007; Joppke 2007a).

The policy implementation of this political orientation goes under the generic concept of civic integration. As mentioned, civic integration is an expression of immigrant incorporation in a recipient country, which, in addition to economic and political integration, also includes individual commitment to the knowledge, norms and traditions that characterize the host country (Goodman 2010; Carrera 2006; Joppke 2007a). According to some scholars, civic integration policies reflect a political urgency for societal coherence based on liberal values, which moreover, as argued, is preceded by growing concerns about the consequences of pluralism and multicultural policies in Europe.

The contemporary trend of civic integration have raised a lot of questions about the development of immigrant integration in Europe, and scholars somewhat disagree whether multiculturalism have lost its stance in European politics. While some stresses that civic integration reflects the political urgency for societal coherence in an assimilationist point of view, others argues that the new strategies of civic integration rather should be considered as a policy layer that obscures an otherwise quit extensive multicultural framework (see for example the discussion in Banting & Kymlicka 2013). The death of multiculturalism in Europe is however a rather simplistic notion. As stressed by several scholars, the diffusion of civic integration has not lead to the definite end of multiculturalism or other models for immigrant integration, although it fundamentally challenged the discourse of multiculturalism in European integration politics (Bertossi 2011; Dimitrova & Steunenberg 2000; Kymlicka 2010:46-7). Kymlicka and Banting have compiled a multicultural policy index that monitors the evolution of multicultural policies in 21 Western democracies (see Appendix E). The index is composed based on different indicators that symbolizes the extent of multicultural policies such as affirmative action, bilingual education, dual citizenship etc. The scores shows that European countries, to some extent, have diverged over time, and that some countries, such as Sweden and Belgium, have expanded and strengthen the multicultural polices over time. The authors thus suggests that civic integration should be understood in the light of a new spectrum, transcendent to the binary range between assimilation and multiculturalism (Banting & Kymlicka 2013). In connection to theories of historical institutionalism, Phillips follows this line of argumentation and emphasize that there has been a political shift, where the influences of civic integration have challenged, and in many cases intruded, the historical dominance of multicultural policies in Europe (Phillips 2007:5f). So, rather than to talk about the death of multiculturalism, it is more plausible, according to Phillips, to add another influential strategy to the discursive framework of immigrant integration: civic integration.

2.2.2. The diffusion of civic integration policies

The discursive shift from multiculturalism to civic integration has affected immigrant integration policies in several European countries. One interesting note, which will be of great importance in this study, is however that the policy implementation of civic integration differs among European countries. As further addressed below, some countries have introduced and developed a solid framework of civic integration policies whereas others have not. This condition is consequently crucial for the empirical analysis in this thesis.

Several studies have examined the development and scope of civic integration in different European countries (Carrera 2006; Huddleston et al 2011; Jacobs and Rea 2007 Michalowski & Van Oers 2012). In accordance with the theoretical discussion above, the foundation of and the political urge for civic integration is regularly interrelated with the indicated backlash against multiculturalism in Europe. The Netherlands is often mentioned as the forerunner in this matter. The country gradually discarded multicultural policies early on, but scholars date the Dutch reorientation from multiculturalism to civic integration to the later 90s when the Newcomer Integration Law (*WetInburgering Nieuwkomers*) was authorized (Joppke 2007b; Prins & Saharso 2010). The policy framework obligated most non-EU newcomers to participate in integration courses, consisting of Dutch language instruction, civic education, and preparation for the labour market (Joppke 2007b:249). As described by Prins and Saharso, the general opinion among Dutch politicians was that integration had failed due to 30 years of multicultural policies (Prins & Saharso 2010:79). Since the early years of the new millennium immigrant restrictions and tougher integration policies have gradually been inserted. Regarding immigrant integration, and the Newcomer Integration Law, the testing is now not only compulsory, but has also become conditional towards the prospect of long-term residence (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007b).

This factor evokes a reason to believe that the Netherlands is looking to intervene and affect the inflow of non-EU immigrants through the framework of immigrant integration policies. This tendency is also discernable in other European countries. In Switzerland the immigrant integration strategy has increasingly been pushed towards a coercive character, which obligates newcomers to fulfil specific criteria, such as vocational skills, to acquire residence (D'Amato 2010:141). The new integration approach in Switzerland follows a far-reaching political debate where primarily right-wing immigration critics have trumpeted for a

qualitatively high standard immigration in contrast to what is described as the ‘multicultural mess’ (Ibid:147).

The diffusion of civic integration policies in Europe have led researcher to discuss whether there is a policy convergence. Some scholars argue that the widespread implementation of civic integration policies in several European countries indicates a general convergence (see for example Joppke 2007b, Penninx, Spencer & Van Hear 2008). Joppke argues that the spread of compulsory integration tests for newly arrived immigrants in many European countries have taken place to such an extent that it have led to an overall harmonization (Joppke 2007b). He refers, for example, to the comparable implementation of civic integration policies in countries with different migration history, such as France and Germany, in support for the thesis that Western Europe in particular converges in regard to civic integration strategies. Other researchers argue that the spread of civic integration policies are too disaggregated and not comprehensive enough to be able to connect it to a general convergence. Goodman, for example, argues that the spread is limited to specific countries and that it rather is possible to discern tendencies of divergence (Goodman 2010; See also Jacobs & Rea 2007).

Some researchers claim that EU contributes to an overall harmonization in the field of immigrant integration. Odmalm refers to the EU Directives on long-term residence permit (2003/109/EC) and family reunification (2003/86/EC) and stresses that these directives indicate a mutual legal and policy coordination (Odmalm 2007). Huddleston and Boräng argue, however, that the directives have a limited impact on the national frameworks of immigrant integration. The directives determine what rights immigrants should acquire during the application process, but do not restrict the national rules and criteria for residence permits, etc. (Huddleston & Boräng 2009). The EU Council Directive on family reunification (2003/86/EC), for example, declares the right to reunification of family members, which thus converge states into a common legal framework. However, as Directive states: “*A family member may be refused entry or residence on grounds of public policy*” (Chapter IV Article 6). This entails that states, despite the common framework, can implement restrictions, as the requirements in civic integration policies, to affect the process of family immigration. As Joppke claims, regarding family migration and asylum there are now EU directives that are legally binding on member states, but the EU law does not cover the potential migration control channelled through immigrant integration policies (Joppke 2010:247).

This thesis follows the research that describes a disaggregated picture of the spread of civic integration policies. The data used in this study emanates from The Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX), which provides measurements that represents different kind of integration-based conditions in European countries. The statistics presented by MIPEX displays a rather fragmented picture of the implementation of different kinds of integration conditions, including requirements and rights (Huddleston et al 2011). Based on the presented hypothetical reasoning, this study singles out policies from the dataset that represent requirements of acquisition, such as language skills, that affects non-EU immigrants upon arrival and in the process of applying for long-term residence – what is termed as civic integration policies.

Another important study on the implementation of civic integration policies in Europe is Sara Wallace Goodman's *Integration Requirements for Integration's Sake? Identifying, Categorising and Comparing Civic Integration Policies* (2010). Goodman presents a systematic compilation of countries that have imposed civic integration policies for immigrants from 1997 until 2009 via the 'CIVIX-model'. The model shows that civic integration policy hardly existed in the measurement in 1997, and also that the civic integration policies targeting immigrant at admission and at the testing for residence was virtually non-existent at the same time (Ibid:761). The model then illustrates that some countries in the EU-15, at the time of the second analysis in 2009, have introduced civic integration policies that compels specific immigrants to complete and pass various integration tests to be granted entry, residence and eventually citizenship. However, many other countries have not imposed any civic integration policies and thus place no demands on immigrants to conduct civic integration tests (Ibid:763-5).

2.2.3. A research gap

There has evidently been a proliferation of civic integration policies in Europe during the last decades, but as Goodman's research and the MIPEX dataset clarifies, the spread is differentiated and limited to some European countries (Goodman 2010; Huddleston et al 2011). These findings thus give rise to an interesting stepping-stone for further research: whether the divergence can be connected to any noteworthy patterns. As presented above, there have been several writings on the topic, mostly concerned with development of civic integration and what the civic integration policies consist of in specific contexts. However, even though it has been touched upon by some scholars (see for example Joppke 2007a;

Goodman 2010), research that draws attention to the implication of these policies has been quite rare. In regard of the issues that have been discussed earlier, i.e. the concerns about the socio-economic development and the perceived worry about identity-loss in Europe, could the proliferation of this policy framework be connected to immigration?

What I have tried to sketch above is that civic integration policies, even if it is primarily a strategy to shape the process of immigrant integration, also could have the effect of limiting the inflow of specific categories of immigration. What are the implications of civic integration policies? Is it possible to discern any connection to the inflow of affected immigrants? Jacobs and Rea notes that there are few comparative analysis of civic integration polices in different countries, which make it difficult to comprehend the implications (Jacobs & Rea 2007:280-1). Freeman states that the rapid spread of civic integration policies in Europe obscure the conditions for researchers to be updated, and that almost all studies, regardless of how quick and dirty they are, will contribute to our knowledge about this development (Freeman 2004:961).

2.3. Theory

The theory presented in this section is two-sided. The first part presents the theoretical reasoning that foregoes the hypotheses that civic integration policies results in excluding politics, and thus leads to a reduced immigration by certain category of entry. The second part describes of how civic integration policies intrude the family and labour immigration processes and how it actually affects the inflow of these categories of entry.

The text is structured deductively, and is designed to discuss the political context in which the diffusion of civic integration policies can be understood both in relation to the backlash against multiculturalism, and as a tool to control and limit the inflow of specific categories of immigrants. The chapter thereafter describes how civic integration polices affects the immigration process of certain category of entry.

2.3.1. A liberal response to the backlash against multiculturalism

As highlighted in the presentation of previous research, it is possible to distinguish two different, although interrelated, sources of critique towards the multicultural model. On the one hand, concerns are being raised connected to the suggested problems of immigrant integration in Europe where multiculturalism is targeted as a source of social and socio-economic divergence (Barry 2001; Koopmans 2010). On the other, scholars have identified an

intensified emphasis among politicians to refer to liberal naturalisation as an important device of societal integration. In this argumentation, liberal values such as equality are articulated in contrast to pluralism, suggesting that these concepts are practically incompatible (Joppke 2010:53-64). Accordingly, civic integration can be seen as a reaction to the suggested problems of immigrant integration and moreover as a reflection of the growing emphasis of western liberal values in the European political framework.

The issues of immigrant integration and the intensified political criticism blaming multiculturalist policies for reproducing politics of difference, and hence working against integration (see for example Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010), can be connected to different kind of societal and political circumstances in Europe. As mentioned, both politicians and scholars are connecting multiculturalism with poor integration outcome, claiming that the absence of stricter integration requirements for immigrants erodes the incentives for newcomers to integrate in to the society (Koopmans 2010; Kymlicka 2010). Thus, multiculturalism is argued to foster separateness and at the same time stifle the debate about immigrant integration (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:7). Furthermore, some conclude this problem as a deliberative weakening of the society (Joppke 2010:140-2).

As discussed below, one prominent aspect of this weakening is argued to be of ideological or identity-based character. Another focus stresses the negative implications of multiculturalism in terms of economics. A main concern associated with pluralism is the potential weakening of the labour force, and consequently the risk of economic stagnation based on this differentiation (Koopmans 2010; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:16-7). This approach is related to the opinion that multiculturalism generates politics of difference and poor integration outcome. Also, this positioning reflects the urgency in contemporary liberal democracies to lean on a strong collective society that converge in shared values and ideological preferences – a homogeneous civic nationhood (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2010:123-4).

The suggested backlash against multiculturalism and the pursuit of civic integration are usually argued for based on assumptions that derives poor integration outcome to multicultural strategies (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:7f). In response, several politicians and some scholars stress the need for tougher integration policies, which have led to a rhetorical inclination where, as stated by Joppke, integration is framed by “*a heavy dose of economic*

instrumentalism” (Joppke 2007a:16). Another important factor, which could be related to the intensified urgency for tougher integration demands and social inclusion, concerns the demographic development and the presumptive socio-economic challenges in Europe. Having undergone the demographic transition, many European countries are facing a population deficit and an ageing population (Potter 2008:194). This leads to decreasing tax incomes in combination with higher social costs for welfare services (Vos 2009:485-6). From this perspective, immigration can be seen as an important component in responses to the population deficit and a hollowed labour force (World Migration Report 2005:152).

European countries are stressing the importance of strengthening the working population through labour migration as well (Ibid). The enthusiasm for the other (more costly) type of immigration is however less tangible (World Migration report 2008:160; Goodman 2010:768). In harsh economic notions, it is possible to distinguish between favourable and less favourable migrants; those who initially generate tax income and those who to a greater extent raise the social expenditures (World Migration report 2008:159f). According to this categorization, labour migration can be separated from the rest. This insight is also possible to discern in migration and integration policies in several European countries, where labour migration is subsidized while asylum and family migration face restrictions (Joppke 2007a:8; World Migration report 2008:160-1). This line of argumentation – that countries have a selective approach towards different categories of immigrants – will thus be crucial in the discussion of the empirical results.

Another important aspect of this matter, which also interacts with the urgency for civic integration, has to do with culture and identity. As expressed by Kymlicka regarding western liberal democracies: “*The freedom which liberals demand for individuals is not primarily the freedom to go beyond ones language and history, but rather the freedom to move around within ones societal culture*” (Kymlicka 1995:90). Scholars indicate that the contemporary flows of globalization and the heterogenization of cultural preferences in modern Europe have been followed by a growing concern of protecting national identities and the tradition of the nationhood (Carrera 2006:2f; Kymlicka 2005:90f; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:12-4). The common and current response to multiculturalism is thus to enforce liberal naturalisation and to counteract pluralism (Carrera 2006:13; Goodman 2010:746f). In connection to the ambivalence of modern liberalism, Brubaker claims that western democracies on the one hand

stresses for internal inclusivity, but also, on the other, tend to push for external exclusivity (Brubaker 1992:30f).

Civic integration policies require immigrants to become perceptive to the principles and traditions of the host country in order to gain functional autonomy within the new context, but also in order to benefit the society (Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007a). According to Joppke, this generates an imperative of naturalisation, accompanied with an implied message that acquiring these policies are conditional for residence (Joppke 2010:54f). This reflects what scholars discuss as the contemporary politics of immigration that push borders toward closure and control, and what Joppke suggest is to be the repressiveness of modern liberalism (Joppke 2007a:14f).

Scholars have identified these two lines of critique as salient elements of the immigrant integration political discussion in Europe. Civic integration policies are often argued for based on these premises – that multiculturalism foster separateness and that more comprehensive inclusion policies are necessary to counteract these perceived problems. The deductive extension from this theorizing is that the urgency to naturalise immigrants is channelled in an urgency to reduce the inflow of immigrants that do not meet the established requirements. Hence, the push for internal inclusion also leads to external exclusion, which gives reason to believe that it ends up in a reduced immigration by a certain category of entry. Moreover, this trend shift in European politics reflects a backlash against multiculturalism, which has generated a divergence between countries that have implemented civic integration strategies and countries that have not. This theorizing forms the analytical frame of this study and the suggested implications of civic integration policies will be related to this frame. How can civic integration policies affect the inflow of migrants, i.e. how do the policies interfere with the immigration process?

2.3.2. Civic integration policies and the effect on immigration

As described earlier, civic integration is an expression of immigrant incorporation in a recipient country, which, in addition to economic and political integration, also includes individual commitment to the knowledge, norms and traditions that characterize the host country (Carrera 2006). In contrast to assimilation, the civic integration strategies do not, necessarily, promote cultural affinity, but stress the importance of functional autonomy within the societal context (Carrera 2006; Goodman 2010; Joppke 2007a). The strategies used to

enhance civic integration are conducted through tests that examine language skills, country knowledge and social values. The character and scope of civic integration policies differs between countries. However, one prominent factor that unites some countries is the conditionality integrated into some of these requirements. In some countries, to some extent, certain migrants are obligated to, for example, pass specific tests to gain long-term residence (Goodman 2010; Jacobs & Rea 2007).

Civic integration policies represent compulsory tests that must be completed by some immigrants at entry and in the process of applying for long-term residence. In addition to the testing, the variable of civic integration policies also includes other circumstances attached to the testing, for example flexibility of requirements and the cost for the tests. In the immigration process there are other types of requirements that countries requires the immigrant to fulfil. As clarified below, these requirements are separated from the variable of civic integration policies and form a variable on their own. This separation is due to the stated purpose of trying to determine the effect of civic integration policies on the inflow of immigrants.

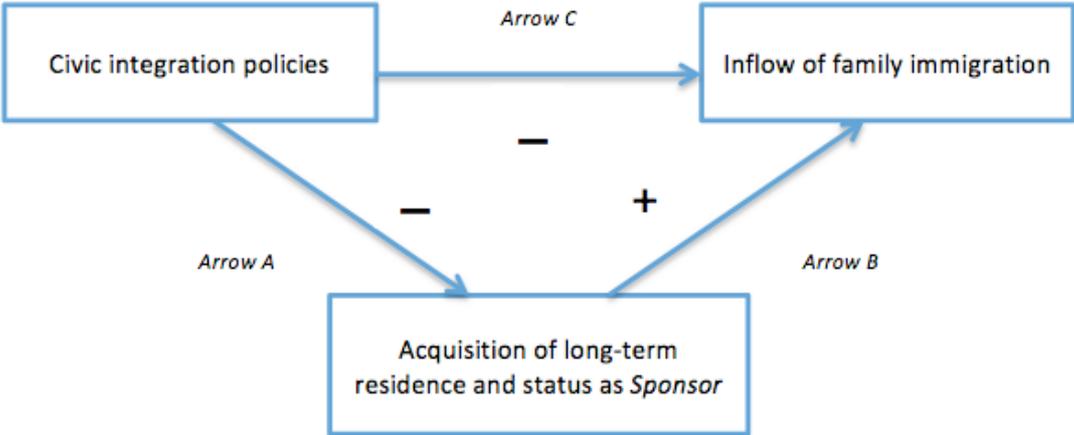
At first glance, it seems paradoxical that integration policies could affect immigration, as migration occurs earlier than integration in an ordinary immigration process. However, as some components of civic integration policies are conditional relative to entry and for continued residence, they may constitute an aggravating factor for some immigrants to settle on a long-term basis in the recipient country. These conditions are especially relevant in the case of family immigration. Family immigration includes migrants who intend to immigrate to a country based on the premise that a relative (called a sponsor) has a residence permit or citizenship in the country in which the migrant wants to come to (World migration report 2008:151f).

The most common type of family immigration is family reunification, which is the term for the process when family members aim to reunite with a sponsor who settled in a host country. The second category of family immigration is family formation, which refer to the process when a citizen of a country wants to bring his or her partner from another non-European country (Ibid). In the family unification process, civic integration policies intervene as a screen in several stages. First, it affects the initial stage where immigrants are applying for residence, and thus affects the process where an immigrant is looking to qualify as a sponsor. Second, civic integration policies also affects immigrants who applies for residence on the

basis of being related to a person who has a residence permit or citizenship in the country (Goodman 2010). In addition to this, civic integration policies have, in some countries, also been implemented in a type of pre-entry testing. In these cases, immigrants applying for family reunification are required to fulfil specific criteria, such as language skills etc. to precede their application in the recipient country (Huddleston et al 2011). So, in several different phases civic integration policies affects the family immigration process when it comes to family reunification, which, as expected here, significantly could obstruct their chances to be granted residence.

The theoretical basis, which underlines the hypothetical assumptions that civic integration policies affects family migration negatively, is illustrated below in in figure 2.1. The causal mechanism underpinning the expected relationship between the variables are the conditional testing included in the civic integration policies, which affects immigrants in different stages in the family reunification process. *Arrow A* represents the conditional testing required for long-term residence, which consequently affects the opportunity to qualify as a sponsor for family unification. *Arrow B* represents the relationship in which the greater number of immigrants who are granted long-term residence permit, which also generate sponsor status, the higher the level of family migration. *Arrow C* represents the conditional testing directed to family members and relatives for entry and long-term residence.

Figure 2.1. Connection between civic integration policies and family immigration



The figure illustrates the presumed relationship between civic integration policies and family immigration. Arrow C suggests that civic integration policies make it more difficult for relatives to meet the compulsory requirements for long-term residence permit. The connection between arrow A and B should be interpreted accordingly: that civic integration policies have

a negative effect on immigrants' potential to gain long-term residence, which affects the number of immigrants granted sponsor status. Since arrow A is expected to be negative, the indirect effect of $A*B$ is also negative.

In comparison to other categories of immigrants, i.e. other reason for migration, family migration is especially exposed to civic integration policies, as the testing can occur at different stages – to gain sponsor status, for family reunification and in the cases where civic integration policies are imposed for family immigrants before entry. When it comes to other categories there are also specific circumstances that contribute to this assumption. First, asylum seekers and EU-citizens are not affected by civic integration policies, but subjected to other legal frameworks (Goodman 2010:770). Second, labour immigrants are generally affected by civic integration policies where these are implemented. However, for this fragmented group of migrants the circumstances are in some cases sanctioned.

In contrast to family migrants, labour migrants are expected to have more favourable labour market outcomes and are generally seen as a more contributing category of immigration (International Migration Outlook 2013:132). In the light of the demographic situation in Europe, and the concerns about a hollowed labour force, this aspect becomes very clear (Bailey & Boyle 2004:233f). This applies particularly to those classified as "*qualified immigrant workers*", which is ascribed to some immigrants considered to acquire some special skills and thus are perceived as an asset to the workforce. In these cases civic integration tests are usually dispensed, as the immigrant is considered to qualify on merits. During the Sarkozy presidency, for example, France implemented an immigration subsidy for proactive skilled migrants, 'immigration choisie', which encouraged qualified immigrant workers to settle in France (Bennhold 2006). When comparing family and labour immigration, it should also be noted that a labour migrant, who have been working in the host country for some time, might benefit from a period of adjustment when undergoing civic integration tests for continued residence. In contrast, a family immigrant could be assumed to be less equipped to meet the civic integration requirements such as language tests, as family immigrants are exposed to initial testing without having settled in the host country (World Migration Report 2008:153f). As discussed in the World Migration Report 2008, family immigration is also a form of migration where the immigrant is dependent on another person living in the host country, which means that the group of family immigrants to a larger extent consists of persons who may be expected to have greater difficulty in meeting the requirements. Hence, although gradually changing in character, family migrants have

traditionally consisted of female dependants joining the primary migrant, the male breadwinner. What is implied here is that the category of family immigrants to a larger extent comprises people with lower levels of education and less work experience, which is to their disadvantage when facing various civic integration requirements. These aspects also contribute to the assumption that the effect of civic integration policies on family immigration is expected to be higher.

However, as the second hypothesis declares, this thesis presumes a connection between the extent of civic integration policies and variations in labour immigration as well. The assumption is based on that civic integration policies are directed to immigrants when applying for long-term residence, which affects immigrants who want to upgrade their work permit to a residence permit. Despite the arguments presented above, labour immigration is often seen as a temporary type of migration, which mutually benefits the state and the migrant for a short period (World Migration Report 2013:93f). The acquisition of long-term residence is usually surrounded by more reservations, particularly in the contexts where civic integration policies and other conditional requirements are implemented. Thus, the extent of civic integration policies could be expected to affect labour immigrants granted long-term residence permit.

2.3.3. Theoretical assumption

The theoretical discussion have outlined various circumstances that frame the diffusion of civic integration as a response to the heterogenization of cultural references in western democracies, and perhaps as a counteraction to the dilution of a unified national identity – a backlash against multiculturalism. On the one hand, civic integration policies could be seen as a political action that aims to emancipate immigrants and to provide them with tools for better adjustment to the host country. On the other, it can likewise be understood as a strategy to limit and control the inflow and settlement of migrants. This text have so far tried to illuminate and underline several indications that theoretically links the diffusion of civic integration strategies to contemporary concerns regarding immigration and immigrant integration. Factors such as the presumptive demographic challenges; the political urgency for social cohesion; and the conditionality immanent to civic integration policies etc. illustrates, on the one hand, the backlash against multiculturalism in European politics, and reflects, on the other, the emphasis to incuse and control the inflow of immigrants.

Bringing the arguments together, there are reasons to believe that civic integration policies make it harder for certain migrants to meet the required standards, and thus render in a reduced inflow of affected immigrants. Therefore, it is interesting to test if civic integration policies correlates with variations of the inflow of affected migrants over time and to discuss if civic integration policies leads to reduced immigration by certain category of entry. This line of argumentation underpins the presented hypothetical assumptions, which constitute the base for the empirical analysis below. The empirical analysis will then be related to the outlined theoretical framework, and culminate in a discussion of how the diffusion of civic integration reflects a backlash against multiculturalism and how the implications of civic integration policies can be understood based on theories of immigrant integration.

3. Research Design

The following chapter begins with a discussion of the research strategy applied in this study. This is followed by a presentation of the research method, which describes the techniques and procedures used to analyse the data. Then there is a discussion of the variables followed by a presentation of the data sources and operationalization. Finally, the limitations of the thesis are outlined.

3.1. Research Strategy

The models used in this study are based on theoretically generated hypotheses and intends to produce objective results from collected empirical data. Thus, this study has a deductive research strategy in which stated theoretical assumptions are tested on the empirical material in order to find an association between stated concepts. These characteristics, more or less, correspond with the epistemological principles of positivism. The quantitative format of the testing relates to the ontological position of objectivism, which proposes that it is possible to categorize social phenomenon into somewhat tangible objects (Bryman & Bell 2011). This methodological framework could be seen as necessary in order to identify and measure the concept of civic integration policies and to quantitatively test the formulated hypotheses. However, this paper adopts a cautious approach towards the generated result. Taking into account the complexity of migration flows – the multitude of potential factors influencing changes in migration flows and the elusive implications of public policy – the statistical connection between the concepts must be fairly problematized. From this perspective, the attribute of this paper relates to the cautious realist ontology, which highlight the significance of interpretation in the process of observing social phenomenon, and that the reality therefore cannot be observed directly or accurately (Blaikie 2009:93). Following Karl Popper and his contribution to methodology, this ontological framework links to the epistemology of conventionalism, which states that theories represents convenient tools created by scientists for dealing with observed phenomenon (Ibid:95-6).

The quantitative logic used to generate new knowledge has been criticized for not being adequate for issues of social science. One main criticism advocates that quantitative methods

neglect the cultural and social context in which the measured variables operates (Grix 2010:120). Hence, it is important in a quantitative analysis to be aware of the risks of operationalizing social phenomenon, and to consistently reflect upon the validity and reliability of the corresponding models (Blaikie 2009:213). Taken into account these arguments, this thesis has however applied the strategy of statistically testing for correlation, although consistently reflecting upon the complexity of connecting social phenomenon in quantitative measures.

3.2. Research Method

The theoretical presentation in the previous chapter was designed to deduce indications that could support the aim of connecting and associating the constructed variables, as outlined in the first and second research questions. Based on the findings in the theoretical discussion, I would like to claim that there is substantial support for the assumptions formulated in the presented hypothetical reasoning. The quantitative part of the thesis is designed to answer the research questions of whether the extent of civic integration policies correlate with a reduced inflow of family immigrants and labour immigrants in the European countries over time. As highlighted earlier, the primary expectation is that family immigration to a larger extent is affected by civic integration policies.

The procedure for selecting, collecting, organizing and analysing data is conducted with a quantitative research design. The hypothetical-deductive logic imply that the study is driven by a theory testing strategy, which is performed by a statistical method using bivariate correlation and regression analyses. The study is on a cross-country level and the statistical analysis will determine to what extent civic integration policies correlate with variations in the inflow of family immigrants and labour immigrants. In statistical terms, the correlation coefficient (R-value) measures the extent to which two variables are linearly related (Miles & Shevlin 2001:20). The bivariate regression analysis will help elucidate the connection between the variables by generating calculations of how the variables co-vary. The coefficient of determination (R^2 -value) measures the proportion of variance explained by the independent variable and the standardized coefficient (b-coefficient) indicates how much change in the dependent variable generates by one step on the independent variable (Ibid:32). The bivariate regression analyses will complement the correlation values and are be used to further illustrate how the variables are connected.

The data used in this paper are processed in a cross-sectional statistical model and consists of secondary data. However, the purpose is to examine the change in the dependent variable over time. For this reason, a time-series analysis would in fact be a more suitable statistical method. However, due to the lack of harmonized data on both civic integration policies and immigration by certain category of entry, the testing is limited to cross-sectional models. Thus, the technical solution performed here is to calculate the percentage change of the dependent variables between two specific years, and to operationalize the independent variables in a way that fits the time frame (a more detailed description of the operationalization is presented under “3.2.3. Operationalization” on page 29).

The scale of the analytical units (cross-country level) and the aim of the articulated hypotheses imply that the thesis is designed in a way that aims to find connections that can be generalized. However, because of the lack of data, the group of included countries in the analysis is rather small. Also, as problematized further down in section 3.7, the thesis is delimited to European countries. These circumstances will thus complicate the aim of generalizing the result, even in a European context.

The initial approach in this thesis was to perform multivariate regression analyses. The multivariate regression take into account the correlations between the independent variables, and assessing the effect of each independent variable on the dependent variable, when the other variables have been removed (Miles & Shevlin 2001:31). In other words, the multivariate regression analysis serves the purpose of controlling for other factors that might covariate or interfere with the expected connection between the main variables. Hence, the initial ambition was to generate statistical calculation of the association between the variables, which in combination with the theoretical framework would be used to discuss whether there is support for the intention of finding a causal relationship between the main variables.

However, because of the insufficient availability and harmonization of data, the statistical testing for a causal relationship between the variables would in this case be inadequate. The lack of data in this study comprises two crucial aspects and concerns all the main variables. First, the OECD-data that measures immigration by category of entry in the last decade is limited to thirteen European countries. In a regression analysis, a sample of thirteen units is rather problematic. Second, the MIPEX-data that provides statistics of extent of integration policies (including civic integration policies) is limited to two years of measurement. This

means that there are no variations in the independent variables, which obstruct the possibility to sufficiently test if the changes in the dependent variable (inflow of immigrants by category of entry) can be explained by the variations of civic integration policies. Thus, these two circumstances means that regression analysis of the constructed concepts will lack in significance, and even if the result of the testing would indicate a strong association, the explanatory calculation in the models would not be adequate enough.

These aggravating factors have led me to reformulate the ambition of the quantitative analysis, and to build the statistical examination on correlation models. This is not to say that the testing is deficient or incomplete. The use of correlation measures in social science is a suitable method to examine how concepts relate to each other (Grix 2010:118-9). The results produced by the testing will indicate how the variables co-vary, and in conjunction with the theoretical arguments generate a platform for the discussion of how the extent of civic integration policies associates with immigration flows.

Another problem is the comprehensiveness of this study. This mainly concerns the number of variables incorporated in the testing and the possibility to control for other factors that might influence the expected relationship between civic integration policies and the inflow of affected immigrants. Concerning this thesis, the scope of the statistical analysis could perhaps be enlarged. Due to the complexity of social phenomenon, any constructed thesis that is looking to establish an association between articulated concepts must be cautious relatively to the multitude of interfering factors in social contexts (Grix 2010:118-9). However, as discussed in the section 3.3 below, some factors that hypothetically could interfere with the presented hypotheses can be dismissed theoretically.

Drawing upon these problems, it is necessary to discuss whether other research methods would be more suitable for the purpose of examine what effects civic integration policies have on the inflow of affected immigrants. The most reasonable alternative would perhaps be a comparative method with fewer units. In such a study it would be possible to conduct an analysis more sensitive to particular contexts. This would thus enable a profound analysis of country-specific factors, such as historical, cultural and legal matters, that potentially could frame issues of immigration and immigrant integration. However, the research design used in this thesis has several advantages in relation to the articulated purpose. The search for a connection between civic integration policies and the inflow of affected immigrants entails

that the data advantageously can be tested quantitatively. This strive is moreover motivated by the presumption that this connection has not been theorized sufficiently or tested in any systematic way by researchers. Drawing upon these premises, a quantitative statistical research method can therefore be argued to be the more favourably strategy to address this issue.

3.2.1. Variables – connection and discussion

This section of the chapter aims to outline the character of the variables used in the analysis and to discuss some related factors that, on the one hand are included in the testing, and on the other can be dismissed theoretically based on the specific connection set out in this thesis.

This thesis treats *civic integration policies* as the primary independent variable and the *change in family immigration between 2004 and 2011* as the primary dependent variable. Also, civic integration policies are expected to affect labour immigration, hence the *change in labour immigration between 2004 and 2011* is used as a dependent variable. Civic integration policies are operationalized into two different variables dependent on the category of immigration the policies are associated with. This has to do with the different implementation of civic integration policies incident to the category of entry, and in particular with the fact that civic integration policies, in some countries, are obligatory for family immigrants even before entry in the recipient country (Huddleston et al 2011).

In countries where civic integration policies have been implemented, it affects immigrants in three phases: at entry, when applying for long-term residence permit and eventually citizenship (Goodman 2010). When the OECD estimates the inflow of immigrants in a country, they include immigrants granted a long-term residence permit (Lemaitre et al 2006). For this reason, the independent variables of civic integration policies consist of civic test, and accompanying requirements, targeting immigrants at entry and for long-term residence permit. The operationalization is thus necessary in order to ensure that the content of the independent variables precedes the content of the dependent variables – in order to align with the criteria of cause and effect in the immigration process. Obviously, policies targeting immigrants when applying for citizenship do not have any effect on the process of residence permit at an earlier stage. Note that the term long-term residence permit does not fully correspond to the meaning of permanent residence in this study. The time aspect is also very relevant when it comes to the assumed correlation between the variables. As previously mentioned, research shows that the spread of civic integration policies began during the late

90s, and that the diffusion in the last decade is limited to specific countries (Huddleston et al 2011; Goodman 2010). It is thus possible to test whether there is a connection between the presence of civic integration policies and changes in the inflow of certain categories of immigrants. A potential correlation between the variables would thus provide empirical support for the hypotheses that civic integration policies are associated with variations of the inflow of affected immigrants.

The spread of civic integration policies in relation to changes in family and labour immigration is the main starting point of this study. However, it is also interesting to study how the spread of civic integration policies relate to the actual inflow of the two groups. Could we expect a correlation between civic integration policies and the inflow of family and labour migrants per capita? From a theoretical perspective, the correlation is not expected to be as strong as between civic integration policies and the change in inflow. This assumption is based on historical circumstances in which many countries have a tradition of a large inflow of particular categories of immigrants (Koopmans et al 2005). Both France and the UK, for example, have a tradition of family immigration from former colonies. As pointed out by Hansen, both countries also attract large immigration groups because of the linguistic circumstances (Hansen 2002). These historical aspects can be expected to influence the overall flow of certain categories of immigrants. However, it is possible to imagine that the implementation of civic integration policies have initiated a change. Hence, the focus in this study is to discuss whether civic integration policies can be connected to changes of primarily family immigration, but also labour immigration.

To further test the connection, it is necessary to control for other factors that may affect migration flows. Change in family immigration, for example, might emanate from several different sources. As discussed above, general conventions such as the EU Directive on the right of family reunification (2003/86/EC) require states to allow family reunification, which more or less obstruct states to place restrictions on this type of immigration. But, as mentioned before, family members may be refused entry by the prevailing public policy. The fragment entails that states, despite the common framework, can implement restrictions, as the requirements in civic integration policies, to affect the process of family immigration. This is an important aspect for the hypothetical reasoning in this study. The conventions impede states to impose restrictions on family migration, or placing quotas etc., but they do not enclose the potential of migration control through immigrant integration policies (Joppke 2007b:247).

What might be of most relevance, however, is that family immigration often is framed by a series of rules and regulations, which both place demands on the sponsor, and also on the family members who seek admission as relatives. These rules differ between European countries and may involve how long an immigrant needs to have resided in a country in order to qualify as a sponsor and different requirements for income, housing, etc. (Huddleston et al 2011). If a country, for example, has introduced stricter obligations the sponsor needs to fulfil, such as income and housing requirements, it can be expected to affect the inflow of family migration to the same extent as civic integration policies. Thus, it is important to include and control for the *policies for family reunification* in contrast to the stated hypothesis. Moreover, there are several criteria that immigrants must meet to qualify for long-term residence permit. If a labour immigrant, for example, is applying for a renewal of the residence permit, when the time-bound work permit has expired, there are similar housing and income requirements that the immigrant must fulfil (Huddleston et al 2011). *Policies for long-term residence permit* also vary between European countries, and are contrasted against civic integration policies in the quantitative testing.

This design to separate civic integration policies from other integration requirements is motivated by two reasons. First, the implementation of civic integration policies in some European countries has taken place in a recent time period and contributes to, what could be considered, as a new trend of immigrant integration in Europe. Second, the theoretical input suggesting that the conditional testing included in civic integration policies could lead to reduced immigration by certain category of entry has not been tested. These circumstances have led me to discern civic integration policies and to construct separate variables.

Furthermore, the Multiculturalism Policy Index compiled by Kymlicka and Banting is included in the testing (Multiculturalism Policy Index). The index provides an interesting reference point to the spread of civic integration policies and other integration requirements, and is reflected upon in both the empirical testing and in the discussion.

It would have been advantageous to complement the testing performed here with factors such as different national migration laws, political influences, welfare state regimes and other temporary or far-reaching circumstances that might influence the migration flows of specific interest. However, due to the design of this thesis, and the dependency of operationalized variables, the testing is restricted to the presented quantifiable variables.

3.2.2. Data sources

The variables of civic integration policies are constructed through an aggregation of measurements that represents different kind of civic tests and accompanying requirements implemented in the countries included in this study. The variables of policies for family reunification and policies for long-term residence are similarly constructed through an aggregation of different kind of requirements directed to particular stages in the immigration process. Data that measures types of integration requirements is collected from the Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). MIPEX provides a 27-country study that systematically codes different kinds of requirements at the various entrance gates. The MIPEX data are operationalized measurements based on indicators from different policies in the countries.

The variable of Multiculturalism is collected from the Multiculturalism Policy Index (Multicultural Policy Index). The index is constructed by Banting and Kymlicka and measures the levels of multicultural policies in different countries (see for example Banting & Kymlicka 2013). The data on migration flows are collected from OECD and the publications International Migration Outlook (2006; 2008; 2013). The data presents the actual number of immigrants permitted residence. The publications also provide statistics of migration flows by category of entry, which enables a separation between family and labour immigration.

3.2.3. Operationalization

As stated above, a prominent problem with the data used in this thesis is the lack of availability and harmonization. The yearly OECD-data on migration flows is only available in a non-systematic form. Also, the availability of data that measures the inflow of immigrants by category of entry is limited to specific countries, which have led to an unfavourable reduction of countries in the analysis. Despite these problems, the available data is comprehensive enough to put through a calculation of changes in the inflow of immigrants by category of entry, and to discern the diffusion of civic integration policies comparatively to the time-perspective of interest here. The variables of family immigration and labour immigration are represented by the percentage of change between 2004 and 2011. Table 3.1 summarizes the dependent variables and the data sources.

Table 3.1. Dependent Variables

| <i>Variable</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>Source</i> | <i>Scale</i> | <i>Range</i> |
|---|----------|--|--------------|--------------|
| Inflow of family immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | 13 | International Migration Outlook (OECD) | Interval | % |
| Inflow of labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | 13 | International Migration Outlook (OECD) | Interval | % |
| Family immigration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | 13 | International Migration Outlook (OECD) | Ratio | 1-1000 |
| Labour immigration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | 13 | International Migration Outlook (OECD) | Ratio | 1-1000 |

The independent variables of integration policies are composed based on aggregations of indicators from the two MIPEX databases from 2007 and 2010. This solution is not ideal but inevitable due to the available data. MIPEX distinguish between civic integration policies relative to when they affect different categories of immigrants at different stages of the process. This enables an operationalization of civic integration policies based on the categories of family immigration and long-term residence. The database also estimates other requirements affecting immigrants at different stages, which have been collected to construct the control variables of policies for family reunification and long-term residence. This thesis utilizes the data constructed by MIPEX and operationalizes civic integration policies and other requirements to variables on an interval scale level ranging between 0-100. Opposite to MIPEX, I have reversed the grading, meaning that low results indicate few or generous policies and high results indicate extensive or strict policies.

The questions asked by MIPEX to the national policy frameworks have been converted into three categories (0, 50 or 100), which correspond to the national policies concerning different conditions. The variables of civic integration policies include, for example, language test. In the MIPEX data collection the question of “*Form of language requirement for sponsor and/or family member after arrival on territory*” is decoded into three categories based on how the answer matches the policies in each country: 0=“*No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information*”; 50=“*Requirement to take a language course*”; 100=“*Requirement includes conditional language test/assessment*” (MIPEX). The values of the independent variables of integration policies shall therefore be interpreted accordingly: the higher the score, the more rigorous requirements for immigrants to acquire access and long-term residence permit. The Multiculturalism policy index is based on eight indicators that evaluate

the extent to which a country has met or exceeded the outlined standard (Multiculturalism Policy Index). The indicators include aspects such as public affirmation of multiculturalism; the inclusion of ethnic representation; and the allowance of dual citizenship etc., and the answers are coded in a three-level scale. The Table 3.2 summarizes the independent variables and the data sources (*the complete content of the independent variables are presented in the appendices*).

Table 3.2. Independent variables

| <i>Variable</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>Source</i> | <i>Scale</i> | <i>Range</i> |
|--|----------|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| Civic integration policies for family immigration | 13 | MIPEX | Ratio | 0-100 |
| Civic integration policies for long-term residence | 13 | MIPEX | Ratio | 0-100 |
| Policies for family reunification | 13 | MIPEX | Ratio | 0-100 |
| Policies for long-term residence | 13 | MIPEX | Ratio | 0-100 |
| Multiculturalism Policy Index | 13 | Banting & Kymlicka (2013) | Ratio | 0-10 |

3.2.4. Reliability and validity

The included material stands on fairly solid ground in terms of reliability. The operationalization of the independent variables, where the indications are coded in a three-scale ratio, can be problematized based on reliability. However, the operationalization is based on empirics provided by MIPEX and the Multiculturalism Policy Index, which thus provide reliability to the measures. Also, statistical analyses require relatively simple measures due to the necessity of operational data (Esaiasson et al 2012:96-7). The dependent variables of migration flows can be subjected to scrutiny under the pretext of the quality and the scope of the metadata. Concerning these variables, this study however leans on the previous scientific procedure conducted by the OECD.

Regarding validity standards there are however some aspects that needs to be problematized. This mainly concerns the argued connection between civic integration policies and the inflow of affected immigrants. What policies are implemented before the acquisition of residence

permit? A major challenge has been to connect integration policies with immigration in a way in which integration policies precedes, and thus can affect, immigration of certain categories. For this reason, the material has been carefully scrutinized in order to match the variables according to cause and effect.

Another concern relates to the number of included variables. Validity refers to the relevance of the measured concepts in relation to the context (Adcock & Collier 2001). Since issues of migration flows are complex and potentially influenced by various factors, the connection brought forward in this thesis needs to be considered with caution. A conceivable research response would be to include multiple variables in the testing to control for the assumed connection. Regarding this thesis, however, such a technique would be somewhat imperfect due to the theoretical inadequacy to deepen the analysis in any wide-ranging way. Still, this problem means that the associations are rather obscure, which is taken in to account in the analysis.

3.2.5. Delimitations

In the case of the sample, the available data is restricted to countries in the OECD. This thesis furthermore narrows it down to European countries. The reason for this is partly conditional to the extension of the MIPEX data, but also due to the global variance of migration flows. To be able to derive immigration to policy mechanisms, one could claim that the countries need to be comparatively similar in terms of localization, geopolitics and political conditions etc. A limitation of this kind is therefore strategic and based on the purpose of trying to eliminate other potential interacting factors. For example, in the case of Canada, which is often compared to European countries in matters of migration and immigrant integration, the history of the country differ in such a way that comparison of the kind that is presented here becomes mismatched. As Kymlicka puts it, Canada is a settler society, which means that the migration history of the country is fundamentally different from European countries (Kymlicka 2007:65). Similarly as in countries such as the US, Australia and New Zealand, this characterize the conditions and politics regarding migration and immigrant integration, which makes them sort of incompatible to compare with European countries based on the theoretical framework outlined in this thesis. The sample of European countries is moreover limited due to the available data on immigration by category of entry.

4. Analysis

4.1. Empirical Analysis

The articulated hypothesis in this study presumes a systematic connection between civic integration policies and the inflow of family immigrants and labour immigrants over time, where the proliferation of civic integration policies are expected to have a negative effect on the main dependent variables. The connections between civic integration policies and immigration by certain category of entry are contrasted by a multiple bivariate correlation analysis including the control variables of policies for family reunification and policies for long-term residence. These variables are potentially associated with the inflow of affected immigrants and are likewise assumed to generate a negative effect on the main dependent variables. The Multiculturalism Policy Index is furthermore included as independent variable and family and labour immigration per capita as dependent variables. The Multiculturalism Policy Index is related to the policy-based variables in order to scrutinize how integration requirements associate with variations of multiculturalism in selected countries. The variables of total immigration by category of entry per capita are included to contrast the dependent variables that measures change in immigration. The testing also includes bivariate regression analysis. The bivariate regression analyses complements the correlation values, and are used to further illustrate how the variables are connected.

4.1.1. Descriptive statistics

The countries, variables and variable values included in the testing are presented below in table 4.1.

Table 4.1. Matrix including units, variables and variable values

| | Civic integration policies for family immigration | Civic integration policies for long-term residence | Policies for family reunification | Policies for long-term residence | Multiculturalism policy index | Inflow of family migration 2004-2011 (% change) | Inflow of labour migration 2004-2011 (% change) | Family migration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | Labour migration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 |
|-----|---|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---|---|--|--|
| AUT | 50 | 50 | 75 | 55 | 1.5 | - 56% | -90% | 1,4 | 0,1 |
| BEL | 0 | 0 | 34 | 37 | 5.5 | +35% | +290% | 2,3 | 0,8 |
| DEN | 68 | 68 | 69 | 33 | 0 | -55% | -12% | 0,5 | 1,1 |
| FIN | 0 | 0 | 22 | 70 | 6 | +158% | +310% | 1,1 | 1,4 |
| FRA | 28 | 18 | 72 | 80 | 2 | -25% | +15% | 1,3 | 0,4 |
| GER | 68 | 68 | 40 | 83 | 2.5 | -39% | -32% | 0,7 | 0,3 |
| ITA | 0 | 57 | 53 | 45 | 1 | +9% | +108% | 1,6 | 1,7 |
| NTH | 61 | 61 | 40 | 45 | 2 | -26% | -28% | 1,2 | 0,6 |
| NOR | 0 | 0 | 50 | 62 | 3.5 | -26% | +169% | 2,0 | 0,7 |
| POR | 0 | 39 | 13 | 50 | 3.5 | +204% | +1% | 1,3 | 0,7 |
| SWE | 0 | 0 | 31 | 45 | 7 | +15% | +33% | 2,9 | 0,5 |
| SWI | 100 | 100 | 75 | 87 | 1 | -54% | -91% | 2,2 | 0,3 |
| UK | 0 | 32 | 56 | 100 | 5.5 | +9% | +18% | 1,7 | 1,8 |

Sources: MIPEX; Multiculturalism Policy Index; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

Since the countries are relatively few in number, it is possible to distinguish some tendencies only by looking at the matrix. Concerning civic integration policies, the scores illustrates that the spread is delimited to some countries, which leads to a division between two cluster. In line with the theoretical discussion, there is a divergence between countries that have implemented civic integration policies, i.e. Austria; Denmark; France; Germany; the Netherlands; and Switzerland, and countries that have not, i.e. Belgium; Finland; Italy; Norway; Portugal; Sweden; and the United Kingdom. Regarding other integration requirements the spread is more evenly distributed. This difference is also visible between the dependent variables of migration flows, where the percentage changes of inflow between 2004 and 2011, on the one hand, differ considerably and the distribution of total inflow per capita 2011, on the other, is more cohesive. As reflected upon further on in this chapter, the discrepancy between values in some variables affects the coefficients of the measured connections.

A descriptive summary of the variables is presented below. The independent variables are presented in table 4.2 and the dependent variables in table 4.3.

Table 4.2. Descriptive statistics of the independent variables

| <i>Variable</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> | <i>Min</i> | <i>Max</i> |
|--|----------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| Civic integration policies for family immigration | 13 | 30.7 | 34.8 | 0 | 100 |
| Civic integration policies for long-term residence | 13 | 39.8 | 31 | 0 | 100 |
| Policies for family reunification | 13 | 48.4 | 20.5 | 13 | 75 |
| Policies for long-term residence | 13 | 60.9 | 21.2 | 33 | 100 |
| Multiculturalism Policy Index | 13 | 3.1 | 2.2 | 0 | 7 |

Sources: MIPEX; Multiculturalism Policy Index

Table 4.3. Descriptive statistics of the dependent variables

| <i>Variable</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>Mean</i> | <i>Std. Dev</i> | <i>Min</i> | <i>Max</i> |
|--|----------|-------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| Family immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | 13 | 10.3 | 81.2 | -56 | 204 |
| Labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | 13 | 49.9 | 127.8 | -92 | 310 |
| Family immigration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | 13 | 1.5 | .6 | .55 | 2.6 |
| Labour immigration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | 13 | .8 | .5 | .12 | 1.8 |

Source: International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

The values of standard deviation (Std.Dev) in the tables support the above observation regarding the distribution of variable values. The standard deviation shows the amount of dispersion from the mean, which reveals that for some variables, especially the inflow of labour immigration between 2004 and 2011, the data points are spread out over a large range

of values. In connection to this, it is noteworthy that changes of the inflow differ dramatically between some countries, particularly in the case of labour immigration between Finland (+310%) and Switzerland (-90%). Another interesting aspect is the mean-values of the independent variables, which indicates that the levels of policies for family reunification and for long-term residence are a bit higher than levels of civic integration policies. This is largely due to the fact that several countries have not implemented civic integration policies, which lowers the mean. Looking at the matrix (table 4.1), it is also notable that three more countries, Italy, Portugal and the UK, have introduced civic integration policies for long-term residence but not for family immigration.

4.1.2. Correlation analysis

Table 4.4 and 4.5 presents the correlation schemes where the multiple results of each bivariate correlation are presented. The schemes are divided based on the two categories of family immigration and labour immigration. The values express the correlation coefficient, the R-value, which tells us how close to a linear relationship we come in our sample (Miles & Shevlin 2001:20). In other words, the R-value measures the extent to which two variables are linearly related and whether they are positively or negatively related.

Table 4.4. Correlation scheme with variables connected to the family immigration process

| | Civic integration policies for family immigration | Policies for family reunification | Family immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | Family immigration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| Civic integration policies for family immigration | 1.0000 | | | |
| Policies for family reunification | 0.5793** | 1.0000 | | |
| Family immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | -0.6390** | -0.7939*** | 1.0000 | |
| Family migration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | -0.3149 | -0.0865 | -0.0316 | 1.0000 |

Sources: MIPEX; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.0

Table 4.4 shows that both civic integration policies for family immigration (-0.6390) and policies for family reunification (-0.7939) have strong negative correlations with the change

of family immigration between 2004 and 2011. In fact, since a complete negative correlation (-1) can be termed as deterministic (Esaiasson et al 2012:366), and considering that there are two social phenomenon tested, the correlation measures may be deemed as very strong. This indicates that the inflow of family immigration might be influenced by the independent variables, which complies with the theoretical assumptions. However, according to the R-value, policies for family reunification have a higher level of correlation with changes in family immigration, which problematize the expected association articulated in the hypothetical reasoning. Still, both types of policy frameworks can be included in the aggregated term of integration requirement, which is reflected upon below in the discussion of the empirical analysis (section 4.1.4.).

The comparison of the dependent variables reveals that changes of inflow between 2004 and 2011 do not correlate with the total number of family immigration per capita (-0.0316). This is also the case between integration policies and family immigration per capita. Hence, this confirms the reasoning in section 3.3, where several aspects, especially historical migration patterns, can be expected to influence the overall flow of certain categories of immigrants, but that the implementation of policies is more likely to affect the recent changes of inflow. Also, the inflow per capita is very likely to be influenced by the size of the population in various countries. The correlation values connected to labour immigration are presented in table 4.5.

Table 4.5. Correlation scheme with variables connected to the labour immigration process

| | Civic integration policies for long-term residence | Policies for long-term residence | Labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | Labour migration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 |
|--|--|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Civic integration policies for long-term residence | 1.0000 | | | |
| Policies for long-term residence | 0.1555 | 1.0000 | | |
| Labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | -0.7143*** | -0.2163 | 1.0000 | |
| Labour migration per capita 2011, 1 per 1000 | -0.1912 | -0.0083 | 0.4759 | 1.0000 |

Sources: MIPEX; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

* p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.0

The table displays a strong negative correlation between civic integration policies for long-term residence and changes in labour immigration (-0.7143), which supports the stated hypothesis. However, the result in comparison to the outcome presented in table 4.4 does not follow the outlined reasoning that civic integration policies could be expected to have a stronger connection to changes in family immigration. The difference is not however very extensive and should be considered in the light of the shortcomings of the variables, especially the small sample. The stronger R-value between civic integration policies and inflow of labour immigration is also likely to be affected by the more widespread deployment of civic integration polices for long-term residence than for family immigration.

Unlike the family immigration process, policies for long-term residence is weakly connected to the inflow of labour immigrants, and also to the variations of civic integration policies. This demonstrates that the implementation of integration requirements is rather fragmented when it comes to different policies. Overall, the correlation between civic integration policies and other integration policies is not very strong, which partly can be explained by the absence of civic integration policies in several countries. Although, in the case of family immigration, the matrix (table 4.1.) shows that countries tend to combine civic integration policies with relatively high levels of other integration policies, with the exception from some deviant cases. For example, the UK and Italy combines relatively high values of integration policies for family reunification with no civic integration policies for family immigration.

Table 4.6 shows how the Multiculturalism Policy Index correlate with civic integration polices, integration requirements and the inflow of family and labour immigrants.

Table 4.6. Correlation scheme based on the Multiculturalism Policy Index

| | Civic integration policies for family immigration | Civic integration policies for long-term residence | Policies for family reunification | Policies for long-term residence | Family immigration 2004-2011 (% change) | Labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change) |
|---|---|--|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|---|
| Multiculturalism Policy Index (2010) | -0.7010*** | -0.8140*** | -0.6528** | 0.0966 | 0.4899* | 0.5768** |

Sources: MIPEX; Multiculturalism Policy Index; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013
 * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.0

The measures indicate that multicultural policy and civic integration policies more or less oppose each other, which symbolize that they are two rather disparate strategies of immigrant

integration. A higher level of multicultural policies is also, to some extent, connected to an increase of family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. The result presented in the table is thus interesting to relate to the theoretical discussion of the multiculturalism backlash and the divergent spread of civic integration strategies.

4.1.3. Bivariate regression

To further illustrate how the variables are connected to each other, the independent variables that showed strong correlation values in relation to the dependent variables are tested in bivariate regression analyses, presented in table 4.7, 4.8 and 4.9 below. It is necessary to once again underline that regression analyses conducted here do not mean that this thesis is looking to draw conclusion about causality. The construction of the variables is not sufficient enough to test for cause and effect, which is due to the lack of harmonized data. However, the bivariate regression models gives a hint of how the variables associate, which complements the correlation values.

Table 4.7. Bivariate regression. Dependent variable: Change in family immigration between 2004 and 2011.

| | Model 1 |
|---|---------------------|
| Civic integration policies for family immigration | -1.490** (-2.76) |
| Intercept | 56.16** (2.28) |
| <i>N</i> | 13 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.4083 |
| adj. <i>R</i> ² | 0.3546 |

Standard errors in parentheses
 * p<.10, ** p<.05, *** p<.0

The b-coefficient (value -1490** in table 4.7 above) indicates how much one step on the independent variable (civic integration policies for family immigration) generates in terms of change in the dependent variable (percentage change of family immigration 2004-2011) (Miles & Shevlin 2001:34). The coefficient of determination (*R*²-value) measures the proportion of variance explained by the independent variable. The intercept indicates the value of the dependent variable if the independent variable is 0, which in the table above reflects that the change of the inflow of family immigration between 2004 and 2011 would, in average, be +56% if civic integration policies would not exist (Ibid:16). The significance level (*) tells us whether the b-coefficient and the intercept are statistically significant for the whole

population (Ibid:18). The result in in table 4.7 indicates that the slope and the intercept are significant to the whole population within a 95% confidence interval.

Table 4.8. Bivariate regression. Dependent variable: Change in family immigration between 2004 and 2011.

| | Model 2 |
|-----------------------------------|---------------------|
| Policies for family reunification | -3.136** (-2.76) |
| Intercept | 162.3** (2.28) |
| <i>N</i> | 13 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.6303 |
| adj. <i>R</i> ² | 0.5967 |

Standard errors in parentheses

* *p*<.10, ** *p*<.05, *** *p*<.0

Table 4.9. Bivariate regression. Dependent variable: Change in labour immigration between 2004 and 2011.

| | Model 3 |
|--|---------------------|
| Civic integration policies for long-term residence | -2.940** (-3.39) |
| Intercept | 167.1** (3.86) |
| <i>N</i> | 13 |
| <i>R</i> ² | 0.5103 |
| adj. <i>R</i> ² | 0.4657 |

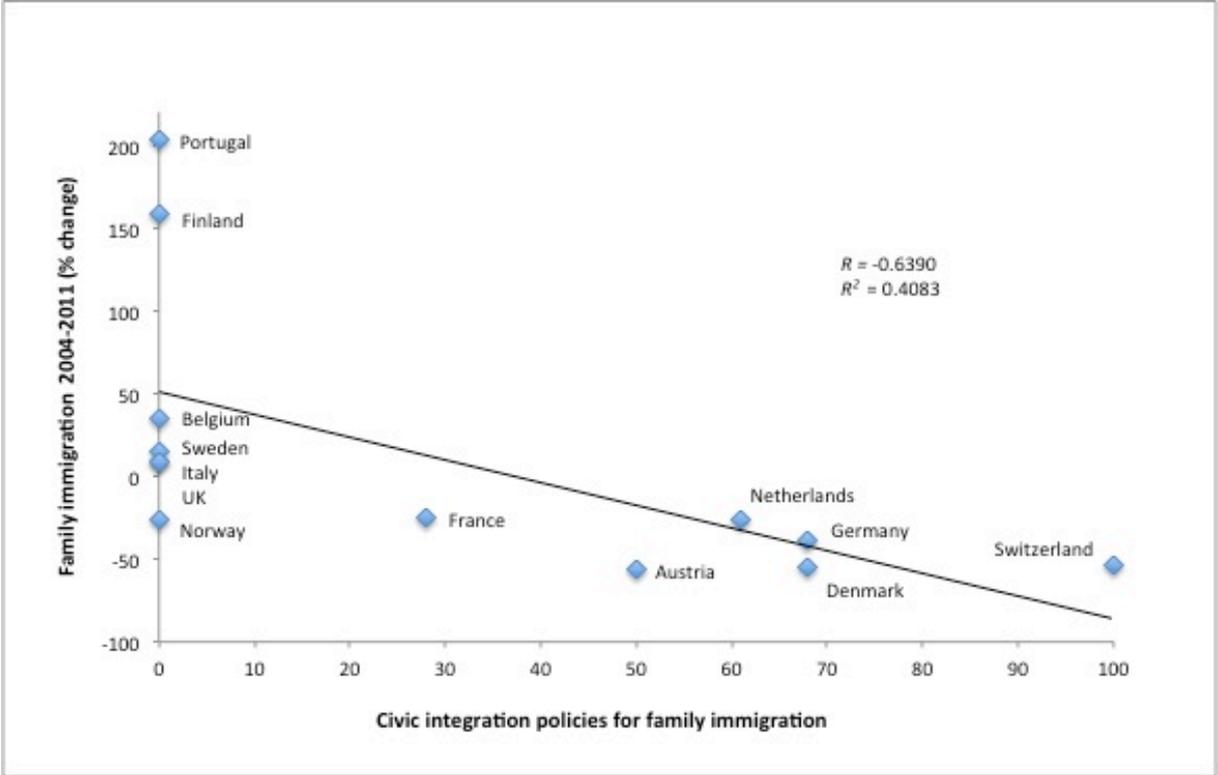
Standard errors in parentheses

* *p*<.10, ** *p*<.05, *** *p*<.0

The bivariate regression analyses show that the effect of the independent variables on the dependent ones are of a similar magnitude as the correlation coefficients, i.e. policies for family reunification have a stronger effect on changes in family immigration than civic integration policies. Also, civic integration policies for long-term residence have a slightly stronger effect compared to civic integration policies for family immigration. Overall, the relatively high numbers of the b-coefficients and the *R*²-values indicates that the three independent variables accentuated in the regression analyses have discernible effects on immigration by certain category of entry in percentage change between 2004 and 2011. The significance levels support this understanding.

To visualize how the sample relates to the variables and the calculated coefficients, the associations can be illustrated in scatterplots. Figure 4.1 illustrates the connection between the change of family immigration between 2004 and 2011 and civic integration policies for family immigration. The dependent variable of family immigration runs along the Y-axis and the independent variable of civic integration policies along the X-axis. Again, the correlation coefficient (R) shows the extent to which two variables are linearly related and the coefficient of determination (R^2) indicates the proportion of variance explained by the independent variable.

Figure 4.1. Scatterplot of civic integration policies and family immigration 2004-2011 (% change)



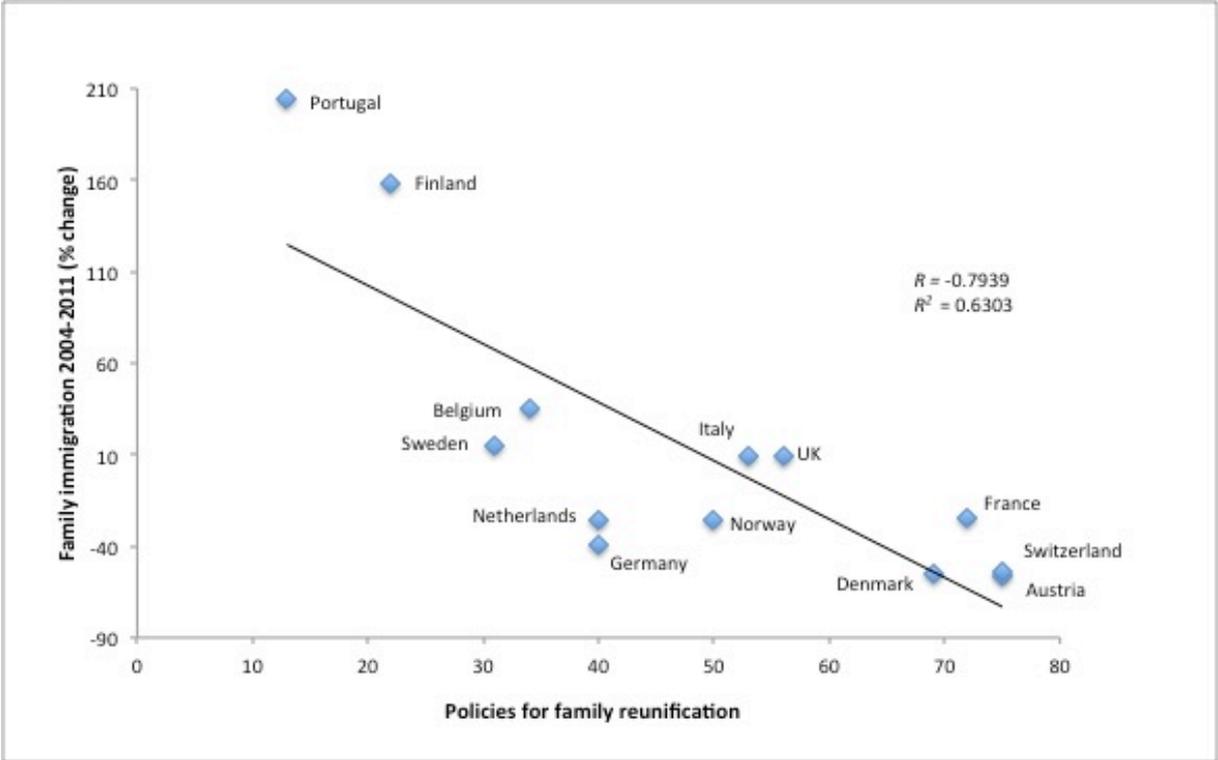
Sources: MIPEX; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

When the result is visualized it is fairly easy get an overview of the sample and to detect deviations. As seven countries lack civic integration policies for family immigration, the plot looks a bit skewed. Nevertheless, the plot reveals a pattern. On the right hand side there is a group of countries that combines levels of civic integration policies above 50 and a reduced inflow of family migrants between 2004 and 2011, i.e. Switzerland, Denmark, Germany, Netherlands and Austria. Reversely, all countries that have not implemented civic integration policies, except Norway, had an increase of family immigrants during the same period of time (see countries along the Y-axis). The coefficient of determination indicates how close the

units are to the slope, and it is pretty obvious that the discrepancy between values affects the R^2 -value of the measured effect, i.e., the variance between the countries are not determined solely by the independent variable but also by other factors not included in the analysis. Both Portugal and Finland increased the inflow of family immigration with over 150% during the time period and deviates considerably from the line of best fit, even if both countries follows the overall tendency of a negatively linear relationship between the variables.

The connection between the change of family immigration between 2004 and 2011 and policies for family reunification is illustrated in figure 4.2.

Figure 4.2. Scatterplot of policies for family reunification and family immigration 2004-2011 (% change)



Sources: MIPEX; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

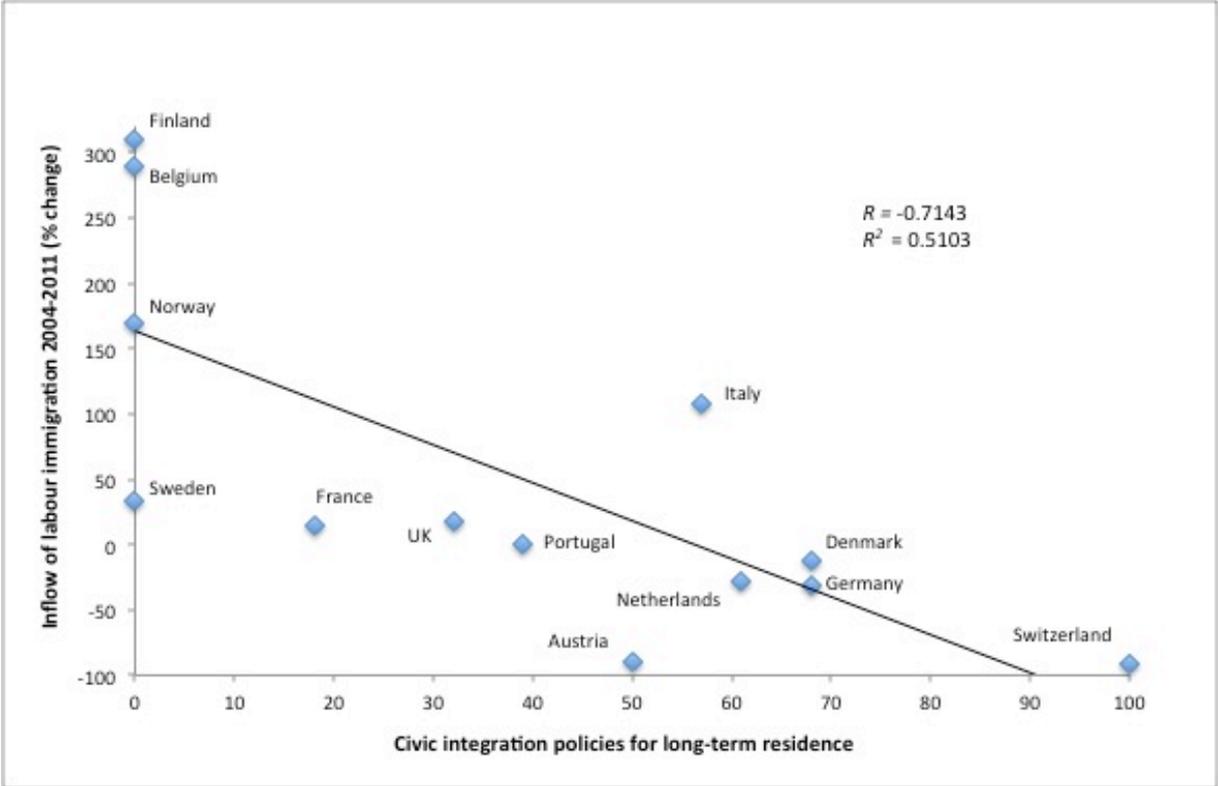
The strong correlation becomes clear, where the extent of policies for family reunification, i.e. conditional demands such as housing; income etc. (*see appendix C*), is linearly related to variations of family immigration between 2004 and 2011. However, some countries deviate from the line of best fit. This is perhaps most evident when comparing the Netherlands and Germany with Italy and the UK. The Netherlands and Germany combine, on the one hand, fairly low levels of integration policies with a decrease of family immigration, while Italy and the UK, on the other, shows slightly opposite characteristics. With the exception of some

countries, especially Portugal, the countries are relatively close to the slope, which is symbolized by the strong R²-value.

Comparing figure 4.2 with the model of civic integration policies for family immigration in figure 4.1, two factors affect the statistical result. First, the correlation coefficient in the first model (figure 4.1) is somewhat influenced by the extensive variations of family immigration among countries that do not have civic integration policies. Second, the coefficient of determination in both models is affected by Finland and Portugal, which deviates considerably from the line of best fit. Thus, even if the countries follow the overall tendency in both models, the statistical result becomes weaker and also less reliable due to these factors.

Figure 4.3 illustrates the connection between the change of labour immigration between 2004 and 2011 and civic integration policies for long-term residence.

Figure 4.3. Scatterplot of policies for long-term residence and labour immigration 2004-2011 (% change)



Sources: MIPEX; International Migration Outlook 2006 & 2013

The tendencies are very similar to those in figure 4.1 and the model of civic integration

policies for family immigration as the independent variable. In both models, there is a group of countries, Switzerland; Germany; Denmark; the Netherlands; and Austria, which all combines high levels of civic integration policies and a decreased immigration between 2004 and 2011. Italy deviates from the trend, otherwise the countries relate rather well to the line of best fit. As in figure 4.1, the countries that do not have civic integration policies have different levels of increased immigration, which affects the R^2 -value.

4.1.4. Discussion of the empirical analysis

So, how do these results respond to the research questions and the hypotheses? The rather strong connection between civic integration policies and changes of family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011 gives empirical support to the hypothetical reasoning articulated in this thesis. The visualization of the statistics shows that the implementation of civic integration is linked to reductions in family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. With the exception of a few deviant cases, there also seems to be some sort of association between the concepts, as the sample to some extent relates to the coefficient of determination.

However, the highlighted association between civic integration policies and family immigration can be problematized based on the empirical result. First of all, the variations of policies for family reunification appear to be more connected to changes of family immigration. This problematizes the theoretical assumption and the hypothetical derivation in which civic integration policies are expected to influence the inflow of family migration. Based on the testing, it is not possible to discern civic integration policies as causal mechanism behind variations of family immigration, but only to stipulate that there is a connection between the variables, i.e. the variance between the countries are not determined solely by the independent variable but also by other factors not included in the analysis. Accordingly, policies for family reunification can likewise be connected to variations of family immigration.

This design to separate these policy frameworks was motivated by two reasons. First, the implementation of civic integration policies in some European countries has taken place in a recent time period and contributes to what could be considered a new trend of immigrant integration in Europe. Second, the theoretical input suggesting that the conditional testing included in civic integration policies could lead to reduced immigration by certain category of

entry has not been tested. These circumstances make the subject of civic integration policies interesting to examine, which was the point of departure when organizing this thesis. Based on the result, however, the theoretical reasoning brought forward in this thesis, which associates civic integration policies with variations of family immigration, cannot be empirically supported. Instead, civic integration policies could advantageously be related to other policies for family reunification in the formation of an agglomerated concept of integration requirements, which distinctly can be connected to variations of family immigration.

The second problem concerns the assumption that civic integration policies were expected to have a greater effect on family immigration than labour immigration. Due to the testing, civic integration policies have a stronger connection to changes of labour immigration. The result supports the second hypothesis but not the reasoning in which family immigrants were assumed to face greater difficulties to match the conditional requirements in civic integration policies. However, the difference is not so extensive and could partly be related to the fact that civic integration policies for long-term residence are implemented in more countries than civic integration policies for family immigration, which becomes markedly due to the size of sample.

These issues could be examined further. It is possible to imagine that the independent variables operate on different stages of the causal chain. One suggestion could be that civic integration policies and other integration-based requirements have an interactional effect on each other and on variations of immigration by certain category of entry. Another idea is that high levels of conditional integration requirements are preceded by other factors, maybe with background character, which influences the connection between integration requirements and immigration. Furthermore, it is important to stress that several circumstances influence flows of migration, which is also likely to influence changes in immigration under the time period of concern in this thesis.

The restricted statistical analysis is largely dependent on the lack sufficient data on civic integration policies and immigration by certain category of entry. The models in this thesis do not take into account how the covariance coincides with other influencing variables – if the connections can be derived to causal effects when controlling for multiple factors. If or when suitable data is made available, a favourable design will be to carry out a multivariate

regression in order to further scrutinize the association and to illustrate connections that can support the theoretical reasoning. In other words, the current lack of adequate data blocks the possibility to test for causality in a reliable statistical way, which makes it hard to determine anything else than if the variables are connected to each other

Despite these problems, the testing performed here illustrates that some of the variables are strongly connected. The correlations between civic integration policies and changes of family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011 are rather strong, were the extent of civic integration policies are connected to a reduced inflow of affected categories of immigrants. Hence, the outlined hypotheses, which presume correlations between constructed concepts, can to some degree be supported. Overall, the testing indicates that different types of conditional integration requirements are connected to a reduced inflow of affected categories of immigrants, which constitute a stepping-stone for further theorization about the implications of integration requirements.

4.2. The Empirical Results From a Theoretical Perspective

The theoretical discussion in chapter 2.2 outlined that the diffusion of civic integration policies, on the one hand, can be related to a backlash against multiculturalism in European politics, and, on the other, reflect the emphasis to incuse and control the inflow of immigrants. The later aspect was examined in the empirical analysis, which indicated that there are connections between civic integration policies and a reduced inflow of family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. The empirical analysis also showed that the spread of civic integration policies was statistically connected to variations of multicultural policies, where the implementation of civic integration policies correlates with lower levels of multiculturalism in the observed countries (see table 4.6).

Based on the discussion in the theoretical framework in chapter 2, it is substantiated that the strategies of civic integration represent a new trend of immigrant integration in Europe, where the call for internal inclusion and social cohesion, to some extent, oppose multicultural policies. This tendency to depart from multiculturalism and embrace civic integration strategies could be interpreted as a paradigm shift in European integration politics, or at least as a discursive challenge to multicultural framework. Also, as the testing in this thesis shows,

conditional integration requirements can be connected to a reduced inflow of migration by certain category of entry, which thus corresponds to the rhetoric behind civic integration strategies.

What, then, precedes the diffusion of civic integration strategies? Turning to the third research question, how could the proliferation of civic integration policies in Europe be understood based on theories of immigrant integration? Drawing upon the empirical analysis, it is furthermore interesting to discuss how the implementation of civic integration policies in some European countries can be understood in the light of the indicated implications. To address these issues, the below discussion will reconnect to the analytical frame presented in theoretical reasoning in chapter 2.2.1.

4.2.1. Internal inclusion and external exclusion

The theoretical discussion outlined various circumstances that frame the diffusion of civic integration as a counter-movement against multiculturalism. Based on these concerns, the text has distinguished two different, although interrelated, contemporary debates on immigrant integration in Europe that both are channelled in a forceful critique against the multicultural model, and also supports the expansion of civic integration strategies. First, concerns are being raised connected to the suggested problems of immigrant integration in Europe where multiculturalism is targeted as a source of social and socio-economic divergence (see for example Barry 2001; Koopmans 2010). Second, scholars have identified an intensified emphasis among politicians to refer to liberal naturalisation as an important device of societal integration (Joppke 2010:53f).

4.2.1.1. Socioeconomics

As described previously, there is a growing debate in Europe that accuses multiculturalism for producing politics of difference, which leads to poor integration outcome. A main concern associated with this is the potential weakening of the labour force, and consequently the risk of economic stagnation based on the acclaimed differentiation of European societies (Koopmans 2010; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:16-7).

In the light of the globalized stage of world capitalism – the intensification of capital flows and foreign direct investments; the deterritorialization of the economic landscape; time-space compression and the diffusion of post-Fordist production circuits (Dicken 2011:18f) – state

competitiveness is frequently uplifted as the core function of state capability. Hence, getting the maximum out of a country's resources, including the citizens, has in this perspective more or less become a dogma – a perceived necessity for the sake of generating comparative advantages in an increasingly fluctuating global economy (Ibid:199-202). As highlighted by scholars, this political orientation has during the last decades also starting to permeate the field of immigrant integration.

Regardless of the reason – if it is because of the acclaimed failure of multiculturalism or dependent on various other factors – several European countries are facing problems with immigrant integration, or at least societal disproportionalities connected with this matter (Banting & Kymlicka 2013). This is not a new phenomenon or a controversial claim – whether fleeing from repression or moving in purposes of study, migration has a major impact on people and social contexts (World Migration report 2008:2). The process of immigrant integration into new societies and cultural frameworks is usually characterised by great complexity. However, issues concerning immigrant integration pose a veritable problem in many European countries (Ibid:3). To some degree, the disaggregation between native-born and immigrants consists over time, and in some cases even diverging in terms of income inequality, inequality of opportunity, and underrepresentation of immigrants in high positions in the society (Koopmans et al 2005).

The urgency of integrating immigrants into becoming functional and contributing agents of the society – the instrumental impulsion – is discernible in much of the rhetoric pervading the civic integration strategy (Joppke 2007b:245). As Joppke and others claim, the labour-market focus of social inclusion of immigrants fits with the increasingly importance of competitiveness in liberal democracies (see also Goodman 2010:768). To cope with the transformative global context, European states seems to push more frequently on social cohesion as a calculative and consequentialist response to the contemporary challenges to the nation state (Peters 2011:47-9). A functional strategy towards social inclusion has consequently been the imposition of liberalisation in the immigrant integration process. According to Joppke, immigrants are, to a larger extent in several countries, expected to assimilate to liberal values and subjugate to the frames of the liberal economy (Joppke 2007a:16-7). This strategy can be symbolized by the implementation of civic integration policies, which requires immigrants to satisfy specific standards of integration. As suggested in this thesis, an implied function of this policy framework is that immigrants who do not

meet the conditions will face difficulties acquiring residence. This connection has thus been illustrated by the testing above, which indicates that push for internal inclusion seems to come along with barriers of exclusion.

This arguing relates to the multicultural critique of the western liberal democracies. Parekh, for example, argues that western liberal democracies are increasingly narrowing its objectives, rendering in a concept of freedom that is framed by the dogmatic emphasis of equal opportunities in a liberalized market economy (Parekh 1995:111f). Plurality in various forms are furthermore often accompanied by the incentive of helping people who are not institutionalised in the liberal doctrine, especially newcomers, to reach the same freedom as the citizens of the liberalised world (Lombardo 2003:163). This can be related to the intensified rhetoric among European politicians in which alternative cultural preferences often are viewed as inferior deviations and even a threat to the national identity (Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:8). The testing above supports the reasoning that civic integration differs distinctively from multiculturalism, where the emphasis for internal social cohesion seems to be at the expense of multicultural policies. This is manifested by the discrepancy between European countries, where countries that have implemented civic integration policies show lower levels of multicultural policies than countries that have not implemented civic integration policies (see table 4.1 & table 4.6).

Joppke regard civic integration policies as a goal orientation strategy, and consider this as a part of the internal ambivalence of liberalism (Joppke 2007b:245). Whereas multicultural approaches such as difference-accepting and anti-discrimination, according to Joppke, appeals to the Rawlsian idea of liberalism, the contemporary styles of civic integration rather lean towards the type of governance described by Foucault (Joppke 2007a:17f). What Joppke insinuate is that the civic integration strategies are driven by the purpose of creating self-governing and socially includable worker-citizens who participates in the normative way of life (Joppke 2007b:267-70). This urgency of steering people, especially newcomers, into becoming 'reflective liberals' relates to Foucauldian governmentalism in which states attempts to produce citizens that most appropriately can meet the standards and policies conducted by the state (Joppke 2007a:16-8). Joppke term this as repressive liberalism, where people, particularly immigrants, are being forced into a certain way of life through obligations rather than emancipated through rights (Joppke 2010:54f). This arguing reflects what several scholars refer to as the paradox of modern liberalism, where global liberalisation, on the one

hand, push towards a deterritorialization of the economic landscape, and contemporary politics of immigration, on the other, push toward closure and regulation (Goodman 2010:767; Joppke 2007a:8).

4.2.1.2. Identity

The other line of argumentation highlighted in the theory, which both neglects multiculturalism and foregoes the emphases for tougher integration requirements, concerns identity and culture. Scholars have identified that the contemporary flows of globalization and the heterogenization of cultural preferences in modern Europe has been followed by a growing concern of protecting national identity and the tradition of the nationhood (Joppke 2010:61f; Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:7-8). Despite the escalating transnationalisation of politics, economics and culture, any common transboundadary sense of community is far from displacing national identity. As Kymlicka suggests, liberalisation has rather been accompanied with an increased sense of nationhood (Kymlicka 1995:88).

The intensified arguments for societal cohesion built on shared values and defined characteristics of national identity are discernible in much of the political rhetoric that refutes the multicultural idea. In present Europe, this rhetoric has accelerated. For example, the current UK Prime Minister David Cameron expressed in 2008 that “*multiculturalism – the idea that different cultures should be respected to the point of encouraging them to live separately – had dangerously undermined Britain’s sense of identity and brought about ‘cultural apartheid’*” (Daily Mail, 26/2 2012 in Vertovec & Wessendorf 2010:7). Vertovec and Wessendorf derive this statement together with many others to the discursive backlash against multiculturalism since the turn of the new millennium. In many of the examples outlined by the authors, the suggested failure of multiculturalism is accompanied by the emphasis of a consisting national identity within a solid nation state.

The empirical analysis supports this interpretation by showing how the spread of civic integration policies is negatively linearly related to variations of multicultural policies (see table 4.6). In accordance with this, Tamir claims that most liberals today embrace a form of liberal nationalism, which embodies the notion that liberal goals are achieved in and through a liberalized societal culture or nation (Tamir 1993:139). In this view, multiculturalism, in contrast, does not seem to be suitable in the idea of the nation state (Kymlicka 1995:4).

A significant element in the ambition for national social cohesion is, of course, citizenship. According to Jürgen Habermas “*social bond in a liberal-democratic state should be juridical, moral, and political, rather than cultural, geographical and historical, as politics should be divorced from culture*” (Quoted in Laborde 2002:593). However, scholars have identified a discursive shift framing citizenship with distinct nationhood traditions, where identity and cultural characteristics are seen as virtually important parts of the citizenship as legal elements of rights and responsibilities (Joppke 2010:50). And, as expressed by Kymlicka, “*it is precisely in the name of a strengthened civic identity that many liberals have clung to the principle of common citizenship*” (Kymlicka 1995:192).

Hence, civic integration could be seen as a reaction to the perceived concern of a withering nationhood. Joppke’s description of repressive liberalism in modern Europe goes hand in hand with this understanding: that civic integration requires immigrants to become receivable to the principles and traditions of the host country, in order to gain functional autonomy within the new context, but also to be a benefit to the society (Joppke 2007a:14f). Combined with conditionality, civic integration thus generates an imperative of naturalisation, which conceptualises integration as a privilege granted by the political community rather than a tool supporting adjustment (Joppke 2010:54f). And, as the conditions become stricter, the harder it gets to meet the established requirements. Hence, the testing above provides fairly persuasive support to the derived relationship between conditional integration requirements and the inflow of migrants by certain category of entry, which illustrates what the implications might be.

Based on the empirical analysis and the theoretical reasoning, the diffusion of civic integration strategies can be interpreted as paradoxical liberal response to the backlash against multiculturalism. On the one hand, liberal democracies stress for internal inclusion, but tends, on the other, to drift towards external exclusion.

6. Conclusion

The starting point of this thesis was the diffusion of civic integration strategies in Europe, and the stagnation of multicultural policies in the recent decade. Based on a theorising in which the extent of civic integration policies was argued to have excluding implications, the study has tried to answer the questions of whether civic integration policies can be connected to variations of immigration by certain category of entry.

The quantitative testing showed that civic integration policies correlate relatively extensively with variations in family and labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. When processing the correlations in bivariate regression analysis and projecting the statistics in scatterplots, the result indicates that there are connections between the variables. However, civic integration policies cannot be separated from other conditional integration policies. This applies to the family immigration process where the testing showed that policies for family reunification have a stronger statistical connection to variations of family immigration. Based on this result, civic integration policies could be related to other policies for family reunification in the formation of an agglomerated concept of integration requirements, which distinctly can be connected to variations of family immigration. This interpretation fits with the theoretical reasoning, as policies of both kinds can be attached to the articulated framework in which tougher integration for internal inclusion leads to external exclusion. In the labour immigration process, the extent of civic integration policies is strongly connected to a reduced labour immigration between 2004 and 2011. In comparison to policies for family reunification, civic integration policies emerge in terms of correlation and significance.

Drawing upon the quantitative testing, the result has been associated to an outlined theoretical framework that relates the strategies of civic integration and the implications of civic integration policies to theories of immigrant integration. The theoretical analysis has reflected upon the trend shift in European politics, where several countries have departed from multiculturalism and adopted civic integration strategies. Based on concerns about the socioeconomic situation in Europe and the fear of a withering of the nationhood, the thesis has outlined several arguments and tendencies that can be related to the forceful critique

against multiculturalism, and that consequently precedes the support for the expansion of civic integration strategies. Thus, the testing confirms that it is a clear discrepancy between multiculturalism and civic integration. It has also been substantiated that the proliferation of civic integration policies in Europe is limited to specific countries, which has resulted in a rather polarizing situation between countries with a relative multicultural approach on the one hand, and countries adopting civic integration strategies with tougher integration requirements for family immigration and for long-term residence on the other.

The thesis has been pervaded by a reasoning in which the urgency to naturalise immigrants also is channelled in an urgency to reduce the inflow of immigrants that do not meet the established requirements. As the empirical analysis indicates, there are also connections between more comprehensive integration requirements and a reduced inflow of affected immigrants. Hence, the push for internal inclusion seems to be associated with excluding implications.

The question of whether this is intentional or not is outside the scope of this thesis. However, the purpose of this thesis was to examine if civic integration policies are connected with variations of immigration by certain category of entry. In coherence with the theoretical reasoning, the thesis thus sheds some light on the question of whether there is a tacit purpose immanent to this policy framework to control and restrict the inflow of immigration by certain category of entry (see for example Goodman 2010 & Joppke 2007a).

Due to the small sample and to the lack of control for other factors that potentially affect immigration by certain category of entry, this thesis cannot develop the connection between the variables to a discussion of causality. Despite the expected relationship and the identified connection, the data has not been sufficient enough to expand the testing in a reliable way. It is possible to think of several factors that advantageously can problematize the presented hypotheses. For example, it would be of crucial importance for this research problem to compare the number of applicants denied in the immigration process in different countries. Unfortunately, no such data is available.

The statistical analysis does however present empirical support for the formulated hypotheses, which subsequently have been substantiated by the theoretical reasoning. Hence, this thesis contributes to the research field by connecting civic integration policies to immigration, and by showing what implications civic integration strategies may result in. It should therefore be

of interest for further research to address civic integration strategies in order to explore the effects and to critically examine the political ambitions and instruments underpinning the diffusion.

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Appendices

The questions constituting the content of the independent variables are presented in the form in which they are originally reported in the MIPEX database and in the Multiculturalism Policy Index. In the variables emanating from MIPEX the options are given the following values: Option 1: “0”, Option 2: “50”, Option 3: “100”. The Multicultural Policy Index is operationalized on a scale between 0-10 and the indicators are divided between three or two options.

Appendix A - Civic integration policies for family immigration

| | CONDITIONS FOR ACQUISITION OF STATUS | <i>Option 1</i> | <i>Option 2</i> | <i>Option 3</i> |
|-----------|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | Form of pre-departure language measure for family member abroad (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information</i> | <i>Requirement to take a language course</i> | <i>Requirement includes conditional language test/assessment</i> |
| 2 | Level of language requirement (if no measure, leave blank) (not weighted) | <i>A1 or less set as standard</i> | <i>A2 set as standard</i> | <i>B1 or higher set as standard OR no standards, based on administrative discretion.</i> |
| 3 | Form of pre-departure integration measure for family member abroad, ex. not language, but social/cultural (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>None OR voluntary information/course</i> | <i>Requirement to take an integration course</i> | <i>Requirement to pass an integration test/assessment</i> |
| 4 | Pre-departure requirement exemptions (if no measure, leave blank) a. Takes into account individual abilities ex. educational qualifications b. Exemptions for vulnerable groups ex. age, illiteracy, mental/physical disability | <i>Both of these</i> | <i>One of these</i> | <i>Neither of these</i> |
| 5 | Cost of pre-departure requirement (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 6 | Support to pass pre-departure requirement (if no measure, leave blank) a. Assessment based on publicly available list of questions or study guide b. Assessment based on publicly available course | <i>a and b</i> | <i>a or b</i> | <i>Neither a nor b</i> |
| 7 | Cost of support (if no measure or support, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 8 | Form of language requirement for sponsor and/or family member after arrival on territory (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information</i> | <i>Requirement to take a language course</i> | <i>Requirement includes conditional language test/assessment</i> |
| 9 | Level of language requirement, (if no measure, leave blank) (not weighted) | <i>A1 or less set as standard</i> | <i>A2 set as standard</i> | <i>B1 or higher set as standard OR no standards, based on administrative discretion.</i> |
| 10 | Form of integration requirement for sponsor and/or family member after arrival on territory ex. not language, but social/cultural | <i>No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information</i> | <i>Requirement to take an integration course</i> | <i>Requirement includes integration test/assessment</i> |
| 11 | Language/integration requirement exemptions (if no measure, leave blank) a. Takes into account individual abilities ex. educational qualifications b. Exemptions for vulnerable groups ex. age, illiteracy, mental/physical disability | <i>Both of these</i> | <i>One of these</i> | <i>Neither of these</i> |
| 12 | Cost of language/integration requirement (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 13 | Support to language/integration requirement (if no measure, leave blank) a. Assessment based on publicly available list of questions or study guide b. Assessment based on publicly available course | <i>a and b</i> | <i>a or b</i> | <i>Neither a nor b</i> |
| 14 | Cost of support (if no measure or support, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs ex. If provided by state, same as regular administrative fees. If provided by private sector, same as market price in countries</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |

Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) (<http://www.mipex.eu/research>)

Appendix B - Civic integration policies for long-term residence

| | CONDITIONS FOR ACQUISITION OF STATUS | <i>Option 1</i> | <i>Option 2</i> | <i>Option 3</i> |
|-----------|--|---|---|--|
| 1 | Form of language requirement (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information</i> | <i>Requirement to take a language course</i> | <i>Requirement includes conditional language test/assessment</i> |
| 2 | Level of language requirement (if no measure, leave blank) (not weighted) | <i>A1 or less set as standard</i> | <i>A2 set as standard</i> | <i>B1 or higher set as standard OR no standards, based on administrative discretion.</i> |
| 10 | Form of integration requirement ex. not language, but social/cultural | <i>No Requirement OR Voluntary course/information</i> | <i>Requirement to take an integration course</i> | <i>Requirement includes integration test/assessment</i> |
| 11 | Language/integration requirement exemptions (if no measure, leave blank) a. Takes into account individual abilities ex. educational qualifications b. Exemptions for vulnerable groups ex. age, illiteracy, mental/physical disability | <i>Both of these</i> | <i>One of these</i> | <i>Neither of these</i> |
| 12 | Cost of language/integration requirement (if no measure, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 13 | Support to language/integration requirement (if no measure, leave blank) a. Assessment based on publicly available list of questions or study guide b. Assessment based on publicly available course | <i>a and b</i> | <i>a or b</i> | <i>Neither a nor b</i> |
| 14 | Cost of support (if no measure or support, leave blank) | <i>No or nominal costs</i> | <i>Normal costs ex. If provided by state, same as regular administrative fees. If provided by private sector, same as market price in countries</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |

Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) (<http://www.mipex.eu/research>)

Appendix C - Policies for family reunification

| | ELIGIBILITY, CONDITIONS FOR ACQUISITION OF STATUS, AND SECURITY OF STATUS | <i>Option 1</i> | <i>Option 2</i> | <i>Option 3</i> |
|-----------|---|---|--|---|
| 1 | Eligibility for ordinary legal residents | <i>≤ 1 year of legal residence and/or holding a residence permit for ≤ 1 year</i> | <i>> 1 year of legal residence and/or holding a permit for > 1 year</i> | <i>≥ 2 years of legal residence and/or holding a permit for ≥ 2 years</i> |
| 2 | Documents taken into account to be eligible for family reunion | <i>Any residence permit</i> | <i>Certain residence permits excluded</i> | <i>Permanent residence permit</i> |
| 3 | Eligibility for partners other than spouses: a. Stable long-term relationship b. Registered partnership | <i>Both</i> | <i>Only one or only for some types of partners (ex. homosexuals)</i> | <i>Neither. Only spouses.</i> |
| 4 | Age limits for sponsors and spouses | <i>≤ Age of majority in country (18 years)</i> | <i>> 18 ≤ 21 years with exemptions</i> | <i>> 21 years OR > 18 years without exemptions</i> |
| 5 | Eligibility for minor children (<18 years) a. Minor children b. Adopted children c. Children for whom custody is shared | <i>All three</i> | <i>Only a and b</i> | <i>A and b but with limitations</i> |
| 6 | Eligibility for dependent relatives in the ascending line | <i>Allowed</i> | <i>Certain conditions (other than dependency) apply</i> | <i>Not allowed</i> |
| 7 | Eligibility for dependent adult children | <i>Allowed</i> | <i>Certain conditions (other than dependency) apply</i> | <i>Not allowed</i> |
| 8 | Accommodation requirement | <i>None</i> | <i>Appropriate accommodation meeting the general health and safety standards</i> | <i>Further requirements</i> |
| 9 | Economic resources requirement | <i>None or at/below level of social assistance and no income is excluded</i> | <i>Higher than social assistance but source is not linked with employment</i> | <i>Linked to employment/no social assistance</i> |
| 10 | Maximum length of application procedure | <i>≤ 6 months defined by law</i> | <i>> 6 months but the maximum is defined by law</i> | <i>No regulation on maximum length</i> |
| 11 | Costs of application and/or issue of status | <i>None</i> | <i>Same as regular administrative fees and duties in the country</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 12 | Duration of validity of permit | <i>Equal to sponsor's residence permit and renewable</i> | <i>Not equal to sponsor's residence permit but ≥ 1 year renewable permit</i> | <i>< 1 year renewable permit or new application necessary</i> |
| 13 | Grounds for rejecting, withdrawing or refusing to renew status: a. Actual and serious threat to public policy or national security, b. Proven fraud in the acquisition of permit (inexistent relationship or misleading information). c. Break-up of family relationship (before three years) d. Original conditions are no longer satisfied (ex. unemployment or economic resources) | <i>No other than a-b</i> | <i>Grounds include c</i> | <i>All grounds and others than those included on the list, such as d and others</i> |
| 14 | Legal guarantees and redress in case of refusal or withdrawal a. reasoned decision b. right to appeal c. representation before an independent administrative authority and/or a court | <i>All rights</i> | <i>At least a and b</i> | <i>One or both of a and b are not guaranteed</i> |

Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) (<http://www.mipex.eu/research>)

Appendix D - Policies for long-term residence

| | ELIGIBILITY, CONDITIONS FOR ACQUISITION OF STATUS, AND SECURITY OF STATUS | <i>Option 1</i> | <i>Option 2</i> | <i>Option 3</i> |
|-----------|--|--|---|--|
| 1 | Required time of habitual residence | < 5 years | 5 years | > 5 years |
| 2 | Documents taken into account to be eligible for long-term residence | <i>Any residence permit</i> | <i>Seasonal workers, au pairs and posted workers excluded</i> | <i>Additional temporary residence permits excluded</i> |
| 3 | Is time of residence as a pupil/student counted? | <i>Yes, all</i> | <i>Yes, with some conditions (limited number of years or type of study)</i> | <i>No</i> |
| 4 | Periods of absence allowed before granting of status | <i>Longer periods</i> | <i>Up to 10 non-consecutive months and/or 6 consecutive months</i> | <i>Shorter periods</i> |
| 5 | Economic resources requirement | <i>None or at/below level of social assistance and no income is excluded</i> | <i>Higher than social assistance but source is not linked with employment</i> | <i>Linked to employment/no social assistance</i> |
| 6 | Maximum length of application procedure | <i>≤ 6 months defined by law</i> | <i>> 6 months but the maximum is defined by law</i> | <i>No regulation on maximum length</i> |
| 7 | Costs of application and/or issue of status | <i>None</i> | <i>Same as regular administrative fees and duties in the country</i> | <i>Higher costs</i> |
| 8 | Duration of validity of permit | <i>≥ 5</i> | <i>< 5 ≥ 3</i> | <i>< 3</i> |
| 9 | Renewable permit | <i>Automatically</i> | <i>Upon application</i> | <i>Provided original requirements are still met</i> |
| 10 | Periods of absence allowed for renewal, after granting of status (continuous or cumulative) | <i>≥ 3 years</i> | <i>< 3 > 1</i> | <i>≥ 1 year</i> |
| 11 | Grounds for rejecting, withdrawing or refusing to renew status: a. Actual and serious threat to public policy or national security, b. Proven fraud in the acquisition of permit c. sentence for serious crime d. Original conditions are no longer satisfied (ex. unemployment or economic resources) | <i>No other than a-b</i> | <i>Includes c or d</i> | <i>Includes c and d and/or additional grounds</i> |
| 12 | Protection against expulsion. Due account taken of: a. personal behaviour b. age of resident, c. duration of residence, d. consequences for both the resident and his or her family, e. existing links to the Member State concerned f. (non-)existing links to the resident's country of origin (including problems of re-entry for political or citizenship reasons) | <i>All elements</i> | <i>At least b, c, d and e</i> | <i>One or more of b, c or d are not taken into account</i> |
| 13 | Expulsion precluded: a. after 20 years of residence as a long-term residence permit holder, b. in case of minors, and c. residents born in the Member State concerned or admitted before they were 10 once they have reached the age of 18 | <i>In all three cases</i> | <i>At least one case</i> | <i>None</i> |
| 14 | Legal guarantees and redress in case of refusal or withdrawal a. reasoned decision b. right to appeal c. representation before an independent administrative authority and/or a court | <i>All rights</i> | <i>At least a and b</i> | <i>One or both of a and b are not guaranteed</i> |

Source: Migrant Integration Policy Index (MIPEX) (<http://www.mipex.eu/research>)

Appendix E - Multiculturalism Policy Index related to immigrant minorities

1. Constitutional, legislative or parliamentary affirmation of multiculturalism at the central and/or regional and municipal levels and the existence of a government ministry, secretariat or advisory board to implement this policy in consultation with ethnic communities

Yes: Country has affirmed multiculturalism and has an implementing body.

Limited: Country has not affirmed multiculturalism explicitly, but has a relevant body; multiculturalism may also have been affirmed in some municipalities, but not nationally.

No: Country has not affirmed multiculturalism and does not have an implementing.

2. The adoption of multiculturalism in school curriculum

Yes: Country has included multiculturalism in its curriculum

Partially: Country has not formally or extensively adopted multiculturalism in its curriculum, but has engaged in rhetoric that supports such inclusion, implemented it in some districts, or developed intercultural or anti-racism education initiatives

No: Multiculturalism is not included in school curriculum

3. The inclusion of ethnic representation / sensitivity in the mandate of public media or media licensing

Yes: Ethnic representation, inclusion, sensitivity or diversity is included in the mandate of public broadcaster or media licensing.

No: Ethnic representation not mentioned in mandate of public broadcaster or media licensing.

4. Exemptions from dress codes (either by statute or court cases)

Yes: Country has granted exemptions or accommodations on religious grounds.

Partially: Some exemptions have been granted, but others have been explicitly denied.

No: Country does not grant exemptions or accommodations on religious grounds.

5. Allowing of dual citizenship

Yes: Dual citizenship is permitted; foreign nationals may retain their original citizenship even after acquiring the citizenship of the host country. Note that some countries' citizenship policies distinguish between the citizenship rights of foreign nationals and those of native-born émigrés.

Partially: Dual citizenship is officially prohibited, but tolerated in practice.

No: Dual citizenship is not permitted; foreign nationals must renounce or relinquish their original citizenship before acquiring the citizenship of the host country.

6. The funding of ethnic group organizations or activities

Yes: Ethnic groups are provided state funding in the form of core- or project-based support

Partially/Limited: Some ethnic groups receive state funding, but the practice is not widespread and the funding may be restricted to supporting the delivery of integration and settlement programs.

No: Ethnic groups do not receive state support.

7. The funding of bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction

Yes: Country funds bilingual education or mother tongue instruction either for children or adults.

Partially/Limited: Available in some provinces, states or areas, but not offered as a general rule.

No: Country does not fund bilingual education or mother-tongue instruction; refers also to cases where bilingual education is provided, but only as a means of facilitating the learning of the country's official language.

8. Affirmative action for disadvantaged immigrant groups

Yes: Country has an affirmative action policy that targets immigrant minorities; this may be in the public or private sector or both. Initiatives will extend beyond human rights policies and include targeted action aimed at removing barriers or more positive action measures such as quotas or preferential hiring.

No: Country has no affirmative action policy for immigrant minorities.

Source: Multiculturalism Policy Index, <http://www.queensu.ca/mcp/>