



INTO THE MAINSTREAM

RETHINKING PUBLIC SERVICES FOR DIVERSE AND MOBILE POPULATIONS

By Meghan Benton, Helen McCarthy, and Elizabeth Collett





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June 2015



ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The authors would like to thank Peter Scholten and Ilona van Breugel for helpful comments as well as all partners at Erasmus University Rotterdam; the Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS) at Oxford; the Centre for Migration Research in Warsaw; L'Institut national d'études démographiques (INED) in Paris; and the Universidad de Complutense in Madrid. The authors are grateful to the European Commission for cofunding the research that led to the report. Special thanks go to Milica Petrovic, who helped conceptualise the report and carried out much of the background research, and Paul Clewett for research support. For more research from MPI Europe, visit www.mpieurope.org.

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Suggested citation: Benton, Meghan, Helen McCarthy, and Elizabeth Collett. 2015. *Into the mainstream: Rethinking public services for diverse and mobile populations*. Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe.



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Amidst a rapid economic and social transformation by which diversity is fast becoming the norm in Europe's cities, the concept of 'mainstreaming' immigrant integration has swept through policy circles. Mainstreaming captures the idea that integration policy requires a whole-of-government response, including strong cooperation across policy portfolios and at the national and local level. This approach is now deeply embedded in policy parlance at the highest levels. But despite its intuitive appeal, few agree on its meaning. Depending on the historical and political context, the term mainstreaming has variously been used to indicate (1) whole-of-government solutions to immigrant integration that take account of the size and extent of diversity; (2) a shift away from group-targeted policies, heralding the death of multiculturalism; and (3) a pragmatic response to the dearth of money for differentiated programming.

Despite a lack of consensus over the precise meaning of the term, the ethos of mainstreaming can provide a guiding force for governments seeking to reform public services to meet the needs of diverse and mobile populations. Although many countries have defined integration rather narrowly (either as something that newly arrived populations go through as they adjust to a new environment or as a process of cultural accommodation by which the minority culture is absorbed into the majority identity), people of migrant background have a diversity of integration needs.¹ Local authorities may face particular challenges meeting the needs of new arrivals, for example, if the rapid pace of social change generates intergroup conflict, if teachers are ill-prepared for an influx of language learners in schools, or if out-of-date funding models or difficulties anticipating demand create shortages and overcrowding in public services. Longer-standing immigrant groups, by contrast, necessitate structural changes to ensure they are considered full members of society and are not being treated unequally by public services. Governments need to both "mobility-proof" and "diversity-proof" services (adapt them to the needs of both newly arrived and longer-standing minorities) if migrant groups are to flourish.

Despite a lack of consensus over the precise meaning of the term, the ethos of mainstreaming can provide a guiding force.

Policies for supporting multilingual pupils in the classroom illustrate how these dynamics play out in practice. Effective strategies combine catch-up classes for new arrivals with ongoing support of host-country language learning, and orient the entire teacher workforce toward the needs of children of migrant origin² instead of leaving integration needs to specialist language teachers. Other examples of good practice include engaging parents: some schools capitalise on their role as a first point of contact for newly arrived or disadvantaged families and provide access to other sources of support. In practice, however, service provision is highly variable across localities. Local flexibility can thus be a double-edged sword: it has allowed many schools, especially those with highly diverse student bodies, to develop innovative methods of supporting pupils who speak another language at home; it has also meant that some areas of need have little support. Moreover, the sharing of best practices between successful schools and those less accustomed to diverse learners is rare, and central government direction or monitoring is often lacking. Central government may therefore face a choice between ensuring that schools fulfil certain standards and allowing them to develop strategies responsive to local needs.

Addressing the continuum of needs—whether for the newly arrived or for longstanding community members—is also essential to a broader process of building inclusive services and cohesive communities. One of the main

1 This narrow definition also means that integration policy is often only concerned with 'third country nationals', the term for those from outside the European Union. However, research indicates that many mobile EU citizens face similar integration challenges and so for the purposes of this report a broader approach has been taken to address the full spectrum of integration needs. See Elizabeth Collett, *The integration needs of mobile EU citizens: Impediments and opportunities* (Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe, 2013), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/integration-needs-mobile-eu-citizens-impediments-and-opportunities.

2 This definition includes children who are themselves migrants as well as those who have at least one immigrant parent.

challenges for policymakers to consider is how they can address inequalities in access to services: consolidating services in ‘one-stop shops’, providing translation and interpretation, and increasing outreach in neighbourhoods can make it easier for new arrivals to navigate unfamiliar systems. Again, good practice is spotty; unlike in the United States, for instance, where language access is a matter addressed by antidiscrimination policy, central governments in Europe tend to leave the costs of translation to local authorities or services.

While local campaigns to raise awareness of discrimination and challenge its existence can be beneficial, there is a risk that the voices of new arrivals will be drowned out at the expense of longer-standing groups. To fully ‘diversity-proof’ public services to effectively meet the needs of all immigrants, the nature of the public workforce itself must be addressed. ‘Diversity training’ risks being seen as a waste of time and resources; hiring diverse workers may be a more direct route to raising awareness of diverse needs. Such recruitment also brings a number of positive side effects, among them specialist skills and experience, including in the use of multiple languages.

Amidst variable service provision, improving the *governance* of integration is a critical component to diversity—and mobility-proofing public services. Here, the overwhelming challenge is how to address diverging priorities: certain local authorities are challenged to meet the needs of highly diverse groups, even where the national or regional population is homogenous on average. Improving flexibility at the local level, through area-based policies and a strategic use of European Union (EU) funding, can help address this challenge. Better governance models such as interministerial groups and mechanisms for vertical coordination could further help ‘mainstream’ integration policy. The final component of successful integration governance is good data. Problems of over- and undercounting plague local authorities and make planning and budgeting difficult, especially where resources are linked to population levels. Also, policymakers need to improve the monitoring of integration outcomes across generations if they are to adequately meet the needs of a mobile and diverse population.

Despite an explicit commitment to mainstreaming, the European Commission has not used several soft mechanisms available to promote its practice.

Finally, relationships with the European Union are a critical dimension of the process by which countries become accustomed to addressing the needs of a diverse and mobile population. The European Union plays an important role in policy coordination, data collection, programme monitoring, and funding in relation to integration. However, despite an explicit commitment to mainstreaming, the European Commission has not used several soft mechanisms available to promote its practice—such as the European Semester and Open Method of Coordination for social protection and social inclusion.³ While EU funds, such as the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF) and European Social Fund (ESF), provide valuable support for local programmes, especially those that would have been jeopardised following the recession, these mechanisms have not been used to guide strategic thinking about how to update public services for diverse and mobile populations. Moreover, since EU funding has tended to be mediated through national and regional bodies, its allocation often reflects national priorities. Political barriers at the national level may make it difficult for local authorities, service providers, or nonprofits to capitalise on EU funding to address the needs of minority communities.

A number of policy reforms could improve the multilevel governance of integration. Whatever else they do, national governments should rigorously audit and assess services to ensure they address the needs of both new arrivals and longstanding community members; sound policy recommendations will flow from these findings. Other elements of reform include setting up structures for better coordination across ministerial portfolios, whether interministerial groups or other cross-cutting bodies; monitoring and recalibrating funding models; and prioritising the hiring of multilingual staff and ethnic minorities. The European institutions could consider creating an interservice group for integration, improving mechanisms for securing feedback from cities and regions,

³ The Open Method of Coordination promotes cooperation between EU Member States in the field of social policy, while the European Semester is the main vehicle through which the European Union makes recommendations to Member States on social and economic issues.

and adding more flexibility and innovation in the administration of EU funding. Localities could pool resources in order to be better placed to receive EU funding, improve data collection, and invest in relationships with civil society.

While the principles of mainstreaming can undergird positive changes, the concept remains problematic due to widespread differences in usage across different contexts. Overall it does not seem to have helped policymakers consider the distinct but interrelated facets of the integration challenge: namely, those of mobility and diversity. When all levels of government understand how public services must address a continuum of integration needs, they may be more likely to coordinate on concrete steps toward defined goals—and move away from what has been an overly philosophical debate.

I. INTRODUCTION

Europe is experiencing a deep social and economic transformation, at the heart of which is large-scale international migration and the challenges it can create for labour markets, communities, and individuals. Although many immigrants flourish in their new homes, some face difficulties in the local labour market, while their children are more likely than their nonimmigrant peers to fall behind at school or struggle to smoothly transition into employment. A wealth of studies have shown that education and training institutions are insufficiently equipped to help highly educated newcomers perform the jobs for which they are qualified; they are even less successful in helping low-educated people gain the vital language, literacy, and information and communication technology (ICT) skills to enter an unwelcoming labour market.⁴

Europe's demographic transformation, and the associated challenges it creates for education systems and labour markets, is being played out most rapidly at the local level. Many urban areas are seeing their populations change drastically; the increased diversity of minority groups' immigration status, country of origin, and length of stay is often described as 'superdiversity'.⁵ Less commonly noted but equally important is the trend of 'hypermobility': large numbers of people coming and going. This hypermobility puts pressure on existing reception and integration policies, especially those designed around permanent migration and long-term settlement of a few communities, and can mean that services lag behind the profile of the population.⁶ The interrelated but distinct challenges of mobility and diversity may be exacerbated by a lack of national support. Where demographic change is concentrated in specific localities, national governments may have little incentive to address related concerns.

How governments at all levels are responding to social and demographic change in the context of austerity was one focus of UPSTREAM—a five-country, six-partner project that sought to examine how governments at all levels contend with new integration challenges and whether this can be described as a move toward the 'mainstreaming' of integration policies.⁷ Mainstreaming captures the idea that integration policy requires a whole-

4 For an overview of the evidence, see Meghan Benton, Madeleine Sumption, Kristine Alsvik, Susan Fratzke, Christiane Kuptsch, and Demetrios G. Papademetriou, *Aiming Higher: Policies to Get Immigrants into Middle-Skilled Work in Europe* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/aiming-higher-policies-get-immigrants-middle-skilled-work-europe.

5 For a definition of superdiversity, see Steven Vertovec, 'Super-diversity and its Implications', *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30, no. 6 (2007): 1024–54. For a discussion of new integration challenges created by high population turnover, see Alice Sachrajda and Phoebe Griffith, *Shared Ground: Strategies for Living Well Together in an Era of High Immigration* (London: Institute for Public Policy Research, 2014), www.ippr.org/publications/shared-ground.

6 For instance, localities may find themselves unable to deal with a proliferation of translation and language support needed in schools or health-care settings; others are finding it difficult to make budgetary and planning decisions in the context of unpredictable population changes; and others yet see conflicts between settled and new communities. See Collett, *The integration needs of mobile EU citizens: Impediments and opportunities*.

7 For more on the project, its partners, and research, visit UPSTREAM, 'Project UPSTREAM', accessed 2 June 2015, <http://project-upstream.eu>.

of-government response, including strong cooperation between different policy portfolios and the national and local levels. Often this involves a shift away from targeted, stand-alone policies that only address newcomers toward more generic policies that take account of the diversity within society at large. The UPSTREAM project sought to conceptualise mainstreaming, identify to what extent it could be said to be occurring in various contexts, and what was driving it. In doing so, the project exposed the risks and opportunities associated with the idea of mainstreaming integration. While mainstreaming has been part of the integration parlance for several years (at the EU level and also in some countries, such as the Netherlands), it has not been rigorously tested on the ground. In particular, it is not clear whether mainstreaming is well understood outside integration circles (or even inside them), and whether it is helping or hindering policymakers as they design public services⁸ to accommodate mobility and diversity.

Mainstreaming captures the idea that integration policy requires a whole-of-government response.

The UPSTREAM project examined how EU, national, and local governments are employing mainstreaming principles within the areas of early childhood education, multilingual classrooms, antiracism and equality strategies, and neighbourhood and housing policies. Building on previous research conducted in France, Denmark, Germany, and the United Kingdom in 2013-14,⁹ this project represented the first systematic attempt to analyse how mainstreaming was being developed at the local level, and specifically how its principles (such as whole-of-government cooperation, local flexibility, or diversity awareness) were being applied within mainstream settings such as schools. Neighbourhoods in ten cities in the five case study countries—France, the Netherlands, Poland, Spain, and the United Kingdom—were selected based on different experiences of diversity. The countries themselves were selected to reflect different immigration histories, different levels of centralisation, and different approaches to integration policy. Some countries have well-developed diversity and antidiscrimination policies, and are thus on strong ground for accommodating minorities and longstanding migrant groups. Others have only recently become migrant destinations, but have developed good policies for dealing with new arrivals. Few national or local governments are performing well on both counts.

This report is a synthesis of the five country case studies plus research at the European Union level. It first examines how the five UPSTREAM countries and the European Commission are employing the idea of mainstreaming, and whether it has helped improve how public services address mobility and diversity. It then examines promising practices in the fields of education and social cohesion policy, before discussing the implications for funding and governance structures and the important role of data collection. Finally, the report concludes with a discussion of the role of the European Union within this debate, and argues for a more coherent approach to integration that takes account of the continuum of integration needs, from those of new arrivals to those of second and third generations who may require some support.

8 Public services refer to basic services provided by governments to meet needs of their populations. Across Europe the degree to which services are provided by private bodies varies; however, if they are receiving state funding and/or are regulated by a state body, they can be said to be carrying out a public function. Examples include: education, health care, welfare, the police and the judiciary, utilities, and, in some contexts, housing provision. These services are often, but not always, provided by low-level public servants, who may have significant discretion and flexibility in their responses to individuals, a process described and studied in Michael Lipsky, *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2010).

9 For an overview, see Elizabeth Collett and Milica Petrovic, *The future of immigrant integration in Europe: Mainstreaming approaches for inclusion* (Brussels: MPI Europe, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/future-immigrant-integration-europe-mainstreaming-approaches-inclusion.

II. THE BENEFITS AND DRAWBACKS OF MAINSTREAMING

The European Union's 28 Member States are at very different stages in their immigration story. Many countries—including the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands—have long welcomed immigrant populations, while southern European countries such as Italy and Spain were emigration countries until the 2000s, when an economic boom prompted a surge in immigration. Although these countries are now experiencing something of a reversal in fortunes, as swathes of both natives and immigrants leave, they continue to receive newcomers in large numbers. By contrast, new Member States are characterised primarily by their emigration outflows (although immigration trends in the Czech Republic and Poland are beginning to shift their demographic landscape). Many of these countries are in the early stages of developing integration policies and may be seeking to learn from others' experiences in developing policy models.¹⁰ These countries have also had to develop reintegration policies for returning nationals, especially those who came back during the economic crisis.

These varying immigration contexts have in turn significantly shaped integration strategies. Rapid social and cultural change has, in many cases, forced countries to be less exclusive and to revise national identities to be less ethnic and culturally based. Ideologies and theoretical models of inclusion have dominated the debate—sometimes to the detriment of practicality—about how to include newcomers in social and economic institutions, including the labour market. The past few decades have seen western European governments lament the failure of a number of these integration models, including multiculturalism—the death of which has been proclaimed several times over.¹¹

The European Union's 28 Member States are at very different stages in their immigration story.

Against this backdrop, the concept of 'mainstreaming' immigrant integration has become popular in several countries. Mainstreaming, in essence, refers to a shift away from stand-alone policies that target newcomers toward a whole-of-government approach to diversity across the society at large. However, it means different things depending on the political context and integration policy history of each country.¹² In places such as the Netherlands and Scandinavia, where national and local governments historically maintained stand-alone integration departments to receive newcomers or support them with targeted, group-based policies, mainstreaming has meant a shift toward supporting newcomers largely through generic, mainstream policies. By contrast, in countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, and Germany, which have historically lacked centralised integration departments, mainstreaming might refer to the creation of structures to improve cross-government coordination on integration issues or efforts to enhance diversity awareness across public services.

Thus while mainstreaming is something of a hot topic in integration policy, its meaning and application are

¹⁰ In Poland's 'National Development Strategy 2020', immigration receives one mention in terms of the recognition of the longer-term need for labour migration. However, the remainder of the document does not include any discussion of integration policy. While officials have emphasised that development of the recently adopted Polish national migration policy and soon-to-be-adopted integration policy are among efforts to prepare for the future, the issues nevertheless remain low on the political agenda; see Ignacy Józwiak, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Poland*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming).

¹¹ Will Kymlicka, *Multiculturalism: Success, Failure, and the Future* (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2012), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/TCM-multiculturalism-success-failure.

¹² See Xandra Maan, Ilona van Breugel, and Peter Scholten, *The Politics of Mainstreaming: A comparative analysis of migrant integration governance in Europe*, UPSTREAM comparative report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/comparative-reports/241-the-politics-of-mainstreaming-a-comparative-analysis-of-migrant-integration-governance-in-europe>.

contested. The UPSTREAM research uncovered a number of trends that could be or have been labelled ‘mainstreaming’:

- ***A shift from targeted to generic policies.*** In the Netherlands ‘mainstreaming’ is largely used to describe a move away from targeted policies. For example, students’ neighbourhood of residence or parental education levels are increasingly being used over immigrant background to decide the beneficiaries of educational resources.¹³ Although the United Kingdom has not framed the debate with the term ‘mainstreaming’, similarities with the Dutch case include a shift from extra funding for ethnic minorities in schools to a focus on measures of deprivation (namely, the number of pupils eligible for free school meals).¹⁴
- ***Political or economic constraints that prevent targeting.*** Other countries have a longstanding commitment to minimise targeting. In France ‘le mainstreaming’ may be a new term, but it refers to an old debate: discussions about the appropriate role of targeted policies run throughout French history, and centre on the constitutional commitment not to differentiate citizens by group. This commitment inspired the pragmatic targeting of neighbourhoods instead of people, which originally sought to support immigrants from former French colonies who tended to concentrate geographically.¹⁵ Elsewhere—e.g., in Poland and Spain—financial constraints overwhelmingly explain a tendency to support immigrants through mainstream services.¹⁶
- ***Public narratives that emphasise all of society.*** ‘Mainstreaming’ has also been used to describe a tendency to discuss integration in terms that encompass a country’s entire population, as in the case of ‘community cohesion’, which appeared on the UK policy agenda in the 2000s.¹⁷ Similarly, some cities have moved toward speaking about ‘inclusion’ instead of ‘integration’.¹⁸ Social inclusion policy in the European Commission goes some way toward providing an alternative forum in which to address integration issues, though its institutional home within the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion focuses it on labour market integration rather than participation in all facets of economic and social life.¹⁹
- ***Whole-of-government cooperation on integration issues.*** The creation of cross-governmental bodies to encourage dialogue across policy portfolios and between national and local governments has been described as ‘mainstreaming through governance’,²⁰ although many countries have adopted such strategies without describing it such.²⁰ According to a member of the French central government interviewed

13 See Ilona van Breugel, Xandra Maan, and Peter Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming). These are sometimes described as ‘replacement’ or ‘proxy’ strategies as they seek to meet needs associated with particular groups without adopting group-based criteria.

14 See Ole Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming).

15 Presentation by Kemal Benamra, Commissariat Général de l’Egalité des Territoires (National Institution in charge of Urban Policy), France UPSTREAM visit, 26 March 2015.

16 See Józwiak, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Poland*; Elisa Brey, Daniel Sorando, and Maria Sanchez, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Spain*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming).

17 This emphasis on the whole of community instead of minority integration can be seen as an example of what has been called ‘mainstreaming in discourse’. See Sundas Ali and Ben Gidley, *Advancing outcomes for all minorities: Experiences of mainstreaming immigrant integration policy in the United Kingdom* (Brussels: MPI Europe, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/advancing-outcomes-all-minorities-experiences-mainstreaming-united-kingdom.

18 For example, Copenhagen has a city strategy for inclusion, while other cities (including Rotterdam and Toronto) have employed the concept of ‘urban citizenship’ to provide a framework for inclusion. See Demetrios G. Papademetriou, *Fostering an Inclusive Identity Where it Matters Most: At the Local Level*, Transatlantic Council Statement (Washington, DC: Migration Policy Institute, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/fostering-inclusive-identity-where-it-matters-most-local-level.

19 Meghan Benton, Elizabeth Collett, and Helen McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level* UPSTREAM case study report (Rotterdam, UPSTREAM Project 2015 forthcoming).

20 For instance, the concept of mainstreaming has not caught on in Germany, but debates about how to improve horizontal and vertical coordination in integration policy are common. See Petra Bendel, *Coordinating immigrant integration in Germany: Mainstreaming at the federal and local levels* (Brussels: MPI Europe, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/coordinating-

for this report, the idea behind a whole-of-government approach is to avoid the possibility that some ministries ignore integration issues because they see one minister or department as solely responsible.²¹

- **Opening up public services to diverse populations.** This trend encompasses reforms that seek to prevent services from having an adverse impact or exclusive focus on certain groups. Examples include the overhaul of education systems that are having a disproportionately negative impact on learners of migrant background—as when German *Länder* (states) abolished the practice of allocating pupils to a particular academic track at an early age, a practice seen to negatively affect those arriving later in their school career or who have special language needs.²² Sometimes policymakers design programmes to meet specific needs, enabling certain groups to re-enter mainstream services as quickly as possible. For instance, the term mainstreaming has been used in the United Kingdom to refer to providing disabled children with intensive support, allowing them to rejoin mainstream education.

If mainstreaming means different things to different people, is it still a useful concept?

Clearly, this lack of consensus over what mainstreaming means can be problematic. For instance, one interviewee explained how the UK understanding of mainstreaming means raising the profile of integration and equality, bringing it ‘into the mainstream’.²³ By contrast, some interviewees in the Netherlands interpreted mainstreaming as a cover for government retrenchment and cuts.²⁴

If mainstreaming means different things to different people, is it still a useful concept? On paper at least, the ethos of mainstreaming is a positive one: very few people would refuse to get behind greater coordination across government. But the concept has not always been employed in policy circles as an impetus for action, and may in fact slow progress when it is used, for example, as:

- **An excuse for retrenchment or inaction.** In some cases, mainstreaming can be and has been used to relinquish responsibility for integration, and may sideline, rather than promote, integration priorities in the public sector.²⁵ ‘Mainstreaming’ can thus provide a justification for abolishing programmes that serve an important social purpose, but may not be popular in troubled economic times. Findings from the UPSTREAM countries suggest that several jumped on the mainstreaming bandwagon in ending targeted programming, but did so without improving diversity awareness and management across the entire society.²⁶ For instance, the commonly heard phrase ‘policy x is mainstreamed’ often implies that there is no specific thinking going on about integration needs in that policy area. Ensuring an effective,

[immigrant-integration-germany-mainstreaming-federal-and-local-levels](#).

- 21 Interview with former member of the prime minister’s cabinet, 17 June 2014, cited in Géraldine Bozec and Patrick Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*, UPSTREAM country study (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2014), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/17-country-reports/224-the-politics-of-mainstreaming-immigrant-integration-policies-case-study-of-france>.
- 22 Collett and Petrovic, *The future of immigrant integration in Europe*. Similarly, an official from the Directorate-General for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion explained that recommendations made to countries in the context of the European Semester on early tracking or early childhood education and care were justified on the basis that these would indirectly support migrant groups; discussion in the MPI Europe focus group on education, Brussels, 15 December 2014. Similar discussions have occurred in the area of gender mainstreaming: some scholars have claimed that ‘flexicurity’ in the labour market (the Scandinavian model of easy hiring and firing combined with a strong safety net) has a strong gender mainstreaming rationale, despite the fact that such programmes may benefit many groups (including immigrants). See Amparo Serrano Pascual, ‘Is the OMC a Provider of Political Tools to Promote Gender Mainstreaming?’ in *Gender and the Open Method of Coordination: Perspectives on Law, Governance and Equality in the EU*, eds. Fiona Beveridge and Samantha Velluti (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008).
- 23 Interview with UK local government official, France UPSTREAM visit, 26 March 2015.
- 24 See van Breugel, Maan, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.
- 25 See, e.g., Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*; van Breugel, Maan, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.
- 26 See Maan, van Breugel, and Scholten, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case study of the Netherlands*.

coordinated approach across policy ‘siloes’ is a major challenge to effective mainstreaming.

- ***A reason to reduce integration specialists and advocates.*** Even if officials have the best of intentions, departments that don’t have a specific integration mandate may lack the capacity and specialist knowledge to address the needs of migrants and minorities, especially at a time of austerity.²⁷ Without vocal advocates, the impetus for change may be lost.²⁸

Of course, the political and economic environment in Europe is such that mainstreaming may be a necessity rather than a choice, since targeted programmes are often costly and politically unpopular. In such cases, proxy strategies (such as targeting according to socioeconomic need) may be a desirable compromise: they direct resources to the neediest most of the time without exacerbating social fissures. Moreover, they engage with the argument—popular in some countries, though contested—that certain groups of poor native-born European youth are among those who struggle the most. However, proxy strategies may suffer from problems:

- ***The exclusion of certain groups.*** The effectiveness of proxy strategies depends on metrics to assess need as well as the quality of decisions about whom to include and exclude. For instance, area-based strategies exclude individuals living outside particular geographical borders, even if among the worst off.²⁹ Often those who lack legal documents are excluded from provision, and the more formalised programmes, such as those provided by France through integration contracts, usually exclude mobile EU citizens. (These challenges are illustrated and discussed further in later sections on policy.)³⁰
- ***Vague definitions.*** Proxy strategies sometimes employ euphemisms that may not necessarily be understood by their target audience, especially in complex multigovernance systems such as the European Union. An example of this is the European Semester, one of the main vehicles through which the European Union seeks to influence Member States through country-specific recommendations on economic and social issues. Semester recommendations routinely employ terms like ‘vulnerable groups’ in order to avoid the political sensitivities that surround ‘targeting’ while still including migrant groups. But it is by no means clear that all countries will understand the terms as intended; for instance, official French documentation makes clear that vulnerable groups are not always understood to include people of migrant origin.³¹

Perhaps the main problem with the term ‘mainstreaming’ is that the different policy levers that fall under this banner function independently of one another, and therefore can be (and have been) implemented separately in different settings. It is theoretically possible, for example, to implement a whole-of-government approach to integration without jettisoning successful targeted approaches; the focus on moving from targeted to generic policies may therefore be an unnecessary complication—or diversion—in the policy debates of some countries. But by the same token, it is also possible to wilfully abandon targeted programmes in the name of mainstreaming without making any positive efforts to strengthen cross-governmental cooperation on integration or improve diversity awareness. Herein lies the danger implicit in the idea of mainstreaming: that it becomes a cover for doing less, or for a shift in focus from integration to a more directly assimilationist approach.

27 Interviewees in France, when commenting on proposed mainstreaming changes, suggested that administrative officials were not used to tackling integration issues, and in a context of austerity would not be able to earmark a portion of the budget for integration action. See Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*.

28 For a description of how a mainstreamed approach can mean that integration lacks a ‘thorn in the side’, see Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*, 20.

29 For a deeper discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages of different proxy strategies, see Collett and Petrovic, *The future of immigrant integration in Europe*.

30 For instance, ‘target toddlers’ in Amsterdam and Rotterdam are identified based on the language spoken at home and education level of their parents, which may not always be a reliable indicator of need. See van Breugel, Maan, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

31 For instance, in the neighbourhood of Pentes de la Croix Rousse in Lyon, recent education strategies make references to vulnerable groups (‘*personnes vulnérables*’), but the definition of this term includes several subgroups, none of which include those of migrant background; see Patrick Simon and Mélodie Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique: Avantages et inconvénients du mainstreaming en France*, UPSTREAM country study (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming).

Despite this, the ethos of mainstreaming can provide a guiding force for governments seeking to reform public services to meet the needs of diverse and mobile populations. While many countries have defined integration rather narrowly (either as something that newly arrived populations go through as they adjust to a new environment, or as only a cultural—and not socioeconomic—process involving reforms to public institutions), people of migrant background in fact face a diversity of integration needs that change over time.

Mainstreaming can therefore be described as a process of both ‘*mobility-proofing*’ and ‘*diversity-proofing*’ public services, which involves rigorously auditing and then reforming services to ensure that they are fit to serve mobile and diverse populations:

- ***Mobility-proofing services.*** Local authorities may face particular challenges meeting the needs of new arrivals, for example, if rapid social change generates intergroup conflict, if teachers are ill-prepared for an influx of language learners in schools, or if out-of-date funding models or difficulties anticipating demand create shortages and overcrowding in public services. Meanwhile, migrants who move on a short-term or circular basis may require intensive initial support and are less likely to invest in local communities. Adapting services to mobility—i.e., ‘mobility-proofing’ them—means adapting to the realities of high population turnover, and supporting swift access to services to prevent greater problems from emerging further down the line.
- ***Diversity-proofing services.*** Once established, however, immigrants can still face challenges, whether hurdles in accessing the labour market due to structural discrimination or in feeling themselves to be—and being treated as—full members of society. Diversity-proofing public services therefore demands deep investments, long-term thinking, and substantive changes to overcome institutional discrimination and systemic bias.

In the next sections, the report considers how policies and services in two focus areas—education and social cohesion—can be mobility proofed and diversity proofed.

III. RETHINKING EDUCATION POLICY FOR DIVERSE AND MOBILE POPULATIONS

In the field of education, migration presents a number of challenges. Most obvious are the difficulties faced by newly arrived pupils, who may not speak the host-country language and whose prior educational experiences may have been limited or inadequate. Beyond that, studies indicate that second- and third-generation immigrants may continue to be disadvantaged in the school system.³² These difficulties may be the result of a number of factors, including diverging cultural expectations of education, weak host-country-language skills, and teachers’ ingrained assumptions and stereotypes of minority pupils. Importantly, other factors such as socioeconomic disadvantage also impact educational achievements. Educational systems need to have programmes in place to tackle both the specific needs of newly arrived pupils (i.e., be mobility-proofed) while appropriately and adequately meeting the wider diversity of needs found in European societies (diversity-proofed). This section highlights examples of educational practices from the five UPSTREAM case studies that exhibit elements of both diversity-proofing and mobility-proofing.

32 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), *Education at a Glance 2011: OECD Indicators* (Paris: OECD Publishing, 2011), <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/eag-2011-en>; Maurice Crul and Jens Schneider, ‘The Second Generation in Europe: Education and the Transition to the Labour Market’ (TIES Policy Brief, TIES Project, Amsterdam, April 2009), www.tiesproject.eu/component/option%2ccom_docman/task%2cdoc_download/gid%2c410/Itemid%2c142/index.html.pdf.

A. Supporting recently arrived pupils

Support for newly arrived pupils (usually defined as having arrived in the past one to three years) varies greatly, not just across the case study countries but also within them, depending on the experience and demographics of particular areas. Many localities are highly experienced at managing an intake of new arrivals throughout the school year. Others are newer immigrant destinations and have large numbers of people coming and going, sometimes referred to as high turnover or ‘churn’ in the student population. Still others have only a few newly arrived pupils.³³

Clearly, the size and characteristics of the student body in large part determine how schools should respond; moreover, schools may face a number of opportunities and constraints, such as extra funding for disadvantaged students or legislative requirements imposed at the regional or national level (see section V, on rethinking governance models). Two examples of how school policy may respond to student needs are:

- **Providing catch-up classes.** Most countries across Europe offer special classes to support recently arrived pupils in developing host-language skills. In some cases, there are statutory requirements that schools provide support for newly arrived students. How such support is provided differs widely across the European Union, reflecting how responsibility for education is designated in different countries and regions. In Spain, where education is managed at the regional level, different regions provide different types of language support. A programme of transitional classes in Madrid was cancelled amidst criticism that separating these children was creating, rather than removing, barriers to their progress. In contrast, Barcelona still provides additional language classes.³⁴ In the United Kingdom local schools decide how to provide language support; most do it through a mainstream channel. In contrast, in France such provision is planned centrally and delivered through a special programme. A law passed in the Netherlands in 2010 provides municipalities with a number of options for how to support students’ language acquisition, such as bridge classes and summer school sessions. However, this law has been criticised for undermining the ability of schools to respond to individual circumstances, as it provides new arrivals with just one year of support in a specialist classroom. Indeed, the Dutch case has been described as ‘mainstreaming children too quickly’.³⁵ In Poland language classes support both immigrant children and returned Polish children who may struggle with the Polish language.
- **Engaging families through schools.** Schools often act as the first and main portal through which recently arrived families can access public services. Policymakers are looking for opportunities to capitalise on this relationship, by, for example, fostering parental engagement and family learning. For example, in France, this relationship is seen as the principal point of entry for integration initiatives.³⁶ Examples of good practices from France include: (1) encouraging parents to play with their children in ways that foster host-country language learning, (2) referring parents to training courses (that may be

33 For example, in Poznań, where there are only around 100 foreign students in schools (two-thirds attending public schools), the needs of children are not a matter of policy but of individual case. And at the school level, ‘the teachers’ knowledge/awareness considering their pupils of foreign background is very often low as sometimes they do not even know their nationality’ See Józwiak, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Poland*.

34 Elisa Brey, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case study of Spain*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015 forthcoming.)

35 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

36 In France *Ouvrir l’Ecole aux Parents Pour l’Intégration* (Opening the school to parents for integration) is a national programme explicitly aimed at making the school a site for integration for immigrant parents. Schools around the country can receive funding to run a training programme for newly arrived migrant parents, with the aim of teaching the language, Republican values, and details about the French school system and how to support their children in school. Information on the programme is provided to families in their first language. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*. In 2012–13, 434 schools participated in the programme and 88 per cent of beneficiaries were women. See Eduscol, ‘Ouvrir l’école aux parents pour réussir l’intégration’, last updated 25 August 2014, <http://eduscol.education.fr/cid49489/ouvrir-l-ecole-aux-parents-pour-reussir-l-integration.html#lien0>. However, these programmes are open only to new arrivals from countries outside the European Union, and ignore the needs of other groups, for example, EU mobile citizens. Discussion at the EU Roundtable, Brussels, Residence Palace, 19 May 2015.

provided within the school itself), and (3) fostering informal parent-teacher relations that go beyond traditional reporting on academic progress.³⁷ In these and other ways, schools act as conduits of key information. They also promote community cohesion—as in Spain, where integration policy envisioned schools as important community centres.³⁸ Although these practices may be targeted at newly arrived families, they can be seen as mainstream policies, as there is nothing in their design that precludes the entire student body from receiving their benefits. However, they are more likely than formal structures—e.g., parent associations—to effectively engage migrant parents.³⁹ Engaging newly arrived immigrant parents early on may be beneficial in the longer term in making such structures more representative.

It can be difficult for schools to adequately support new pupils, particularly when they arrive throughout the school year and from a range of linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Some schools have become very good at responding to these challenges, however, especially those with the flexibility (and adequate resources) to respond according to local needs. For instance, following a rapid influx of Romanian nationals, a primary school in Southwark, London, developed a strategy that included contacting students' previous schools in Romania to find out details of prior education and subjects studied; matching them with more established Romanian immigrants to act as 'buddies'; engaging directly with families; and providing language support through additional homework, and Romanian-speaking teaching assistants.⁴⁰ Local autonomy can be a good thing when it allows schools to provide extra support where necessary, but it can also be a risk if integration is not a priority at the local level. Practices vary depending on each school's leadership and priorities, and the sharing of best practices among schools is rare.⁴¹ While most schools recognise the importance of providing language support to new arrivals, the way it is delivered, particularly if not well integrated with wider school practices, may limit its effectiveness.⁴²

B. Addressing diverse needs throughout the educational cycle

Providing coordinated support is important when recent arrivals transition from available support classes into the mainstream school system. A consensus is growing across Europe that inclusive, coordinated approaches are often the best way to respond to a diverse range of needs in educational settings, including those of the second or third generation.⁴³ However, such approaches require adequate support for and investment in teachers and

37 In the United Kingdom schools often provide a range of courses and family activities for parents, including English classes. Sometimes these courses are provided in partnership with other organisations; in a particularly innovative example, local businesses supported a school by providing reading mentors. See Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*. An example of good practice in English teaching identified by the Office for Standards in Education, Children's Services, and Skills (OFSTED) emphasises strong referrals for parent training; see OFSTED and the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE), 'Good Practice Example: Further Education and Skills Ravensthorpe Community Childcare, Kirklees Local Authority', OFSTED, London, www.gov.uk/government/publications/helping-children-and-families-use-english-as-an-additional-language.

38 Brey, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Spain*.

39 Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*; and Brey, Sorando, and Sanchez, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Spain*.

40 Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

41 In the United Kingdom a national charity, School Home Support, has been set up to promote this sort of engagement. While not specifically targeting migrant parents, the charity's model recognises that supporting parents can reduce truancy and improve educational outcomes for a range of vulnerable children dealing with issues such as poverty and parental addiction. See School Home Support, 'About Us', accessed 20 May 2015, www.schoolhomesupport.org.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=130&Itemid=28.

42 Rimantas Dumčius, Hanna Siarova, Idesbald Nicaise, Jana Huttova, and Indrė Balčaitė, *Study on educational support for newly arrived migrant children* (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union, 2013), www.researchgate.net/publication/274713788_Study_on_education_support_to_newly_arrived_migrant_children.

43 Ibid.

schools in order to be successful. Important elements include:

- ***Ongoing support of the host-country language.*** Evidence suggests that it is beneficial for language learners to enter the mainstream classroom as quickly as possible, to enable them to interact with other students.⁴⁴ Most schools therefore keep catch-up language courses for new arrivals to a year. Since this length of time may not be enough to attain fluency, some schools provide additional support for students entering the mainstream classroom. In St. Denis in France, for example, students receive a few hours a week of specialist support once they have joined the mainstream classroom.⁴⁵ Wholesale orientation of the entire school toward addressing language needs represents an alternative approach.⁴⁶ Clearly such a strategy is likely to be easier in schools where a majority of students speak the host-country language as an additional language, as all teachers will be required to address the needs of pupils at different stages of language proficiency.
- ***Intensive/individualised interaction.*** In educational settings it is well understood that a range of factors in a child's home environment could result in differing needs in the educational context. In Southwark and Bristol in the United Kingdom, providers of education in early years commented that it was 'good practice' to visit the homes of children to gain greater understanding of the family situation, including its approach to education.⁴⁷ Better communication with parents can allow teachers to develop a greater understanding of the complex needs of pupils and the local community. These intensive outreach approaches work best when the entire school is committed to them and when contact and engagement with families is sustained over time. This may be more likely to occur where there is a dedicated position on the school staff, such as a community development coordinator or inclusion manager.⁴⁸ In the United Kingdom, many schools employ teaching assistants to support children with additional needs, whether from an immigration background or not. Such assistants are often bilingual, and may be hired from within the same community as many of the school's students.⁴⁹
- ***Pragmatic accommodation of difference.*** Service providers operating within an environment where it is difficult to discuss diversity may choose to take pragmatic steps even when they are not mandated. For instance, in French schools, educators reported that despite the fact that Muslim religious observances such as Ramadan and Eid are not recognised by the official school calendar, teachers nevertheless took the dates into account when planning their lessons. While publicly acknowledging Eid goes against the French principle of *laïcité* (the separation of religion and state), teachers expected and tolerated a high rate of absenteeism on this date. Similarly the provision of vegetarian options in the school canteen, and the ability for parents to pick menus in advance, was seen as a way of making it easier for Muslim children to opt for a pork-free option at school meals. Such approaches to accommodating diverse needs depend on individual school leadership, however. As has been noted, where not mandated, practices are likely to be highly different from school to school.⁵⁰

44 Hanna Siarova and Miquel Àngel Essomba, *Language support for youth with a migrant background: Policies that effectively promote inclusion* (Brussels: MPI Europe and SIRIUS Policy Network, 2014), www.migrationpolicy.org/research/language-support-youth-migrant-background-policies-effectively-promote-inclusion.

45 Visit to school in St. Denis, UPSTREAM France visit, 27 March 2015.

46 As described by a Birmingham head teacher, 'Since almost all of our pupils speak English as an additional language, we have to ensure that all teaching responds to their needs and supports their learning . . . All teachers are regarded as teachers of English as an additional language'. See OFSTED, *Outstanding achievement for pupils learning English as an additional language: Greet Primary School* (London: OFSTED, 2012), www.gov.uk/government/publications/learning-english-as-an-additional-language-in-primary-school.

47 One interviewee described how none of the children's families had books at home—an insight that would be difficult to get any other way than through a home visit. Multiagency cooperation is an important ingredient to the success of early intervention policies. An example is the safeguarding framework in the Southwark Multiagency Safeguarding hub that seeks to identify vulnerability earlier and facilitate early intervention. See Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.

50 In one town the mayor wanted to ban the provision of meals without pork. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

- ***Supporting students’ development of skills in their home-country language.*** Childrens’ skills in a home-country language are thought to be an indicator of later success in the host-country language and overall literacy. In France a range of home languages are taught as part of a programme that partners with migrant-sending countries.⁵¹ In a particularly innovative pilot project in Montpellier and Nimes, pupils’ existing skills in a home language were utilised while being taught French.⁵² In the United Kingdom, providers must (according to statutory framework) take reasonable steps to provide opportunities for children to develop and use their home language. But some schools, particularly those where students’ linguistic backgrounds are highly varied, have difficulties fulfilling these requirements. For instance, a head teacher in Peckham, London, highlighted the difficulties of supporting the student body’s 44 languages.⁵³ In Poland there is a legal requirement for schools to provide home-language support should a certain number of immigrant parents request it. Only a few schools are implementing this, however. For example, one school in Warsaw provides additional Vietnamese classes.⁵⁴

Of the four policy elements listed above, only the last targets language learners. Hence adapting schools to diversity is as much about actions that benefit all as it is about those directed toward children of migrant background.

IV. BUILDING COHESIVE COMMUNITIES AND INCLUSIVE SERVICES

Social cohesion is an extremely broad policy goal that may encompass a number of policy areas and interventions. Broadly speaking, it is characterised by the need to ensure equal access to services and the labour market—including through housing, health, education, and anti-poverty programmes—plus a more intangible need to promote positive community interactions and relations. Access to services is particularly important for new arrivals. Ensuring positive and strong community relations, while important for the newly arrived, becomes even more so as people settle to ensure that immigrants are recognised as full, equal, and participating members of society. In all relevant policy areas, efforts to tackle discrimination are key.

A. Addressing inequalities in access to mainstream services

Ensuring everyone is able to access public services is essential to promoting integration and building an inclusive society. Making sure services are clearly available to new arrivals can prevent problems from building up. For all immigrant communities, learning how an unfamiliar system works, especially in a foreign language, can be a challenge. Front-line staff play an important role in this process, and in theory, the mainstreaming of integration should give staff room to respond flexibly to diverse needs. But, a lack of awareness among the public workforce (e.g., taking access to information for granted) and bureaucratic rules and procedures can act as barriers.⁵⁵

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Nathalie Auger, ‘Let’s Compare our Languages—Approaches to Supporting Newly Arrived Migrants Making Progress in French’ (paper presented at the European Commission, Directorate-General on Education and Culture, Roundtable on Multilingual Classrooms, Brussels, 28-29 April 2015). See also Nathalie Auger, ‘Exploring the Use of Migrant Languages to Support Learning in Mainstream Classrooms in France’, in *Managing Diversity in Education*, eds. David Little, Constant Leung, and Piet Van Avermaet (Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2014), 223–42.

⁵³ Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

⁵⁴ Finding from the Poland study visit by UPSTREAM researchers, 13-14 April 2015.

⁵⁵ For example, in Poland, a lack of experience among officials and unclear procedures act as barriers to accessing services

- **Improving access for new arrivals.** When people arrive in a foreign place, they face a number of questions about finding housing, work, and a place in school. Often, they may find themselves in a ‘catch-22’, without the right documentation to access the right support; they may also not know where to get the information they need. Recent years have seen an increase in interest in ‘one-stop shops’ that provide a single entry point to all services in one building. For example in Lisbon, Madrid, Munich, Hamburg, and Prague, welcoming centres that provide advice on a host of services act as the first point of call for people who may not otherwise know how to navigate local institutions and services. In Madrid the provision of emergency housing to newly arrived migrants also provides a channel for service providers to orient new arrivals and offer a range of advice and information.⁵⁶ The Citizens Advice Bureau in the United Kingdom provides a similar service, offering advice about everything from housing to work and benefits. Making sure such services are promoted through the right channels is key to ensuring that they are accessed by migrant populations.
- **Language access policies.** Providing translation and interpretation services is a critical first step in allowing people with limited language proficiency to access health care, employment, and education services. The European Convention on Human Rights provides that individuals charged with an offence should have access to an interpreter. However, unlike in the United States, where language access is a matter addressed by antidiscrimination policy, many European policymakers fear that providing translation and interpretation across public services will discourage people from learning the host-country language or show special preference for immigrant groups.⁵⁷ Meanwhile, austerity cuts have led many such services, where available, to be scaled back.⁵⁸ Nonetheless, there are some promising examples of best practices at the local level. For example, the city of Bristol has adapted to the needs of a growing number of Somali residents by providing translation in early learning centres.⁵⁹ In Amsterdam, the poverty reduction outreach programme ‘Kansrijk Zuidoost’ provides select translation services to improve access.⁶⁰ In general, however, Europe is far behind the United States on the issue of language access. In the United States, many states and counties have developed strategies for opening up services to populations with limited English proficiency—strategies that encompass identifying and meeting interpretation needs, conducting both initial and ongoing training of service providers, and monitoring results.⁶¹
- **Outreach in neighbourhoods.** Some local-level authorities have more proactively targeted policies at neighbourhoods undergoing rapid change. Poverty reduction support programmes in some Dutch cities (e.g., ‘Kansrijk Zuidoost’) reach out to particular communities.⁶² Ingredients of success include the quality of referrals across actors on the ground (as when midwives can provide information on other needed services), coordination across organisations, and follow-up with beneficiaries. These actions are thought to be effective at addressing complex and overlapping needs. However, they require significant staff time, interpersonal skills, and awareness of factors relating to diversity.

and benefits. See Ignacy Józwiak, Joanna Nestorowicz, and Magdalena Lesińska, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Poland*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2014), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/17-country-reports/226-the-politics-of-mainstreaming-immigrant-integration-policies-case-study-of-poland>.

56 Brey, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Spain*.

57 For example, Eric Pickles, then UK Communities Secretary, called on local authorities to stop translating documents, describing this as a cost-saving measure and to stop ‘encouraging segregation’. In his statement, he claimed that costs for translation exceeded £100 million in 2006; see Written Ministerial Statement of Eric Pickles, Communities Secretary, to Parliament, ‘Translation into Foreign Languages’, 12 March 2013, www.gov.uk/government/speeches/translation-into-foreign-languages.

58 The Netherlands recently stopped paying for medical interpreter services. See Tony Sheldon, ‘Protests Mount to Cuts in Translation Services in the Netherlands’, *British Medical Journal*, 27 June 2011, www.bmj.com/content/342/bmj.d4049?rss=1.

59 Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

60 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

61 See, for example, Vinodh Kutty, ‘Hennepin County Government Center Limited English Proficiency Plan: Health and Human Services Department’ (Minneapolis, MN: Hennepin County Government Center, 2006).

62 For example, ‘Kansrijk Zuidoost’ in Amsterdam and ‘Bureau Frontlijn’ in Rotterdam, see van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

B. Building cohesive communities

Public services can play an important role in supporting and fostering positive relationships among community members of different backgrounds. It is important to ensure that everyone has a say and is not overlooked in decisions on the allocation of public resources. However, the success of community policies is difficult to measure—a problem that often leaves them vulnerable to budget cuts. Important steps toward community cohesion include:

- **Investments in neighbourhood organisations.** The degree to which civil society is involved in delivering integration projects and is supported by local and central governments varies widely in the UPSTREAM countries.⁶³ In Spain and Poland civil society is heavily involved in local service delivery. Neighbourhood organisations are common in the United Kingdom. For example, in Bristol, neighbourhood partnerships provide the opportunity for communities to feed their concerns up to local elected councillors. Similarly, Southwark’s community councils (attended by residents, councillors, and service providers) address particular topics such as local regeneration plans and provide small funding grants for residents to spend on local projects. Associations of tenants’ and residents also provide forums for locals to come together (and mobilise over shared concerns). Such associations are widely perceived as encouraging residents’ stake in their neighbourhood and promoting positive community relations. They tend to be the domain of relatively established communities, however, and new arrivals are less likely than longer-term residents to participate. Ensuring that these organisations are representative of local residents (across, for example, socioeconomic categories) is important to ensure their success. In Southwark the council monitors attendance and encourages under-represented groups to participate.⁶⁴
- **Campaigns to raise awareness of and challenge discrimination.** Strengthening avenues for reporting cases of discrimination is another key plank of efforts to adapt public services to the needs of diverse communities. Equality legislation across Member States has been aligned with EU legislation, but ensuring that rights on paper are translated into rights in practice remains a challenge. In the Netherlands, antidiscrimination is an important part of local citizenship programmes and policies. Local antidiscrimination agencies—which were originally nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) and remain close to the ground—support people in reporting discrimination, and run awareness-raising campaigns at the local level. The implementation of programmes to improve awareness appears to depend to a large extent on politics. In the Netherlands, local policy officers report a lack of political will in addressing discrimination based on race and ethnicity.⁶⁵ In the United Kingdom programmes to raise awareness of anti-Muslim discrimination received attention only when a high-profile politician got involved.⁶⁶ But such leadership has not been matched in other policy areas in the United Kingdom. Immigrant-rights groups, for example, are concerned that recent changes to UK immigration legislation are likely to fuel indirect discrimination in housing against immigrants and minorities.⁶⁷
- **Intercultural mediation.** In Spain relatively diverse neighbourhoods have been targeted as part of the Intercultural Community Intervention project. Originally a state-supported initiative, now funded

63 In France variations were found across neighbourhoods within cities. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*. Similarly in Poland there was a big difference between the level of civil-society support in Poznan compared with Warsaw. See Józwiak, Nestorowicz, and Lesińska, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Poland*.

64 Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

65 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

66 See Chris Allen, *Passing the Dinner Table Test: Retrospective and Prospective Approaches to Tackling Islamophobia in Britain* (Birmingham: Sage Open, 2013), <http://sgo.sagepub.com/content/spsgo/3/2/2158244013484734.full.pdf>. Although with the departure of an individual, the work can quickly disintegrate—a finding from other research on the role of key individuals (often politicians) in pursuing integration projects; see Elizabeth Collett and Ben Gidley, *Attitudes to Migrants, Communication, and Local Leadership (AMICALL)* (University of Oxford: Centre on Migration, Policy, and Society, 2012), www.compas.ox.ac.uk/fileadmin/files/Publications/Reports/Amicall_Report_ENG_v3_single_WEB_READY.pdf.

67 Sue Lukes, John Perry, and Ruth Grove-White, *Immigration Bill Briefing for House of Lords: The Implications of Landlord Checks for Migrants in the UK* (London: Migrants Rights Network Briefing, February 2014), www.migrantsrights.org.uk/files/publications/MRN_briefing-landlord_checks-House_of_Lords-Feb_2014.pdf.

through a private organisation, the project focuses on education, citizen relations, and community health. It seeks to coordinate the activities of local actors, and to work with neighbourhood residents to develop local responses to challenges. Activities are aimed at the entire population and seek to bring neighbours from different backgrounds together.⁶⁸ The aim is the creation of local community networks that will ensure the sustainability of the intervention over the long term.⁶⁹

Many of these policies require long-term investment of time and resources in order to be successful. In this area in particular, civil-society organisations that are subject to short-term, project-based funding cycles are likely to struggle to build credibility and trust with the people with whom they seek to work. There is also a risk that this policy area can be affected by fears of terrorism and extremism. Incidents such as the Charlie Hebdo killings in Paris or fresh reports of Europeans volunteering to fight in wars abroad can change the nature of the national conversation and politicise efforts to promote community cohesion. In this context, there is a risk that efforts to promote community cohesion may stigmatise the very people they intend to serve, fuelling alienation and grievance instead of forging neighbourly relations.⁷⁰

C. *Improving how the public-sector workforce addresses the needs of diverse populations*

Diversity-proofing public services depends to a large extent on training the public-sector workforce to meet the needs of the populations it serves. Without adequate awareness and understanding, front-line staff can miss opportunities to provide needed support, and thus perpetuate cycles of exclusion. For example, teachers unaccustomed to supporting language learners may incorrectly diagnose them as having special needs.⁷¹ Social workers unaware of the signs of structural discrimination may be unable to adequately advise their clients.⁷²

Countries increasingly provide diversity-training programmes to help public-sector front-line staff develop awareness of the different needs of different communities. Such programmes vary in their quality and reach. In France, for example, diversity training is available to early childhood educators but not to teachers at other levels of the education system.⁷³ As a consequence, awareness of how to support language learners is somewhat limited outside of special classes for newly arrived pupils, whose teachers have little contact with ‘mainstream’ teachers.⁷⁴ In the United Kingdom health-care practitioners are required to undergo equality and diversity training, reported by some as too basic to be worthwhile.⁷⁵

Employing a diverse workforce is a more direct approach to improving the public sector’s awareness of diverse needs. It can also have a number of other positive outcomes, such as supporting access to decent jobs for disadvantaged groups and tapping specialised skills and knowledge. For instance, teaching assistants who speak

68 Brey, Sorando, and Sanchez, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Spain*.

69 Obra Social ‘La Caixa’, ‘Proyecto de Intervención Comunitaria Intercultural’, accessed 15 May 2015, http://obrasocial.lacaixa.es/ambitos/inmigracion/intervencionintercultural_es.html.

70 In the United Kingdom, many critics argued that the counterextremism programme ‘Prevent’ blurred the line with integration. While the government has taken steps to try to distinguish the policy areas by separating them institutionally (with the Home Office in charge of counterextremism, and integration being the responsibility of the Department for Communities and Local Government), this change is unlikely to be noticed on the ground. See Ali and Gidley, *Advancing Outcomes for all Minorities*.

71 See, for example, Rod E. Case and Shanon S. Taylor, ‘Language Difference or Learning Disability? Answers from a Linguistic Perspective’, *The Clearing House* 78, no. 3 (2005): 127–30; and Amanda L. Sullivan, ‘Disproportionality in Special Education Identification and Placement of English Language Learners’, *Council for Exceptional Children* 77, no. 3 (2011): 317–34.

72 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

73 Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

74 Ibid.

75 In a recent report on health professionals in the United Kingdom, some described the level of diversity training provided as very basic, making it effectively a waste of time. See Hiranthi Jayaweera and Helen McCarthy, *Integration of Migrant Health Professionals in the UK Health Sector*, Work-Int Country Report (Oxford: Work-Int Project, 2015).

the home-country language of incoming pupils may be able to better prepare these students for general lessons, translate educational content, and liaise with parents. But recruitment policies that favour minorities can be difficult to implement on a large scale if resisted by majority populations—and may exacerbate discrimination when perceived as unfair.⁷⁶

Decisions about hiring practices are usually taken locally. Policy levers available at both the national and local levels include:

- ***Recruitment procedures that focus on the goal of equal opportunity.*** Such procedures seek to level the playing field by giving all job applicants a fair chance to succeed. For example, in the United Kingdom, public-sector recruitment techniques are designed to overcome prejudice. For example, interview panels are required to score candidates based on their answers to interview questions—a metric designed to prevent prejudice from influencing recruitment decisions. Despite such efforts, studies warn that equal opportunity policy can exist on paper alone without systematic efforts to change workplace culture.⁷⁷ Meanwhile, recruitment practices that enable discrimination—e.g., asking that applicants attach photos to their curriculum vitae—continue to be common practice throughout Europe. Efforts to level the playing field are the exception rather than the rule.
- ***‘On ramps’ into public-sector roles.*** In France, civil-service training schemes provide extra support on entrance exams to applicants from disadvantaged areas. Similarly, the United Kingdom supports internships for minority ethnic, disadvantaged, and disabled university students in an effort to prepare them for the graduate entry programme.⁷⁸ But the effectiveness of such programmes is in question; an analysis of the 2013 graduate intake revealed a lower success rate among minority applicants than white applicants.⁷⁹

While efforts to level the playing field for the benefit of minority populations may draw public ire, there are other, innovative ways to build a diverse workforce. Higher wages for specialised skills may offer minority applicants a greater incentive to apply for jobs. For instance, several U.S. states offer bilingual staff a pay differential, reflecting the extra skills and pressures their work involves.⁸⁰ While diversifying the public sector is an important step toward orienting it toward the needs of diverse groups, each country will need to tailor its methods to its particular context.

Social cohesion is notoriously intangible, making it difficult to measure the success of related efforts. Also, most steps to promote social cohesion will involve incremental changes, rather than wholesale systemic reforms. Nonetheless, most governments would do well to prioritise approaches that address diversity in the public-sector workforce, which offers a number of quantifiable benefits for the delivery of public services.

76 Thomas Sowell, *Affirmative Action around the World: An Empirical Study* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2005).

77 Kim Hoque and Mike Noon, ‘Equal Opportunities Policy and Practice in Britain: Evaluating the “Empty Shell” Hypothesis’, *Work, Employment and Society* 18, no. 3 (2004): 481–506.

78 HM Government, ‘Civil Service Fast Stream: Summer Diversity Internship Programme’, 2 January 2014, www.gov.uk/civil-service-fast-stream-summer-diversity-internship-programme.

79 Analysis of the 2013 graduate programme intake reveals the success rate is 3.6 per cent for ethnic minority applicants compared with 5 per cent for white applicants. Figures available in Annex 1 of the Civil Service Human Resources, *Civil Service Fast Stream: Annual Report* (London: UK Government, 2013), www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/359238/Fast_stream_annual_report-2013.pdf.

80 See Lily Qi, ‘Practitioner’s Corner: Doing More with Less on Language Access’, Migration Policy Institute, accessed 8 June 2015, www.migrationpolicy.org/programs/language-access-translation-and-interpretation-policies-and-practices/practitioners-corner-more. One example of where this is replicated in Europe is in Denmark, where wage structures reflect the additional linguistic and cultural knowledge of bilingual teaching assistants. See Dumčius, Siarova, Nicaise, Huttova, and Balčaitė, *Study on Educational Support for Newly Arrived Migrant Children*.

V. RETHINKING GOVERNANCE MODELS FOR DIVERSE AND MOBILE POPULATIONS

A key element of mainstreaming is a shift in governance, away from centralised toward decentralised approaches.⁸¹ In theory, this allows local authorities more room to respond to real needs. Meanwhile, whole-of-government coordination is needed to ensure that integration challenges are addressed across policy portfolios. There are a number of ways to coordinate mainstreaming, as observed in the case study countries and discussed below.

A. *Improving funding flexibility at the local level*

One of the main challenges facing local authorities is the concentration of newly arrived or disadvantaged communities with specific needs. Since national government structures operate at arm's length from these populations, they may be less inclined or able to respond to relevant integration challenges. Moreover, national governments have a responsibility to police borders, and are subject to an anxious electorate that may want immigration reduced, and thus may face incentives to restrict access to services to newcomers. By contrast, local authorities, responsible for delivering programmes on the ground to individuals of all backgrounds, may be both better placed to respond to diverse needs, and more inclined to do so; simply turning people away is rarely an option.

Increased devolution to the local level is therefore one way to tailor services to diversity. In several UPSTREAM countries, a general trend toward decentralisation coexists with area-based policies and programming. However, devolution can create policy incoherence, especially if top-down regulatory requirements are developed without sufficient consultation with the local level.⁸²

Increased devolution to the local level is one way to tailor services to diversity.

France, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom filter resources with the aim of getting extra funds to the services that need them most. There are a number of different models that target neighbourhoods, individuals, or schools:

- **Priority zones.** Most commonly associated with France, area-based policies address deprivation across all services through the *politique de la ville*.⁸³ Priority Education Zones, for instance, target resources toward schools facing the greatest difficulties; in addition to the extra funds they get for their geographical location, these zones are supplemented with central government funding allocated on the basis of

81 Ilona van Breugel, Xandra Mann, and Peter Scholten, *Conceptualising Mainstreaming in Immigrant Integration Governance*, UPSTREAM Report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2014), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/15-comparative-reports/222-conceptualizing-mainstreaming-in-immigrant-integration-governance>.

82 For instance, the UK government has introduced welfare benefits changes that are bringing large numbers of migrant women who speak little English into job centres, but a commitment to avoid targeting means there is no additional support for these women. See Ole Jensen and Ben Gidley, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of the United Kingdom*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2014), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/17-country-reports/225-the-politics-of-mainstreaming-immigrant-integration-policies-case-study-of-the-united-kingdom>.

83 Although in the context of austerity, local actors claimed that funding through *politique de la ville* was being used *instead of* rather than *in addition to* other local funding. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

early dropout rates.⁸⁴ One result is smaller class sizes.⁸⁵ The United Kingdom also has a long history of area-based policies, including Sure Start, Education Action Zones, Health Action Zones, and the Excellence in Cities initiative, some of which benefit minorities without targeting them. And the Netherlands' 'Power Boroughs' approach followed a similar strategy.

- **Pupil premiums.** In the United Kingdom the 'pupil premium' allocates additional funds to schools depending on how many students are in receipt of free school meals (essentially a measure of their parents' socioeconomic level). This measure replaced a funding allocation model aligned more closely with language needs and ethnic minority status (although schools continue to get funding for English as an Additional Language [EAL] pupils). The pupil premium is credited with increasing school flexibility, as schools can choose their own funding priorities. It has also insulated schools from the large-scale cuts seen in recent years.⁸⁶ Schools have used their additional funding to hire teachers and teaching assistants (including those specialising in English) and provide booster classes, mentors, and aspiration programmes.⁸⁷
- **Reserved child care.** In the Netherlands municipalities are required to grant so-called 'target toddlers' free slots in preschool. They have some discretion to define the target group; most choose several criteria, including parental educational level and fluency in Dutch. The metrics used by Rotterdam and Amsterdam are thought to be suboptimal (for example, they may exclude children whose parents speak poor Dutch at home while including children whose parents are highly literate in their own language). Moreover, such an approach may undermine the value of socioemotional development, with unintended consequences, such as segregating children according to language proficiency.⁸⁸

Greater flexibility at the local level is credited with allowing front-line workers and service providers to tailor interventions. For instance, in the Netherlands, greater discretion over how education funding is allocated has allowed municipalities to address challenges that might not have been predictable or obvious to national policymakers, such as the fact that newly arrived Dutch Caribbeans are in need of language support, despite having Dutch passports.⁸⁹ But flexibility can be a double-edged sword: in the United Kingdom, for instance, it is thought to have been accompanied by deteriorating mechanisms for sharing good practices across schools.⁹⁰ In places that lack the political will to implement promising practices, the devolution of integration policy may be problematic.

Funding models based on measures of economic disadvantage rather than other indicators also have advantages and disadvantages. As discussed in Section II, they may divert actors from identifying integration needs, or make these needs more difficult to address. For instance, in France, it is rare to find references in educational policy documents to integration needs or to the origin of pupils.⁹¹ Second, some groups may be left out of programmes: they may fail to meet eligibility criteria despite being disadvantaged, or they may not be aware of their entitlements. In the United Kingdom children of irregular immigrants, asylum seekers, and some EU nationals are not eligible for free school meals, and thus will not attract a pupil premium, creating challenges for

84 For a deeper discussion of the different funding models, see Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*.

85 Twenty-three students per class in Pentes de la Croix-Rousse. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

86 Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

87 OFSTED, *The Pupil Premium: An Update* (Manchester: OFSTED, 2014), www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/379205/The_20pupil_20premium_20-20an_20update.pdf.

88 Amsterdam provides early years education for all children; however, those outside the target group attend for only half the time, creating some difficulties for providers who have to design a programme to suit the two groups. See van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

89 Rotterdam and Amsterdam adapted to these challenges by providing extra funding. See van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

90 In the United Kingdom, researchers found that greater flexibility for schools has come alongside weaker local educational authorities, and diminished interschool learning and exchange. For example, Bristol's Hannah Moore School offered parents courses, working with a range of partners on subjects such as cycling, an English conversation club, family learning, and family swimming, but had no structures in place to encourage sharing lessons with other primary schools. See Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

91 Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

schools and local authorities.⁹² Relying on free school meals as a proxy also depends on families being aware of their entitlement to sign up for such meals—information that new arrivals may not have.⁹³

Perhaps a more critical question is whether socioeconomic disadvantage is an adequate proxy for integration needs, amidst evidence that socioeconomic disadvantage and language needs do not always overlap.⁹⁴ Interviews conducted for the UPSTREAM project suggested that, in practice, front-line workers continue to take account of migration-related diversity, regardless of whether there is official policy to do so.⁹⁵ But removing group-based funding has in some instances undermined support for new arrivals, as in the case of schools that have abolished the role of language specialists.⁹⁶ Socioeconomic targets alone may pose a number of risks, such as playing down discrimination.⁹⁷

Ultimately, it may come down to whether socioeconomic status or immigrant background is a greater determinant of success in the host country. National governments have a role to play in mitigating possible gaps by promoting the sharing of best practices across localities and by providing complementary tools to address sources of need (such as supplementary funding for language support).

B. *Designing a ‘whole-of-government’ approach to integration*

Integration is cross-cutting; many challenges become clear only by taking a bird’s-eye view over a long period of time. But governments are generally not designed to address cross-cutting challenges.

At the central government level, integration policy has undergone frequent changes alongside the political context.⁹⁸ The creation of a designated integration ministry or department has sometimes had the effect of setting the terms of the integration debate while absolving other ministries of the responsibility for tackling integration. For instance, a shift in France to improve the reception of newly arrived immigrants appears to have reoriented officials’ understanding of integration as an issue facing new arrivals alone.⁹⁹ A further risk is that integration

92 Discussion with UK officials on work visit to France (28-29 March 2015). Local authorities may still have a duty to support destitute families with no recourse to public funds, but without any budget to do so, this can create extra burdens. Note that the Early Years Pupil Premium does not suffer from such challenges, as eligibility is decided by whether benefits and annual income fall below £16,190 regardless of immigration status. See Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

93 Some schools claim that it is difficult to get families to sign up for free school meals, a problem that appears to have been exacerbated by a recent policy change that means all children receive free meals in the first two years of school, as it has reduced incentives for parents to sign up. See Richard Adams, ‘Schools Policy “Car Crash” Sows Confusion among Parents’, *The Guardian*, 11 January 2015, www.theguardian.com/education/2015/jan/11/schools-policy-car-crash-confusion-meals-pupil-premium.

94 In the United Kingdom there is some overlap between English as an Additional Language (EAL) and Free School Meals (FSM), e.g., 60 per cent of those with Somali heritage and 38 per cent of Caribbean heritage are eligible for FSM, compared to 8 per cent of Indian heritage and 21 per cent of British learners. See Emma Bent, John Hill, Jo Rose, and Leon Tikly (2012) as cited in Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

95 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

96 Jensen, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the United Kingdom*.

97 See for example, Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*.

98 In France, for example, the body responsible for the *politiques de la ville*, antidiscrimination, and equal opportunities, was originally *Fonds d’action sociale* (FAS), and was renamed twice to reflect an expanded remit (first to reflect a change in demographics, to expand support from Algerian families to all immigrants, and then to include the fight against discrimination) before being replaced by Acsé, the National Agency for Social Cohesion and Equal Opportunities, which existed for much of the early 21st century. Acsé was replaced by CGEAT (Commisariat Général à l’Égalité) in 2014. See Bozec and Simon, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of France*.

99 *Ibid.* Moreover, these divisions at the national level can translate into silos on the ground. Bozec and Simon explain how ‘officers and professionals on the ground involved in these specific schemes [for new arrivals] indeed experience difficulties in establishing systematic cooperation with other educational actors and in disseminating concerns for integration beyond

becomes overly aligned with the policy portfolio of the ministry where it is housed, as in the case of the United Kingdom (where integration is often understood in terms of community relations).

Many national and local governments now acknowledge that the scale and character of demographic change necessitates a concerted, whole-of-government response, as diversity has become a fact of life, and one that affects all mainstream services. But it is often extremely difficult to work across departments, both in Member States and the European Union. Even in the United Kingdom and the Netherlands—among those European countries with the most developed integration policies—officials lament the lack of cross-departmental structures.¹⁰⁰

There are a number of models for strengthening the multilevel governance of integration:

- **Interministerial cooperation.** Horizontal coordination across policy portfolios is more common in policy areas peripheral to integration, such as social mobility or equality, raising the question of whether new structures are needed to drive momentum on integration or whether it could be framed by existing structures. For instance, the United Kingdom has two interministerial groups to support the country's equality and social mobility strategies. Similarly, Poland has an interministerial group on migration.¹⁰¹ Some countries have abolished stand-alone integration departments as they focus on mainstreaming. For instance, there is no longer a minister for integration under Sweden's new government, and Denmark closed its Ministry of Refugee, Immigration, and Integration Affairs in 2011, dispersing responsibilities through five other ministries in an explicit effort to mainstream integration policy. Such a move creates the risk that integration will be deprioritised. In Spain the shift in responsibility for integration from state secretary to secretary general in 2012 appears to reflect a deprioritisation of integration in the context of austerity.¹⁰²
- **Local partnerships.** Sometimes local actors are better than national ones at brokering relationships across services and with partners. For instance, the Rotterdam Zuid area-based project brings together local and national government, employers, housing associations, and educational institutions. Although the programme has only recently started and its effectiveness remains to be seen, the mix of partners has enabled it to take a holistic approach to family support, thinking through barriers to participation that students may face—from the early years up to their possible participation in vocational education—and how the entire family can be supported to improve aspirations and attainment.¹⁰³ In the United Kingdom, Regional Strategic Migration Partnerships bring together service providers, representatives from migrant associations, and local and regional governments to address migration challenges at the regional level (but some partnerships have been discontinued following cuts to local government budgets).¹⁰⁴ Finally, some cities have established partnerships with cities abroad, in large part decided by immigration pathways. For instance, Warsaw and Cardiff are partner cities, and Cardiff is a popular destination for Polish migrants. Warsaw advised Cardiff on what to put in welcoming materials for newly arrived eastern European pupils, while learning from the practices of Wales's multicultural schools.¹⁰⁵

Mainstreaming requires effective multilevel governance for its effective implementation. Such governance involves flexibility at the local level alongside mechanisms to feed up lessons from the local to the national level. While some forms of local flexibility have been introduced, especially with regards to funding, they are rarely matched with the introduction of necessary coordination mechanisms (Germany is a notable exception). For instance, while responsibility for EAL provision in the United Kingdom has been devolved to schools, allowing them to adapt practices to local circumstances, there is no central government policy official responsible for

the limited scope of these arrangements'.

100 Findings from study visits to the United Kingdom (23-24 March 2015) and the Netherlands (30-31 March 2015).

101 Józwiak, Nestorowicz, and Lesińska, *The Politics of Mainstreaming, Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Poland*.

102 This can also be seen in the fact that Spain's national-level strategy on integration, the Plan for Citizenship and Integration, has not been updated. See Brey, *The Politics of Mainstreaming, Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Spain*.

103 Meeting with Marco Pastors, Director of Rotterdam Zuid, Netherlands study visit, 30-31 March 2015.

104 See Ali and Gidley, *Advancing Outcomes for all Minorities*.

105 Anna Bernacka-Langier, Ewa Dąbrowa, Ewa Pawlic-Rafałowska, Jolanta Wasilewska-Łaszczuk, and Małgorzata Zasuńska (2011) cited in Józwiak, Nestorowicz, and Lesińska, *The Politics of Mainstreaming, Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of Poland*.

EAL, suggesting a hands-off, rather than a supportive, whole-of-government, approach. Similarly, initiatives to work across departments at the national level are rare, and their effectiveness is hard to measure.

VI. USING DATA TO PROMOTE INTEGRATION OUTCOMES

Data are critical to mainstreaming. Only through reliable data and monitoring will governments be able to rigorously audit public services to identify gaps and inequalities. Moreover, effective planning at the local level—where the main impacts of hypermobile and superdiverse populations are felt—depends on knowing the size, characteristics, and needs of local populations, whether it is calculating the number of hospital beds or evaluating if the numbers of newly arrived pupils merit a language specialist. However, integration policymaking too often depends on population data that are unreliable or out of date. Moreover, since data collection is made possible only through political support, the monitoring of integration outcomes differs widely by country.

A. *National data-collection models*

Data collection is never neutral, but reflects specific interests and contexts. For one thing, definitions of who is an ‘immigrant’ vary widely as a result of historical contexts (and are highly resistant to change), which makes cross-country comparison difficult. Collecting data on second or third generations can be especially controversial. Some critics argue that collecting data on ethnic or racial categories reifies group membership and takes little account of variation within groups.¹⁰⁶ In the case of integration policy, the risk is that tracing the outcomes of minority groups furthers a self-fulfilling prophecy, whereby being from a certain background implies negative outcomes. Such a view underlies the French ‘difference-blind’ approach, in which collecting data on ethnicity and race is avoided (see Box 1). Variant definitions and data-collection methods, meanwhile, shape policy interpretations. Policymakers, service providers, and experts may not recognise how data are shaping their understanding of integration.¹⁰⁷

Only through reliable data and monitoring will governments be able to rigorously audit public services to identify gaps and inequalities.

B. *Problems of over- and undercounting at the local level*

Problems of over- and undercounting can have significant impact on local authorities, especially if they receive national government funds based on reported population numbers. The different ways that data are collected also affect their reliability.

¹⁰⁶ As de Zwart suggests, ‘policymakers treat the social categories as real groups, and the representatives of ethnic groups and castes who demand accommodation do likewise’; Frank de Zwart, ‘The Dilemma of Recognition: Administrative Categories and Cultural Diversity’, *Theory and Society* 34, no. 2 (April 2005): 137–69. See also Patrick Simon and Victor Piché, ‘Accounting for Ethnic and Racial Diversity: The Challenge of Enumeration’, *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35, no. 8 (2012): 1357–65.

¹⁰⁷ Some academics have drawn attention to the ‘mutually constitutive’ nature of data and definitions and highlighted how data can colour all policy development. For example, see Simon and Piché, ‘Accounting for Ethnic and Racial Diversity’.

Box I. Approaches to data collection

France collects data on *étrangers* (those who do not hold French nationality) and *immigrés* (who were born abroad and do not hold French nationality) at the national level. Since 1999 the census has differentiated between ‘naturalised French’, ‘French born’, and ‘foreign born’. The concept of ‘race’ or ethnicity is not captured in statistical data. At the local level, data on background are not collected systematically. Schools collect some data on nationality, country of birth, and language spoken at home, but these data are not amalgamated at a national level and are used strictly for administrative, not monitoring, purposes.

Netherlands collects data on the *autochthones* (native Dutch, officially defined as persons with both parents born in the Netherlands) and *allochthones* (defined as having at least one parent born abroad). *Allochthones* are categorised as Western and non-Western, with Western defined as having origins in Europe (excluding Turkey), North America, Oceania, Indonesia, or Japan. At the local level a range of data are collected; however, data on migration status are not collected across all policy areas (such as in education).

In **Poland** a differentiation is made between ‘foreigners’ (on temporary work permits) and ‘immigrants’ (who have residence permits). As a result, discussions about immigrants are based on figures that may represent only half of the foreign-born population residing in Polish territory. In addition, data are collected on ethnic and national minorities. There are four historical ethnic and nine national minorities recognised, and these are defined legally according to the *Minorities Act* (2005).

In **Spain** data are collected at the local (municipal) level, where individuals register (*empadronarse*) in order to access services. In theory this means that data on irregular migrants are captured, and then aggregated at the national level by the Instituto Nacional Estadística (INE). Data on migration encompass nationality and country of birth, as well as the country from which an individual is moving. As in France, the concept of ‘race’ or ethnicity is not captured in statistical data.

United Kingdom. While immigration status is based on country of birth or on nationality, data on ethnicity are collected more widely but give only a limited indication of migration status or background (categories include a mix of ethnic, regional, and national attributes, e.g., Black/African/Pakistani). Policymaking is framed in terms of its impact on minority communities, even as growing numbers of people who identify their ethnicity as ‘mixed’ complicate traditional understandings of ethnicity. In schools, data on ethnicity, language(s) spoken at home, and eligibility for free school meals are collected.

Sources: Riva Kastoryano and Angéline Escafré-Dublet, ‘France’, in *Addressing Tolerance and Diversity Discourses in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 16 European Countries*, eds. Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Anna Triandafyllidou (Barcelona: Barcelona Centre for International Affairs [CIDOB], 2012), 27–47; Michał Buchowski and Katarzyna Chlewińska, ‘Poland’, in *Addressing Tolerance and Diversity Discourses in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 16 European Countries*, eds. Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Anna Triandafyllidou (Barcelona: CIDOB, 2012), 345–69; Office for National Statistics (ONS), *What Does the 2011 Census Tell Us About Inter-ethnic Relationships?* (London: ONS, 3 July 2014), www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171776_369571.pdf; Ilona van Breugel, Xandra Maan, and Peter Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*, UPSTREAM country report (Rotterdam: Project UPSTREAM, 2015); and discussion with official at Comunidad de Madrid, work visit to Spain, 8–9 April 2015.

Many European countries operate population and/or residency registers, which then serve as the main bases for statistics on migration. It is often necessary to register with the local municipality in order to gain access to services. However, the comprehensiveness of these registers varies based on a range of factors. Immigrants may not know of their existence, not understand their purpose, or, in the case of irregular migrants, fail to register for fear of detection.¹⁰⁸ Meanwhile, registers may count people who have already left the country: residents face little incentive to deregister upon departure. In addition to population registers, data can be captured through administrative processes. But while these often provide more accurate (and timely) information about individuals accessing specific administrative services (such as through the employment office), they may not be representative of the wider population.

¹⁰⁸ For example, in Poland, Ukrainians on temporary visas may fail to register because they distrust the state bureaucracy; discussion with civil-society members, Poland work visit, 13–14 April 2015.

As has been noted, ensuring that data are comprehensive is particularly important where resources are linked to population levels (whether overall or of target groups). It is also important in ensuring that policies are adequately meeting the needs of those they seek to serve. Undercounting can occur when newly arrived migrant groups are transient, living in unregistered or multi-occupancy accommodation, seeking to avoid detection, or unaware of the process due to language, literacy, or other barriers. In Southwark, London, research commissioned by Southwark Council suggested that certain groups' response rates to the UK census might be as low as 33 per cent.¹⁰⁹ Other issues with the collection of census data were identified in Poland, when the low counts of national and ethnic minorities led some scholars to suggest that there were systematic problems with the way the question on national identity had been posed.¹¹⁰

National governments vary considerably in the extent to which they support local authorities in collecting local data.

National governments vary considerably in the extent to which they support local authorities in collecting local data. The Netherlands has an effective national statistics office, while municipal governments also benefit from dedicated research and statistics departments.¹¹¹ Similarly, in Spain, both regional and municipal levels have dedicated statistics departments.¹¹² And in Poland and France, the national statistics office has regional branches responsible for producing local information.¹¹³ Nevertheless, it seems that in many cases, this does not translate into effective monitoring of policy interventions. In a number of countries (France, Poland, and the Netherlands), the monitoring of policy outcomes in schools appeared to be inconsistent or nonexistent, and often indicators on migration background were not included.¹¹⁴

C. Use of other indicators

As discussed above, a number of countries have turned to other indicators, such as of socioeconomic status, to identify need and distribute resources. A focus on poverty, for example, is seen as a way to stave off the potentially negative political consequences of focusing resources on immigrants.

Socioeconomic indicators are the most commonly used proxy for integration indicators, and are often used in policies to promote social inclusion. (Immigrant groups are often over-represented in groups experiencing poverty.) While this may be more politically palatable, it disguises a range of different reasons people are vulnerable to social exclusion.¹¹⁵

109 Robin Pharoah and Oliver Hopwood, *Families and Hardship in New and Established Communities in Southwark* (London: Southwark Council, June 2013), www.southwark.gov.uk/download/downloads/id/10732/families_and_hardship_in_new_and_established_communities_in_southwark_-_june_2013.

110 Michał Buchowski and Katarzyna Chlewińska, 'Poland', in *Addressing Tolerance and Diversity Discourses in Europe: A Comparative Overview of 16 European Countries*, eds. Ricard Zapata-Barrero and Anna Triandafyllidou (Barcelona: Barcelona Centre for International Affairs [CIDOB], 2012), 345–69.

111 Mann, van Breugel, and Scholten, *The Politics of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of the Netherlands*.

112 The integration department of the Community of Madrid conducts an annual survey on attitudes toward immigration and integration. Presentation by the Integration Department, Community of Madrid, during Spain study visit (8–9 April 2015). For an example of the type of data available, see Ajuntament de Barcelona, 'Departament d'estadística', accessed 8 June 2015, www.bcn.cat/estadistica/angles/index.htm.

113 See, for example, the organisational structure of the Poznan regional office, which has four branch offices throughout the region: Statistical Office in Poznan, 'Organizational Structure of the Statistical Office in Poznan', accessed 8 June 2015, <http://poznan.stat.gov.pl/en/information-about-office/organizational-structure-449>, and the regional distribution in France: Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE), 'Régions', accessed 8 June 2015, www.insee.fr/fr/regions.

114 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*; Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*; and Józwiak, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in Poland*.

115 For instance, a number of indicators may make people more likely to experience poverty and social exclusion, including

Moreover, measuring poverty is notoriously complex. One of the most common indicators used is the relative poverty line, set at 60 per cent of median income, with those below considered at risk of poverty. This is necessarily arbitrary, and so policies designed on this basis, such as area-based policies, are also likely to suffer from arbitrary boundaries.¹¹⁶ Critics have suggested that relying solely on income data fails to capture a full picture of deprivation, and may underplay the poverty experienced by women.¹¹⁷ A number of other indicators—such as on employment and educational status, access to services, and ability to meet basic living costs—may offer a more nuanced picture. But even these measures may fail to account for those most at risk; for instance, they usually do not cover those living in institutions, such as group homes for asylum seekers.¹¹⁸

In the education field, it is quite common for indicators based on language to be used to target services, such as in the Netherlands and the United Kingdom. In the Netherlands, these indicators are not fixed across the country: local areas take different approaches to assessing language needs.¹¹⁹ In the United Kingdom the same indicator is used across all schools, but the indicator is very broad—EAL pupils are defined as those who are known to or believed to have a first language other than English.¹²⁰

Socioeconomic indicators are the most commonly used proxy for integration indicators, and are often used in policies to promote social inclusion.

Data collection, and what data can tell us, is inevitably limited. Nevertheless, without data, it is impossible to evaluate policies and to understand the pros and cons of particular interventions. Even with its shift from targeted to generic policies, effective mainstreaming still requires adequate monitoring, which implies collecting data. As societies become increasingly diverse, traditional approaches to data collection will have to be rethought. Policymakers will require more comprehensive data across a range of indicators and in all policy areas. Explaining the need for this and balancing it with appropriate levels of data protection are vital in retaining the trust of minority and migrant communities and the wider public more generally.

VII. THE ROLE OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

Promoting successful integration is seen as part and parcel of an increasingly coordinated migration policy at the EU level, and the European Union has made a commitment to mainstreaming integration policy. Despite having limited competence to act in this field, the European Union seeks to influence Member States through a number of mechanisms, including policy coordination, data collection, funding, and promotion of partnerships and learning. However, with short shrift given to integration in the recent Communication on a European

migration background, disability, poor health, experience of institutionalisation, and a criminal record. See Claire Champeix and Sian Jones, *Poverty Explainer* (Brussels: European Anti-Poverty Network, 2014), www.eapn.eu/images/stories/docs/eapn-books/2014-Poverty-Explainer-EN-web.pdf.

116 The latest reorganisation of the *zones prioritaires* in France reduced the numbers of areas categorised from 2,600 to 1,300 due to a new definition based solely on income. See Simon and Beaujeu, *Mainstreaming en pratique*.

117 As it assumes women have equal access to household resources; see Champeix and Jones, *Poverty Explainer*.

118 *Ibid.*

119 van Breugel, Mann, and Scholten, *Integration Mainstreaming in Practice in the Netherlands*.

120 Authors of recent report on EAL and attainment in the United Kingdom note that ‘crude ethnic categories (of Black, White, Asian) in published [Department for Education] DfE data mask a great deal of ethnic, national, linguistic, religious and social diversity which may be getting in the way of how we “make sense” of minority communities’ relative achievement, and how we understand who is at a disadvantage. If we are to get any closer to understanding the role of language / bilingualism and multilingualism in children’s relative attainment we need better data and more fine grained analysis’. See Sumi Hollingworth and Ayo Mansaray, *Language Diversity and Attainment in English Secondary Schools: A Scoping Study* (London: The Institute for Policy Studies in Education [IPSE] and London Metropolitan University, 2012), 4, <https://metranet.londonmet.ac.uk/fms/MRSite/Research/ipse/Language%20Diversity%20&%20Attainment%20Report%202012.pdf>.

Agenda for Migration published in May, it seems that the European Union may be backing away from its earlier, more engaged stance on the issue.¹²¹

A. Policy coordination

The European Union has made an explicit commitment to mainstreaming integration policy through the Common Basic Principles on Integration.¹²² Nevertheless, within the European Commission, this explicit commitment has not been met with innovation in organisational structure: no interservice group exists and competences are scattered, complicated by the division between integration of third-country nationals falling under the remit of the Directorate-General for Home Affairs (DG HOME) and concern for the labour mobility of EU citizens under the DG for Employment, Social Affairs, and Inclusion.¹²³ While the European Commission has an interservice group on racism, it is not thought to be especially powerful as it has no competence to draft legislation or make policy reforms.¹²⁴ This means that effective coordination across portfolios is lacking. Notable high-level officials may drive forward particular agendas, but without formalised mechanisms, there is a risk of these disappearing when the officials leave office.¹²⁵

Across Member States, the Commission seeks to influence integration policy through ‘soft’ mechanisms.¹²⁶ Proposals for an Open Method of Coordination on integration were rejected by Member States (although used in the area of social policy), and an effort to revive the proposals in earlier drafts of the 2015 European Agenda on Migration was unsuccessful.¹²⁷ The other tool used for policy coordination is the European Semester. This is the annual cycle in which the Commission evaluates Member States’ progress toward EU2020 goals, and produces country reports that are then condensed into a smaller number of recommendations for each country. These recommendations are not binding and are the result of negotiation between the Commission and the Member States. While integration is explicitly mentioned in some country reports, these rarely make it into the country-specific recommendations as the European Commission must balance multiple goals and priorities within the annual broad-based recommendations.¹²⁸ The Commission may choose, however, to target recommendations at specific policy areas that disproportionately affect migrant communities, or to describe target groups in a general or euphemistic way with the aim of including migrant groups.¹²⁹ Although this mechanism continues to be used to try to steer Member States’ policies, its ability to bring about real change in the way Member States design integration policies seems limited. Finally, Member State programmes outlining how their individual allocation of the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund will be spent include details on integration programming, though do not tend to specify broader goals and targets.

121 Local stakeholders expressed disappointment with the limited attention given to integration in the Agenda. EU roundtable, Brussels, 19 May 2015. European Commission, ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A European Agenda on Migration’ COM(2015) 240 final 13 May 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf.

122 Council of the European Union, ‘2618th Meeting of the Justice and Home Affairs Council of the European Union’ (press release, Press Office, Brussels, 19 November 2004), www.consilium.europa.eu/ueDocs/cms_Data/docs/pressData/en/jha/82745.pdf.

123 European Commission officials explained it was very difficult work across Directorate-General borders. See Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

124 Collett and Petrovic, *The future of immigrant integration in Europe*.

125 Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

126 Elizabeth Collett and Milica Petrovic, *The Politics of Mainstreaming, Immigrant Integration Policies: Case Study of the EU, UPSTREAM case study report* (Rotterdam: UPSTREAM Project, 2014), <http://project-upstream.eu/publications/17-country-reports/228-the-politics-of-mainstreaming-immigrant-integration-policies-case-study-of-the-eu>.

127 Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

128 Ibid.

129 Ibid.

EU data collection

The European Commission places value on the role of good data to ensure evidence-based policymaking through its statistics office, Eurostat. This is an area in which scale can add value, and Eurostat statistics are regularly used for benchmarking and comparing information across countries. The European Union has played an important role in ensuring that new Member States' data-collection methods meet Eurostat requirements, in order to ensure comparability across countries.¹³⁰ Nevertheless, problems remain; for example, information drawn from administrative datasets is rarely comparable across countries. Data on migration and citizenship include both country of birth and nationality as measures of stocks and flows.¹³¹ In addition, Eurostat produces data on the integration outcomes of both EU nationals and third-country citizens that encompass employment, health, education, social inclusion, and active citizenship.¹³² Data on labour market participation are collected through the Labour Force Survey (LFS), a quarterly sample survey, and data on social inclusion are collected through the EU statistics on income and living conditions (EU-SILC), an annual sample survey. LFS 2014 included an ad hoc module on the labour market and migrants, with questions on parents' country of birth and educational level, barriers to accessing work, and participation in language courses.¹³³

These data remain limited because of how surveys are conducted (for example, EU-SILC does not cover institutional settings where many asylum seekers may live) and their sample size (which can mean surveys are not representative in countries with small migrant populations) and response rate. Migrants are likely to be under-represented. One of the biggest challenges is capturing newly arrived migrants, whether in national or larger-scale datasets.

B. EU funding to respond to local challenges

EU funding serves as another lever to influence policy in Member States. Funding can be used for local programmes that may diverge from national priorities but nonetheless serve an important social purpose. The European Social Fund (ESF) and the Asylum, Migration, and Integration Fund (AMIF) (which replaced the European Integration Fund, EIF) both can help local actors serve local needs. The main ESF goal is to promote employment outcomes, but the fund's priorities have changed over time and it is increasingly focused on social inclusion—a policy area relevant to integration challenges.¹³⁴ A proportion of AMIF exists to support the integration of third-country nationals, although with a much smaller budget than the ESF. In theory, these funds could be a major force behind mainstreaming, and enable local authorities, service providers, and nonprofits to overcome the political barriers to addressing the needs of minority communities that exist at the national level.

In practice, however, EU funds are rarely employed in a way that stimulates local innovation or allows local stakeholders to address challenges not in line with national priorities. Despite a formal commitment to mainstreaming, EU funds have made no systematic attempts to promote mainstreaming. For instance, the European Union has not encouraged the inclusion of ethnic minorities and immigrant groups in decision-making bodies

¹³⁰ Eurostat relies on national statistics offices providing data to them on a yearly basis and has clear requirements for how data should be collected. See, for example, an explanatory note on how Polish migration statistics have been aligned with requirements of Eurostat: Central Statistics Office of Poland, 'The Concept of the International Migration Statistics System in Poland' (Warsaw, 2 June 2011), <http://stat.gov.pl/en/topics/population/migration/the-concept-of-the-international-migration-statistics-system-in-poland,5,1.html>.

¹³¹ These data use the United Nation's definition of 'immigrant' as someone intending to stay for 12 months or more. Eurostat, 'Migration and Migrant Population Statistics', May 2014, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migration_and_migrant_population_statistics.

¹³² Eurostat, 'Migrant Integration Statistics—An Overview', April 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Migrant_integration_statistics_-_overview.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

administering the funds (in contrast to efforts to ensure parity of men and women),¹³⁵ or provided any guidance on how to implement mainstreaming (again, unlike gender mainstreaming, for instance).¹³⁶

Moreover, there is huge variation in the impact these funds have had on integration policy. In new Member States, European funding has been a driver of integration policy,¹³⁷ while in southern European countries EU funding has helped sustain projects that would otherwise have been cut in recent years.¹³⁸ In northern European countries, by contrast, evidence from the UPSTREAM project and previous studies indicates that EU funding makes little difference to the development of policy.¹³⁹ In the Netherlands a large proportion (50-55 million of the 72 million euros) of yearly ESF allocation is spent on ‘active inclusion’, a generic policy that involves ensuring that young people of migrant background are integrated into the labour market.¹⁴⁰ In France the focus of ESF interventions tends to be geographical areas of poverty and exclusion, which can act as another proxy for targeting migrant communities.¹⁴¹ But this funding has not shaped national priorities or encouraged mainstreaming beyond the focus on labour market integration.

In practice, EU funds are rarely employed in a way that stimulates local innovation or allows local stakeholders to address challenges not in line with national priorities.

Nonetheless, subtle and indirect mechanisms for promoting mainstreaming can be found across the UPSTREAM countries, namely: (1) funding migrants as direct beneficiaries, (2) funding grassroots organisations that are well placed to reach disadvantaged populations, and (3) promoting social inclusion.¹⁴² While these mechanisms are present in all case study countries, a number of key dynamics prevent EU funding from being used to its full potential.

1. Projects with migrants as beneficiaries

A number of ESF-funded projects include ethnic minorities or migrants among the main beneficiaries.¹⁴³ These have largely taken the form of a focus on migrants’ labour market integration, and there is little evidence that the ESF is promoting integration across other policy areas. As a targeted fund, AMIF is less likely to promote the mainstreaming of integration policies. Indeed evidence suggests AMIF has at times been a *hindrance* to mainstreaming as the division of target groups and reporting requirements between ESF (which targeted every-

135 European Union, Regulation (EU) No. 1304/2013 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 17 December 2013 on the European Social Fund and repealing Council Regulation (EC) No. 1081/2006 [2013], <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/?uri=CELEX:32013R1304>. For more information on mainstreaming gender priorities throughout the European Social Fund (ESF) cycle, see the European Standard on Gender Mainstreaming in the ESF, ‘Home’, accessed 8 June 2015, <http://standard.gendercop.com>.

136 Gender mainstreaming is the commitment to take into account opportunities to promote gender equality across all areas of policy and across the complete cycle of policymaking. In the European Union this commitment is legally binding, and commitments to gender equality have been introduced into funding regulations. See Fiona Beveridge and Jo Shaw, ‘Introduction: Mainstreaming Gender in European Public Policy’, *Feminist Legal Studies* 10, no. 3 (2002): 209–12.

137 Discussion in work visit to Poland, 13-14 April 2015.

138 Discussions with civil-society stakeholders in Madrid work visit, 8-9 April 2015.

139 For an overview of the evidence, see Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

140 Interview by the research team carried out in the Netherlands, October 2014.

141 Survey response from informant in France, October 2014. For methodological details, see Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

142 Ibid.

143 For instance, searching the EU database of projects for the period up to 2008 reveals 187 projects with the target of ‘ethnic minorities’ across the five case study countries. There are no projects with this target group in Poland. Searching ‘migrants’ reveals 279 projects across the five case study countries. However, this database is incomplete, and relies on the data being provided from Member States as well as the project organiser to identify target groups. As such these numbers can only really give an indication of awareness of project designers of these target groups.

one) and EIF (which was only allowed to be spent on recently arrived, non-EU nationals, the same conditions will apply to AMIF) meant that the two funding pots have been very difficult to combine for mixed population groups.

2. Funding grassroots organisations

In the context of widespread austerity, there is a perception that EU funding has become more important for the local level. In Spain, for instance, the economic downturn and cuts to national funding drove smaller NGOs and organisations providing services to migrants to EU funding sources such as ESF and EIF.¹⁴⁴ However, the level of bureaucracy and administration required by the funds can create barriers to access for smaller organisations, as can processing delays.¹⁴⁵ As a result, the ‘usual suspects’¹⁴⁶ often end up delivering projects, despite the fact that smaller, locally based organisations are usually in a better position to understand and respond to the needs of the most disadvantaged communities.¹⁴⁷ One interviewee described ESF as a ‘big projects machine’,¹⁴⁸ which makes it inaccessible to smaller players who may be more effective.

3. Driving forward social inclusion

In the current programming cycle, the European Commission has proposed that 20 per cent of ESF allocations be used to promote social inclusion and to combat poverty.¹⁴⁹ While still connected to employment, social inclusion interventions can include addressing nonwork-related disadvantages in the labour market, such as discrimination, or addressing more entrenched barriers through more intensive and supportive approaches earlier on in the employment pipeline.¹⁵⁰ But while ESF has encouraged equality and social inclusion criteria to be built into projects in the United Kingdom, for instance,¹⁵¹ this largely reflects the country’s pre-existing commitment to equality and social inclusion. ESF has not encouraged a shift in focus toward social inclusion in countries where it was absent.¹⁵² It remains to be seen whether the new 20 per cent commitment to social inclusion, plus a recent

144 Interview with Spanish stakeholder, UK study visit, 23-24 March 2015.

145 Eric Monnier, Helen Urth, Jan Marteen de Vet, and James Rampton, *Evaluation of the Capacity of the ESF Delivery Systems to Attract and Support OP Target Groups* (Brussels: Ramboll and Ecorys, 2011), <http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=7004&langId=en>. Member States have also complained about burdensome administrative procedures. Following the financial crisis, the Commission attempted to simplify the procedures for ESF, but it is unclear whether this led to simplified procedures for beneficiaries. See Herta Tödtling-Schönhofer et al., *Evaluation of the Reaction of the ESF to the Economic and Financial Crisis* (Vienna: Metis GmbH and Vienna Institute for International Economic Studies [wiiw], 2012), <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?langId=en&catId=89&newsId=1316&furtherNews=yes>. During work visits, interviewees in France, the United Kingdom, and the Netherlands all described European funds as not worth the extensive paperwork; in some cases austerity cuts had undermined their capacity to invest in the fund-raising process (thus, ironically, being in greater need rendered them less situated to take advantage of the funds).

146 Daniel Pop, ‘The governance of educational welfare markets: A comparative analysis of the European Social Fund in five countries’ (paper presented at the ‘Helping Children and Youth with Migrant Background Succeed: Making Schools Matter for All’ SIRIUS Final Conference at the European Parliament in Brussels, 19-20 November 2014). See also Daniel Pop and Cristina Stănuș, eds., *The Governance of Educational Welfare Markets: A Comparative Analysis of the European Social Fund in Five Countries* (Bern: Peter Lang International Academic Press, 2015).

147 Monnier, Urth, de Vet, and Rampton, *Evaluation of the Capacity of the ESF Delivery Systems*.

148 Interview by the research team carried out in the Netherlands, 14 October 2014.

149 European Commission, ‘European Platform against Poverty and Social Exclusion’, accessed 8 June 2015, <http://ec.europa.eu/social/main.jsp?catId=961&langId=en>.

150 ‘Member States are invited to make use of poverty maps when designing and implementing integrated strategies to support the most disadvantaged areas and groups such as the Roma’. See European Commission, *Draft Thematic Guidance Fiche, Thematic Objective 9: Social Inclusion* (Brussels: European Commission, 27 January 2014), 8, http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/sources/docgener/informat/2014/guidance_social_inclusion.pdf.

151 House of Lords, European Union Committee, *Making it Work: The European Social Fund* (London: The Stationery Office Limited, 2010), www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/ld200910/ldselect/lddeucom/92/92i.pdf.

152 Seventy-three per cent of beneficiaries of social inclusion priority spending were in three Member States: Poland, Spain, and

explicit recognition that social inclusion includes integration priorities,¹⁵³ results in more innovative uses of ESF over the next funding period.

EU funding has clearly played a valuable role in funding programmes that may have otherwise been cut in the context of austerity, and has thus benefited many disadvantaged and minority groups. However, it is unclear whether it has driven real policy innovation in the area of integration and/or encouraged policymakers to take greater account of integration needs across government. More commonly, EU funding has been used to do ‘more of the same’, and the bureaucracy of funding procedures has meant that ESF, for instance, is insufficiently nimble to respond to rapidly emerging challenges.¹⁵⁴ Complex multilevel governance structures may act as a hindrance in this respect, as communication between the local and EU level remains thin. Research indicates that National Contact Points on Integration within central government in Member States are not always effectively communicating with actors at local or regional levels,¹⁵⁵ and there are insufficient opportunities for local and civil-society stakeholders to feed into funding priorities.¹⁵⁶ Efforts to utilise the Committee of the Regions as a focal point for dialogue between the local and EU level have so far yet to be fully realised.¹⁵⁷ While the Commission has made specific technical funds available to Member States to support capacity building, it is unclear how many of these have effectively reached lower levels.

C. Promoting partnerships and learning

The European Union has also sought to promote partnerships and learning on integration, through various types of networks:

- **City-to-city networks.** International cooperation between cities is brokered through the European Union. For instance, EUROCITIES is a network of 130 European cities, and the Commission provides opportunities for networking, sharing of best practice, and learning across a range of policy areas. Its Migration and Integration Working Group connects local authorities, addressing immigrant integration issues through a multilevel governance system, and provides a platform for them to influence the European debate through regular contact with DG HOME. Similarly, ‘Intercultural Cities’, supported by the Council of Europe and the European Commission, is a network that encourages its more than 60 city members to audit their diversity and integration policies. Cities then create an action plan in order to strengthen their policies using an intercultural lens.

the United Kingdom. See Alan McGregor and Victoria Sutherland, *Final Synthesis Report: Main ESF Achievements, 2007-2013—ESF Expert Evaluation Network* (Glasgow and Vienna: University of Glasgow Training and Employment Research Unit and Metis GmbH, 2014), <http://ec.europa.eu/esf/main.jsp?catId=3>.

153 European Commission, ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A European Agenda on Migration’.

154 Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

155 Centre for Strategy and Evaluation Services (CSES), *Study on Practices of Integration of Third-Country Nationals at Local and Regional Level in the European Union*, Report for the Committee of the Regions (Brussels: CSES, 2013), 33, http://cor.europa.eu/en/documentation/studies/Documents/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals/survey_integration_3rd_country_nationals.pdf.

156 A report from the UK government found that regional and local stakeholders felt unable to feed up local-level needs to the national level. The European Anti-Poverty Network (EAPN) also found that civil-society actors across the European Union felt dissatisfied with the level/quality of partnership working within the ESF. See Department for Business and Skills, *The Effectiveness of European Social Fund Delivery* (London: UK Government, 2013), www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/190771/bis-13-788-effectiveness-of-european-social-fund-delivery.pdf; European Anti-Poverty Network, *Structural Funds 2014-2020: What Room for Social Inclusion and for the Involvement of NGOs?* (Brussels: EAPN, 2013), www.eapn.eu/images/stories/docs/EAPN-position-papers-and-reports/2013-Structural-Funds-2014-2020-mapping-inclusion-participation.pdf.

157 European Commission, ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals’, COM(2011) 455 final, 20 July 2011, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/news/intro/docs/110720/1_en_act_part1_v10.pdf.

- **European policy networks.** The main network that brings together the European Union and national policy community in the field of immigration is the European Migration Network (EMN), established in 2008. In theory, this network should provide a forum for Member States to share best practice in the area of integration. While EMN has a high profile among the Brussels policy community, a 2011 evaluation found that the network has a low profile in some Member States and among the wider public. Moreover, EMN focuses narrowly on third-country nationals, so its role in promoting mainstreaming is minimal. In addition to this, the main conduit for bringing nongovernmental and governmental actors together—the European Integration Forum—has been broadened into a European Migration Forum. While this ‘mainstreaming’ of the issue might allow for interlinked challenges to be discussed, the biannual nature of the meeting means that it will be hard to get in depth on specific topics. Finally, the European Agenda has proposed a ‘platform of dialogue to include input from business, the trade unions, and other social partners’, which may include issues of immigrant integration.¹⁵⁸

Beyond those described above, a huge number of networks are working in the field of migration and integration.¹⁵⁹ The sheer number of these networks signals the importance of integration issues at the EU level, and generates significant opportunities for learning. However, the proliferation of these networks may also be a problem, especially if it prevents information sharing (with different groups maintaining their own networks rather than engaging with others), and they often focus on sharing good practice rather than feeding up the need for real policy change at the national or EU level. In some countries, there is evidence that these networks are preaching to the converted rather than bringing in different groups. For instance, few networks and cooperative structures exist that try to encourage debate about integration issues with people outside the usual suspects, such as policymakers at all levels from areas such as education, housing, and employment.

Few networks and cooperative structures exist that try to encourage debate about integration issues with people outside the usual suspects.

While the European Commission has sought to influence integration policy and to introduce a degree of coordination between Member States, integration remains a national competence. As discussion of integration is often highly politicised, Member States may resist influence from the European Union in this area, particularly when it goes against national policy. This is not helped by the fact that within the Commission there is little effective coordination across policy areas at an institutional level. Nevertheless, the allocation of funding can provide a means to influence and to ensure certain groups get taken into account, and collection of data at the EU level can provide useful benchmarking and help shape understandings of policy areas. The Commission has sought to develop this understanding and learning sharing, through a number of networks, particularly among local actors. Still, there is still a risk that it is always the same people in the room talking to one another.

¹⁵⁸ European Commission, ‘Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: A European Agenda on Migration’, COM 240 final, Brussels, 2015, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/home-affairs/what-we-do/policies/european-agenda-migration/background-information/docs/communication_on_the_european_agenda_on_migration_en.pdf.

¹⁵⁹ For a more detailed list, see Benton, Collett, and McCarthy, *The Practice of Mainstreaming Immigrant Integration Policies at European Level*.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Mainstreaming immigrant integration involves taking a whole-of-government approach to rigorously audit and assess public services to see if they meet the needs of the populations they serve, particularly in an era of increased diversity and mobility. Thus far, no country has lived up to the mainstreaming ideal. Instead, mainstreaming has sometimes been used as an excuse for cuts, often at the expense of innovative, needs-based services. And conversations about integration have too often been mired in debates about the merits of multiculturalism and other models of integration, with too little practical forward-looking discussion about how to deal with the realities of diversity.

For countries accustomed to immigration, mainstreaming represents a call to move beyond narrow debates about cultural integration and intergroup conflict and talk about the concrete steps necessary to adapt not just to diverse populations (which, by now, are nothing new) but also new arrivals and *mobile* populations, including people who stay a short time and may have less intensive but more complex needs. For countries that only recently became immigrant destinations, mainstreaming is a useful heuristic but not a toolkit in itself. Mainstreaming is a call to action; it poses the question: ‘Are public services designed in such a way to prevent integration challenges emerging further down the line?’

Thus far, no country has lived up to the mainstreaming ideal.

This report suggests that diversity- and mobility-proofing public services—that is, ensuring that services are attuned to the needs of diverse groups and new arrivals—provide a rich roadmap for policymakers seeking to mainstream immigrant integration. Such an approach will involve a mix of targeted and generic policies, and a strong focus on horizontal and vertical cooperation. Designing such a whole-of-government integration strategy is no easy feat, and will depend on the political and economic constraints of the country. The following steps may increase the efficacy of such a strategy:

- ***Set up structures for horizontal coordination.*** Whether via interministerial groups or other cross-cutting bodies, national governments need to promote communication and cooperation across departments.
- ***Rigorously audit and assess services to ensure they are both diversity- and mobility-proof.*** Mainstreaming is above all a call to scrutinise and evaluate whether public services are open and responsive to the needs of diverse groups. Monitoring and evaluation are of paramount importance; indeed, all other policy recommendations will flow from these findings.
- ***Monitor and recalibrate funding models.*** Adopting proxy strategies, such as funding models that target disadvantaged groups or geographical areas instead of minorities or migrants, may be an essential way to channel resources in difficult economic times. But since each funding model must necessarily make decisions about whom to exclude, it is important to closely monitor who is left out of differentiated funding models and plug the gaps or recalibrate where necessary.
- ***Make hiring multilingual staff and ethnic minorities a priority.*** One way to avoid the resistance of majority populations in this regard is to add a premium for multilingualism, especially if a person will be called on to act as a language teacher or translator because of language skills (a higher wage in this instance would reflect additional pressures instead of preferential treatment).

At the EU level, institutions might consider:

- ***Creating an interservice group for integration.*** Currently coordination across the European Commission is happening in some areas but is ad hoc and reliant on specific individuals. Creating an interservice group with the power to bring together policy officials from across the Directorates-General, including from health, justice, and regional policy would promote coordinated thinking on integration beyond a focus on the labour market.
- ***Improving mechanisms for a three-way dialogue at EU, national, and local levels.*** Currently there is patchy communication between the three levels of government on questions of integration. There is an opportunity for the Commission to use existing mechanisms to more effectively promote dialogue among the local, national, and EU levels. Meetings of National Contact Points on Integration could be opened up to include city- and regional-level representatives. These meetings could also coordinate with other expert meetings (e.g., on education) to promote the cross-fertilisation of ideas.
- ***Rebranding mainstreaming.*** Varying definitions of the ‘mainstreaming’ concept limit the value of the term. Instead the phrase ‘adapting services to diverse and mobile populations’ could help the ethos of mainstreaming to flourish while simultaneously identifying the twin challenges that integration policies seek to address.
- ***Improving flexibility and innovation in the administration of EU funding.*** The move to promote integration projects through the European Social Fund is to be welcomed, but reducing the administrative burden, including by allowing funds to be used together, could support innovation by promoting the engagement of smaller actors. Allowing Asylum, Migration, and Integration funding to be used for integration needs without distinguishing EU citizens, third-country nationals, and irregular migrants would also be an important step forward. Providing more specific guidelines on the definitions of target groups for social inclusion priorities for ESF would provide greater transparency in how the money is spent. Finally, the Commission should put pressure on Member States to ensure that national administrative procedures are simplified and that local stakeholders are meaningfully engaged in the design of national priorities.
- ***Preaching beyond the converted.*** Ensuring that policy networks are engaging beyond the usual suspects and include policymakers who may not be traditionally considered as interested in integration would be an important step forward. Moving outside the Brussels bubble by making work visits to local organisations is one way to ensure that more diverse voices are heard. Including migrant-led organisations in the conversation is also vital to designing effective policies.

Local government options include:

- ***Pooling resources in order to be better placed to get EU funding.*** This can also help to ensure that the local level is in a better position to provide feedback and shape the EU debate. Engagement in local-level networks, such as EUROCITIES, is an important step in this regard.
- ***Improving data collection and monitoring across policy areas to ensure that policies are effective and engage with desired groups.*** This may require collecting more data on a range of indicators across policy areas to effectively analyse how interventions are reaching different groups.
- ***Investing in relationships with civil society.*** As civil-society organisations are increasingly being asked to shoulder the burden of efforts to promote integration, and often have a good understanding of the issues involved, it is important to ensure that effective channels of communication are open between local policymakers and civil society.

- ***Coordinating horizontally.*** As at the national level, it is important that policy officers coordinate across policy portfolios on questions of integration for diverse and mobile populations. This could be achieved through working groups (at the level of officials) or committees (at the level of local politicians).
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The case for mainstreaming—whatever label it is given—is clear.

Clearly, it may be difficult to make the political case for extra investments in an era of fiscal constraints; however, the idea of mainstreaming lends itself to mobilising resources from across policy areas. Taking a coordinated, whole-of-government approach to adapting public services to the needs of increasingly mobile and diverse populations is likely to reduce the potential for problems to build up further down the line. Moreover, improving the resilience of public services to the needs of minorities is likely to benefit the public broadly, as it ensures that educational and employment institutions are responsive to a continuum of needs. Many of the proposals outlined here are low-investment, and require a smart redeployment of resources rather than extra funding. The case for mainstreaming—whatever label it is given—is clear.

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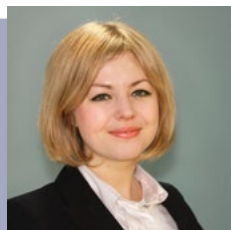
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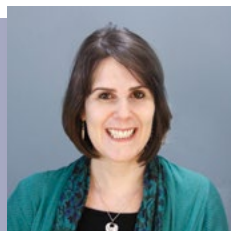
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