

Ethnic Minority and Employment Policies in Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France

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De Haas, Hein (1997) *Ethnic Minority and Employment Policies in Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France: A Comparative Study*. Report EU project 'More Colour in the Media'. Maastricht: European Centre for Work and Society.



European Centre for Work and Society

More Colour in the Media

Interim Report

Ethnic Minority and Employment Policies in Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France

Maastricht, November 1997

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1. Introduction

This document aims to give an overview of ethnic minority policies in five different European countries: Finland, the Netherlands, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France. Each country will be dealt with separately. Particular attention will be paid to employment policies, both of general nature and specifically directed at ethnic minorities. In order to place this information in a useful context, each chapter will start with a description of immigration history of the country concerned. Besides a description of ethnic minority and employment policies, attention will be paid to the results of these measures. In the last chapter, the information will be briefly resumed and put into a comparative perspective.

The countries that will be dealt with in this study have different migration backgrounds and different political cultures. This is also expressed in different notions of integration, citizenship etc. Therefore, definitions of the different terms vary widely. Terminology issues tend to dominate and frustrate discussions on ethnic minority policies. To avoid this, and to facilitate readability, we uniformised certain key terms and avoided other terms. We will also avoid using the term *integration policies* since its use already implies that integration would be the aim of government policies, which is not automatically the case. Secondly, within the various national contexts, the term integration can have completely different meanings. Therefore, we will employ the term *ethnic minority policies*, where possible. The term *immigrants* will only be used when explicitly speaking about migration processes. Namely, one could question whether the term 'migrants' is still appropriate, since many people have arrived several decades ago, and second and third generation are growing up. Therefore, the term *ethnic minorities* will be used. Sometimes it is unavoidable to use other terms to designate policies or ethnic minorities. In such cases, the term should be interpreted within the specific national context.

2. Finland

2.1. Introduction

Large-scale immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Finland. In fact, Finland has a long tradition as a typical emigration country. Until the 19th century, this emigration was mainly directed at Finland, Estonia, and Sweden. In the last hundred years, over one million people have left the country. 700,000 of those emigrants have emigrated permanently. Considering the current population of about 5.13 million people, this is a large number.

Main countries of destination were the United States (predominantly between 1880 and 1930) and Sweden (after the Second World War). The mass-migration to Sweden, which coincided with the post-war 'baby boom' and the growth of Swedish industry, reached its peak in 1969-1970. With a total size of more than 300,000, the Finnish and their descendants form currently the biggest ethnic group in Sweden.

This changed in the beginning of the 1970s, when an increasing number of people who formerly migrated to Sweden began to return to Finland. This trend continued in the 1980s and the 1990s, when the number of immigrants kept increasing. In the late 1980s, Finnish employment prospects were promising, which further encouraged labour migration from the former Soviet Union and Estonia.

Especially in the last decade, the number of non-Finnish nationals has sharply increased from 21,174 in 1990 to an unprecedented level of 73,598 in 1996.¹ However, they only form a proportion of about 1.43% of the total population, which is the lowest figure of all western European countries. Based on nationality, the largest groups of ethnic minorities are Russians, Estonians, Swedes, and Somalis.

In the 1990s, Finland has received many so-called *Ingrians*, descendants of Finns who migrated to other countries in the recent or distant past.² Their total number is estimated at approximately 80,000. Most of these return migrants are from Sweden (22,000 people came back in the period 1990-1996) and Russia (at least 14,000 immigrants). In the 1990s, Finland has also received more and more refugees. In 1996, about 14,000 refugees were residing in Finland. The largest groups are Somalians, refugees from former Yugoslavia and Vietnamese. The third group of immigrants consists of non-Finnish nationals married to Finns (at least 12,000). They come from Western Europe or North America, as well as other countries such as Morocco, Turkey, and Thailand.

¹ Situation on 1 January 1997. Source: Finnish Population Register Centre.

² Their position is more or less comparable with that of *Aussiedler* in Germany.

Expectations are that the number of ethnic minorities will continue to increase, due the membership of the EU, the integration in the common European labour market and more general tendencies often referred to as 'globalisation', which implies an overall increased level of mobility. It is estimated that the ethnic minority population will further increase to about 200,000 within the next twenty years.³

2.2 Integration and employment situation

Recent migration to Finland was partly stimulated by good economic and employment prospects. However, in recent years unemployment has skyrocketed in Finland. In 1995, overall unemployment amounted 17.2%, which is the highest figure in the EU after Spain. This unemployment has particularly affected specific groups of ethnic minorities. On average, the unemployment rate among non-Finnish nationals was 47.1% (1 January 1996).

Nevertheless, unemployment rates between the different groups of ethnic minorities vary widely. Ethnic minorities coming from Western countries face roughly similar unemployment rates as native Finns. The highest unemployment rates are generally found among refugees, ranging from 53.4% for Bosnians to 86.3% for Somalians and 93.3% for Iraqis. Also among Russians and Estonians unemployment has reached alarming levels of almost 60%. Among the specific group of Ingrians the unemployment rate is about 50% (see table 1).

³ Ministry of Labour, Division of Migration, *MoniTorii Plus Finland 1997*. Edita Ltd, Helsinki, 1997.

Table 1: Unemployment among people with a foreign nationality in Finland, January 1996⁴

Country of origin	Unemployment rate (%)
Russia	59.5
Sweden	16.9
Estonia	58.9
Turkey	50.0
Somalia	86.3
Yugoslavia	78.0
China	16.5
Vietnam	77.2
Iraq	93.3
All non-nationals	47.1

Thus, the Finnish employment crisis has disproportionately affected the ethnic minority population. This partly reflects general integration problems, such as socio-cultural differences, education, and insufficient command of the Finnish language. Moreover, in Finland immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon. Experience in countries with a longer history of immigration teaches us that particularly the first generation of migrants is likely to face the biggest problems in integrating into society and, consequently, participating on the labour market. The second and further generations are generally much more integrated. As most adult ethnic minorities in Finland belong to the first generation, this can partly explain the extremely high unemployment.

It is generally believed that the factors such as the lack of overall integration, low education, and language problems are not the only causes for the extremely high unemployment among ethnic minorities. There is the question of increasing negative feelings and discrimination towards ethnic minorities. Since the late 1980s, Finland has witnessed an emergence of nationalist sentiments. This situation has worsened as a result of the deep economic depression of the 1990s, through which certain people increasingly perceive ethnic minorities as a threat. Racism and discrimination became more apparent in the media. Results of opinion polls show that the attitudes of Finns towards ethnic minorities have become more negative in the past few years.⁵

⁴ Source: Finnish Ministry of Labour.

⁵ Ministry of Education, *Decision-in-Principle by the Council of State on Measures for Promoting Tolerance and Combatting Racism*. 1997.

2.3. Ethnic minority policies

Finnish immigration and admission policies have traditionally been very restrictive. This went together with a vision according to which migration was perceived negatively, sometimes even as a threat. Because of this attitude and due to the small number of ethnic minorities, no specific policies to promote the integration of ethnic minorities existed until recently. This was exemplified by the fact that the responsibilities for ethnic minority affairs are scattered among many different ministries and departments. For the admission of refugees, strict quotas are being applied and one tries to curb the immigration of Ingrians, by setting up projects in Russia and Estonia to improve their living standards.

Despite the relatively small number of ethnic minorities, there has recently been increasing debate on and attention for this issue in Finnish society and politics. Ethnic minorities form an increasingly visible group that can no longer be ignored. Moreover, there is growing unrest in society and the activities of extreme-right, racist groups. Whereas in the past politicians have largely ignored the migration issue, there is now growing recognition of the need to address the specific problems that these groups face.

In 1995, the present Finnish government decided to establish the *Immigration and Asylum Policy Commission*. Its task was to develop an integrated programme on immigration and asylum policy. This marks an important change in thinking. The main aim was to find ways to promote the rapid integration of newcomers into Finnish society. Previous practice has largely been based on - uncoordinated - legislation and regulations of different Ministries and authorities. The commission completed its task by the end of 1996, and its proposals are currently under review by the government. It is intended to result in special legislation on immigration and integration policy.

The policies proposed by the commission are a combination of a multiculturalist model, in which ethnic minorities are allowed to preserve their culture and language, and an approach that aims to emphasise the importance of the rapid acquisition of the Finnish language, knowledge about and integration in the host society.⁶ One important instrument for reaching that goal is formed by the *integration plans for individuals and families*. These tailor-made integration plans will be developed for each individual or family and include measures such as language instruction, study and employment plans. In return for committing him/herself to the plan, ethnic minorities will receive a special integration allowance (equal to social welfare benefits) for a period of 12 to 18 months. These integration plans can be considered as a kind of contract, and are set up to develop a more active attitude among ethnic minorities. Other measures proposed by the

⁶ This approach seems to be largely similar to recent developments in Dutch ethnic minority policies, which also seek a combination of multiculturalist approach and 'integration contracts' that imply a certain commitment from the ethnic minorities themselves.

commission include strengthening the status of asylum seekers and increasing possibilities for family reunification, creating equal possibilities for education and employment.

The commission has proposed to design clearer political decision-making structures and to set up clearer administrative procedures. Currently the responsibilities are scattered and there is no real 'policy centre' pertaining to ethnic minority issues. It further proposes the establishment of a *Permanent Committee of Ministers for Immigration and Refugee Policy*, which will deal with the fundamental issues in this field.

The government is intensifying cross-administrative co-operation. Whereas the Ministry of Social Affairs and Health used to be responsible for refugee affairs, all responsibilities for issues relating to the integration of both ethnic minorities were transferred to the Ministry of Labour in March 1997. At the same time, the new *Division for Migration* was established. This has happened in the context of the so-called *Two-Pillar Model*, whereby the Ministry of the Interior will deal with admission and immigration, and the Ministry of Labour with integration issues.

Warned by increasing negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities, the government established an *Anti-Racism Ministerial Group* and an *Anti-Racism Committee*. Based on their recommendations, in 1997 the Finnish Council of State took a decision-in-principle to combat racism and xenophobia. This decision includes general measures such as the setting up of staff-training on ethnic questions and the issue of discrimination at various ministries, promoting recruitment of ethnic minorities in the administration, and disseminating information and statistics on ethnic questions. Furthermore, each ministry will get own responsibilities to combat racism and guarantee equal chances in their specific policy area.

There is a clear link between the above-mentioned anti-discrimination measures and general ethnic minority policies, which are currently being developed in Finland. They are closely intertwined and the proposed measures serve both policy areas. Both aim to offer special facilities and services to ethnic minorities in order to improve their participation in society and their backward position on the labour market.

In the government's anti-racism and ethnic minority policies a central role is reserved for the Ministries of Education and Labour, which should take measures to stimulate participation and performance of ethnic minorities in education and training as well as on the labour market. Another measure supposed to promote integration is the recent introduction of voting rights for most non-Finnish nationals at the local level.

2.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

In the period 1991-1994, Finnish demand for labour showed a sharp decrease. This resulted in a loss of almost 450,000 jobs and unprecedented high unemployment rates. Although unemployment has started to decline along with the increase of production since the beginning of 1994, this reduction is considered as too modest to solve the problem.

In 1995, the Finnish government designed a programme called *Halving Unemployment*. As the name indicates, it aims to halve unemployment in the period 1995-1999. It contains 52 tangible measures, of which 48 had been implemented in September 1996. These measures can be divided in a number of main fields. Firstly it includes the following set of macro-economic and fiscal measures: to maintain a low level and inflation and to keep labour costs under control, to reduce state expenditure, to maintain low interest rates, and to reduce labour-related taxes. Secondly measures are being taken to 'upgrade and improve' the labour market, such as to recognise the special needs of small and medium sized companies, promoting entrepreneurship, to bring about a re-division of labour and, to increase flexibility on the labour market. The government intends to bring about these changes in tripartite collaboration with (organisations of) employers and employees.

Finally, Finnish government has taken special steps to resolve the most severe employment problems, by providing jobs for young people and the long-term unemployed as well as by upgrading their labour market skills and competencies through education and labour market policy measures. The aim is to increase the number of people involved in active labour market policy measures to 125,000, to develop labour services for the long-term unemployed, and to promote part-time pensions.

Employment offices pay particular attention to furthering the client's own initiative. This includes a thorough evaluation of the specific needs of the client, his or her motivation. A long-term *employment plan*, including a plan of action, is set up for each client, which may include assessment, training, traineeships, and subsidised work. Special teams of experts have been established to give the long-term unemployed extra support. In 1996 local co-operation networks were set up, in which training institutions, social welfare and health authorities, employer and employee organisations and others co-ordinate their actions. The long-term unemployed are generally given priority in (funded) employment programmes. Since many ethnic minorities are suffering from long-term unemployment, they make up a significant part of the target group of the general policies to combat long-term unemployment.

Although ethnic minorities are supposed to benefit from the general employment measures, the recent emergence of specific ethnic minority policies enabled also the development of special employment policies for ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities can participate in special vocational courses, language courses, labour market training, and professionally oriented courses. The government has also supported the establishment of ethnic minorities' co-operatives. The *Immigration and Asylum Policy Commission* has proposed to encourage employment through the establishment of networks of companies that offer ethnic minorities jobs as trainees and apprentices, or arrange jobs financed with state support. These networks will also promote ethnic entrepreneurship.

In collaboration with the social partners, the Ministry of Labour plans to elaborate systems to prevent discrimination on the labour market and to combat unemployment. In 1997, the Ministry of Labour set up special regional Employment and Business Centres, which to practically implement the proposed reception and integration activities. In a joint effort with other authorities, the Ministry of Labour is developing a project which aims to review the situation of each ethnic minority who has been unemployed for more than one year and, consequently, to set up a specific training and employment plan. Together with the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Labour will provide special apprenticeship training for ethnic minorities.

In the context of European programmes, such as the European Social Fund's Objective 3 programme in Finland, there is special attention for the prevention of long-term unemployment. In the context of this programme, an employment project for ethnic minorities has been implemented in the Helsinki region. Finland's operational programme for the European Union EMPLOYMENT - INTEGRA programme ethnic minorities are identified as one of the four target groups.

2.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

Since the Finnish government developed and implemented explicit ethnic minority and anti-discrimination policies only recently, it is impossible to assess its impact at this stage. Some ethnic minority organisations and professionals working with ethnic minorities have criticised the plans of the Immigration and Asylum Policy Commission as being too vague and general. Some said that the committee did not put forward a real plan of action, but merely lists general issues and empty phrases. Moreover, it was argued that ethnic minorities' groups were inadequately represented in the committee.

Since 1995, unemployment rates are decreasing. However, future economic growth alone will probably not be sufficient to achieve the government's initial target of halving unemployment by the year 2000. Despite a reduction of the average unemployment period, long-term unemployment, especially among ethnic minorities, is not likely to be

eliminated in the near future. The government's employment programme has now been fully implemented, and it is expected that its first effects will be felt in 1997. The Ministry of Labour recently stated that policy measures to combat unemployment have almost reached their maximum, and that further development of the unemployment will mainly depend on the economic situation.

2.6. Conclusions

Finland has only recently developed explicit ethnic minority policies. One of the main reasons is that, until recently, Finland was an emigration country. In the 1990s this situation changed dramatically. This shift from emigration to immigration country is rather similar to recent developments in many southern European countries. The same holds for the fact that until recently one did not feel the need to develop specific ethnic minority policies.

Although Finland still has a relatively small ethnic minority population, the government has recently responded to the increasingly obvious need to develop ethnic minority policies. In this context Finland seems to develop a policy that is largely similar to that of the Netherlands, that is to say a combination of a multiculturalist approach and the encouragement of integration, through semi-compulsory education, training and consultation.

In its recent plans, the government has made explicit links between anti-discrimination policies and labour market policies. Ethnic minorities are identified as a target group for policies to tackle unemployment, and can participate in special education, training and (subsidised) job schemes.

3. The Netherlands

3.1. Introduction

Until the early 1960s, the Netherlands was a net emigration country. After the Second World War, the country was impoverished and visions on the future were rather pessimistic. Therefore, many Dutch people left the country in the 1950s, mainly to North America, Australia, and New Zealand.

However, already during this period many people entered the country. Because of the independence of the Dutch East Indies (Indonesia) an estimated 250,000 to 300,000 people migrated to the Netherlands between 1945 and 1958. Nowadays an estimated 440,000 Dutch nationals are of (mixed) Asian-Dutch descent. Another wave of 'post-colonial' migration took place in the 1970s. With the independence of Surinam, many Surinamese choose to settle permanently in the Netherlands. An estimated total of 282,000 Surinamese currently live in the Netherlands. Furthermore, about 94,000 Antillians (people from Dutch West Indies) are residing in the Netherlands.

Due to economic progress and the growth of industry, an increasing number of labour migrants entered the country in the course of the 1960s and the 1970s. Initially these migrants came from Southern Europe, but they were soon outnumbered by immigrants from the Southern Mediterranean, mainly Turks and Moroccans. Although official labour recruitment came to an abrupt end as a response to the oil crisis and the general economic recession in the early 1970s, migration from these countries has continued since then. This was mainly caused by family reunification and, more recently, migration a result of 'family formation', that is to say the migration of prospective spouses. Currently approximately 272,000 people of Turkish and 225,000 people of Moroccan origin are living in the Netherlands.⁷

Besides migrants from (former) colonies and labour migrants, an increasing number of refugees have sought asylum in the Netherlands. The number of asylum-seekers peaked in the early 1990s. At the same time public opinion showed more negative attitudes towards ethnic minorities in general and refugees in particular.

Both post-colonial and labour migration transformed the Netherlands in a multi-cultural society, with approximately 5% of the total population (15.5 million in 1995) possessing a foreign nationality and 2% that were naturalised since 1980. This figure does not include most Indonesians and Surinamese, who arrived earlier, mostly possess the Dutch nationality, and are therefore invisible in most statistics. The total proportion of citizens of non-Dutch descent is estimated at 8.5%. The largest groups of recent

⁷ Source of 1996 population figures: Tesser, P; J. Veenman, *Rapportage Minderheden 1997*. Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau, Rijswijk, 1997.

immigrants are the Surinamese, Antillians, Turks, and Moroccans. Official estimates foresee a yearly net immigration of 50,000 persons per year.

3.2 Integration and employment situation

As the group of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands is very diverse and people came at different times under different socio-economic circumstances, their success in Dutch society also shows considerable variation. Except for the South-Moluccans, the integration of the Asian-Dutch population went relatively smoothly, partly thanks to the economic recovery and high employment in the 1950s. Most of these immigrants came with the objective to stay permanently, which is an important (psychological) difference with the labour migrants from the Mediterranean. Finally, they generally had more cultural and historical bounds and affinity vis-à-vis the Dutch society. Nowadays, their socio-economic position does not or hardly differs from native Dutch.⁸

Table 2. Unemployment among ethnic minorities in the Netherlands between 1990 and 1995 (in %)⁹

	1990	1995
autochtones	6	7
'allochtones'	18	20
- Turks	29	32
- Moroccans	33	32
- Surinamese	23	19
- Antillians	17	23
- Other groups	12	16

Ethnic minorities who arrived more recently generally suffer more integration problems, especially in the field of employment and education, although there are significant differences between the various groups. Except for the Turkish population, employment among all other major ethnic groups has grown faster than among the autochthonous population between 1990 and 1995. Although their participation on the labour market has increased considerably in the past years, unemployment has not decreased proportionally (see table 2). This can be explained by the fact that the increase in the number of ethnic minority job seekers has increased even faster than employment. Relatively many ethnic minorities have entered the labour market in the past few years, due to the young age profile of these populations and due to recent immigration.

⁸Therefore, in official ethnic minority policies they are not regarded as a 'minority group'.

⁹ Source: SZW Enquête Beroepsbevolking (CBS), Jaaroverzicht Minderhedenbeleid. Cited in: Berkhout, A; G.H.J. Homburg & R.C. van Waveren: *Bereik en Effecten WBEAA. Eindrapport*. Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid. Vuga, Den Haag, 1996.

Among most ethnic minority communities, unemployment has slightly increased in the past few years. The situation is the worst among Turks and Moroccans, with an unemployment of about 32%. Antillians and Surinamese generally have a better labour market position, although unemployment among Antillians has shown a marked increase. Among Surinamese unemployment has clearly decreased. However, unemployment figures among most ethnic minority communities are clearly higher than those among autochtones. This difference is more pronounced than in Germany, the United Kingdom and France.

Recent research among Surinamese and Moroccans made clear that ethnic minorities still suffer significant discrimination on the labour market. On all professional levels, they have lower chance to advance as far in application procedures as equally qualified autochthonous applicants. For ethnic minorities, the chance of getting a job is much lower, and they are more likely to lose their job. This can be partly explained by factors on the 'supply side', such as a lack of qualifications, lack of overall integration in, and knowledge of the Dutch society and insufficient command of the Dutch language. It is important to observe that the specific background of ethnic minorities does not seem to explain differences in discrimination. Educational background seems more important, since discrimination was more prevalent for semi-skilled jobs than for highly skilled jobs. The better labour market position of Antillians and, in particular, Surinamese can partly be explained by their generally better education and the fact that they generally speak better Dutch.

There is indication that the second and third generations are generally performing better in education and on the labour market. More and more ethnic minorities are participating in higher education and occupying high-level jobs. On the other hand, school drop-out and long-term unemployment is particularly high among some ethnic minorities. Some observers fear the rise of a divide between successful, integrated ethnic minorities on the one hand, and an 'underclass' suffering more or less permanent unemployment and poverty. This particularly applies to parts of the Turkish and Moroccan communities.

Although there is clearly some improvement in the situation of ethnic minorities, this progress is generally considered as being too meagre. At the same time, public attitude towards ethnic minorities has indurated and sympathy towards 'multiculturalism' has diminished. During the 1990s, populist discourse and simplistic concepts proclaiming that 'the Netherlands is full' gained considerable strength, in public opinion as well as in the political arena.¹⁰ In addition, the media often tend to report negatively about ethnic minorities and refugees. They are often implicitly or explicitly associated with problems

¹⁰ The concept of 'fullness' was even exalted to an official argument used in motivations to reject asylum seekers.

like criminality, school failure, unemployment, and religious extremism. This has led to a reinforcement of stereotype images.

Right-wing extremism, which arose in the late 1980s and early 1990s, seems to have stabilised, and has never reached the levels of neighbouring countries such as Belgium and France. Nevertheless, in the past few years, open hostilities towards ethnic minorities have occurred regularly.

3.3. Ethnic minority policies

Although the Netherlands has experienced considerable immigration over the past few decades, and that this trend is not likely to stop, the Dutch government still refuses to recognise that the Netherlands is an immigration country. Politicians have long adhered to the idea that the 'guest workers' would return. Although it became increasingly clear that most labour migrants would stay permanently, politicians had a hard time recognising this factual situation. Likewise, early ethnic minority policies aimed more at preparing ethnic minorities for the return to their country of origin than promoting their integration in the receiving country.¹¹

In the late 1970s, however, it became increasingly clear that most immigrants were staying. This led to a contradiction in policies, characterised by the obstinate denial of being an immigration country on the one hand, by a *de facto* full recognition of this, including the development of consistent ethnic minority policies on the other hand.

Consequently, in 1979-1980 the Dutch government formulated its first explicit ethnic minority policies, which aimed to strive for the integration of ethnic minorities with the preservation of their cultural identity. Several ethnic minority communities are officially recognised by the government as *minderheidsgroepen* (minority groups).

The prime responsibility for ethnic minority policies lies within the Ministry of the Interior, at the *Directie Coördinatie Minderhedenbeleid* (Minorities Policies Co-ordination Department). However, many other ministries are carrying out parts of the ethnic minority policies, notably the Ministry of Social Affairs and Employment and the Ministry of Education. In addition, local authorities have considerable responsibilities. According to special legislation, they have to ensure the involvement of ethnic minorities in local policy making, for example by setting up consultative structures. In

¹¹ To a certain extent, some early policy measures were designed to *hinder* integration. For instance, although Immigrant Minority Language Instruction (IMLI) is currently presented by advocates as an important means to promote integration, it was originally designed as an instrument to prevent that ties between migrant children and their country of origin would weaken.

the past years, local authorities have tended to be given more and more responsibilities due to the general tendency of administrative decentralisation.

Although several adaptations have taken place since the initial formulation of ethnic minority policies in the late 1970s, Dutch policies have always premised the multicultural approach, which stresses the own cultural identity of ethnic minorities. The concept behind this is that by developing a strong own identity and self-confidence, ethnic minorities would be better equipped to participate in society.

Minority policies of the past two decades have generally been targeted at alleviating the disadvantaged position of minority groups in the field of education, employment, housing, welfare and health. Apart from general measures in these policy areas, programmes specifically aimed to enhance the situation and chances of ethnic minorities are manifold. In the government and some semi-government sectors, affirmative action has been introduced. Political participation is encouraged by granting ethnic minorities the right to vote in local elections. Local and national authorities have actively stimulated ethnic minority self-organisations, by providing them with subsidies or other kinds of support.

In international literature, often after Sweden, Dutch integration policies have been presented as a good practice example. Indeed, it cannot be denied that the Netherlands has put considerable effort in the integration of ethnic minorities. However, despite these policies, the integration of ethnic minorities has been unsatisfying. In 1989, this was confirmed by the *Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid* (WRR, Scientific Council for Government Policies), who observed that many ethnic minorities were still in a disadvantaged position, particularly in the field of employment and education. It also warned of the lack of perspectives for certain groups. In 1990, the government declared such a future perspective as 'unacceptable'. It reformulated its ethnic minority policies, making education and employment main targets of its policies, and formulated policies aimed at the reception and integration of newcomers.

In the course of the 1990s, there has been a prolonged shift in policy approach, which places increasing emphasis on the need to actively encourage ethnic minorities to integrate in Dutch society. On the one hand, this means that even more emphasis than before was put on improving chances and removing obstacles, particularly in education and employment. On the other hand, a clear commitment is asked from the ethnic minorities themselves to rapidly become independent citizens. This has led to the introduction of the concept of *inburgering* ('integration as a full citizen'), in which the integration of newcomers¹² is promoted through participation in special 'integration

¹² 'Newcomers' is the official government terminology to designate immigrants who intend to settle in the Netherlands. EU nationals, including former labour migrants from Spain, Portugal and Italy, are not included in the newcomers policies.

programmes', consisting of language courses, vocational training and career assessment. In order to ensure equal chances on becoming full citizens, existing anti-discrimination legislation has recently been extended and specified in the *Algemene Wet Gelijke Behandeling* (General Act on Equal Treatment).

The concept of *citizenship* forms the core of the prevailing vision on ethnic minority policies. According to this vision, newcomers should be considered as ordinary citizens, with the same rights and duties as native Dutch citizens. There seems to be indications that this shift towards concepts of citizenship goes together with a stronger orientation on general policies and less on target group policies. To put it in an international context: the French integration concept is currently gaining ground. This is particularly visible at the local level. For instance, some local authorities have recently abolished special departments for ethnic minority policies and are less generous in giving subsidies to ethnic minority self-organisations.

There has also been criticism on the concept of citizenship as a basis for ethnic minority policies. Some commentators question the sense of putting extra emphasis on the obligations of ethnic minorities, so long as they have considerably fewer chances. Moreover, the implementation of the above-mentioned integration programmes can be dissatisfying, and the level of the training received often insufficient.

3.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

After a sharp increase in the 1980s, unemployment has more or less stabilised at a level of approximately 7.3% in 1995. Through macro-economic measures, labour tax reductions and increasing flexibility on the labour market, the government has attempted to decrease unemployment. In close consultation with the trade unions and the employers, the Dutch government has pursued wage restraint policies. Recently, measures have been introduced to reduce the wage costs of employers engaging the long-term unemployed.

Employment policies have been rather successful in creating new jobs, and chances for young people on the labour market have certainly increased. Nevertheless, there is a group of (young) long-term unemployed that seems to suffer structural exclusion from work and societal participation. Therefore, long-term (youth) unemployment is generally considered as a policy priority.

As most long-term unemployed lack sufficient education and/or working experience, the government has set up special programmes to provide education, training, and work experience. Most job schemes are open to the unemployed from all ethnic backgrounds. Since long-term and youth unemployment is particularly prevalent among people with

an ethnic minority background, they form a high proportion of the participants in these programmes.

In 1990, the government introduced the *Banenpool*, a new regulation aimed at employing people in the government and semi-government sectors. The target group are people who have been unemployed for at least three years and have almost no access to the labour market.

In 1994, the Dutch Cabinet launched a new employment initiative, consisting of a package of three measures, aiming to offer work experience opportunities to the long-term unemployed. Firstly, the government created 40,000 minimum-wage jobs for people who have been unemployed for more than one year. Institutions who employ those people receive a subsidy. Secondly, some local authorities have been permitted to offer temporary jobs to unemployed people, by which social welfare payments are being utilised as wages. Finally, municipal social services (*Gemeentelijke Sociale Dienst*) can allow or force long-term unemployed to carry out volunteer work while retaining unemployment activities, when those activities are part of an individual employment plan. The above-mentioned programmes do not make an explicit distinction on ethnic background and are accessible for all ethnic groups. Although positive action has been introduced in government and semi-government sectors, it is not obligatory in other sectors.

Since the position of ethnic minorities on the labour market had not improved much or had even worsened in the previous years, the Lower House of the States General has passed the *Act on Equal Labour Participation of Allochtonous People* (WBEAA), that came into force in 1994. The WBEAA obliges employers to register the number of ethnic minorities they employ. They also have to draw up a yearly report on the labour participation of ethnic minorities and the measures they have taken to promote this participation. Furthermore, employers have to make a task-setting plan of action comprising the measures to achieve proportional labour participation.

3.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

There is clear indication that a considerable share of the ethnic minority population is improving its position in society in general and on the labour market in particular. This is especially the case for the second and third generation, which generally receive better education and have better career perspectives. Nevertheless, unemployment among ethnic minorities is high and there is concern that particular sections of the ethnic minority population will be increasingly isolated. The problem of long-term employment has proved to be very persistent. The effect of the special job schemes has been limited in this respect.

Research has indicated that positive action in government and semi-government sectors does not lead to preferential treatment for ethnic minorities, but they do appear to be an effective instrument to decrease discrimination in application procedures. Thus, at least it leads to a more equal treatment.

On the other hand, discrimination still occurs in many sectors. A recent evaluation showed that the effect of the WBEAA is only limited. Only a minority of employers is fully implementing this Act. Moreover, the emphasis is mainly on the obligation to register the number of ethnic minorities. Most employers are not motivated to set up action plans and yearly reports on this subject. They mostly do not see the use of this Act, since in their perception, the high unemployment among ethnic minorities is mainly a supply-side problem (low education, language skills etc.). Employers generally disagree with the vision underlying this Act, namely that there is a sizeable and skilled group of ethnic minority workers that can be readily employed.

3.6. Conclusions

Since the last World War, the Netherlands received diverse groups of immigrants, both labour migrants as people from former colonies. The success with which ethnic minorities have integrated varies greatly per group. Ethnic minorities coming from former colonies (in particular 'Indonesians', but also Surinamese) are generally more integrated and have a better position on the labour market than labour migrants from the Southern Mediterranean (notably Moroccans and Turks) and refugees. Nevertheless, with the growing up of the second and third generations some improvements are to be expected.

Although the Dutch government has developed extensive integration and labour market policies, some groups still suffer structural exclusion and have limited chances to fully participate in society. There is a growing awareness that one needs to break a vicious circle of school failure, lack of skills, unemployment, and resignation, which may eventually lead to structural societal exclusion.

4. Germany

4.1. Introduction

In the post-war period, no other Western European country has received as many immigrants as Germany. Migration to Germany is mainly labour migration. Since Germany has never been a major colonial power and its colonial history is very short, it has not experienced large-scale 'post-colonial' immigration such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands and France. Nevertheless, Germany's ethnic minority population does not only consist of classical labour migrants from the northern and southern Mediterranean, but also of so-called *Aussiedler*, Germans from the former Soviet occupation zone, asylum seekers and contract workers from Eastern Europe.

Aussiedler are people who claim German descent; whose ancestors emigrated to Eastern European countries. Many of these ethnic Germans do not speak any German at all and also culturally they are usually not German. Nevertheless, *Aussiedler* have automatically the right to German nationality, on the basis of legislation dating from 1913. The collapse of communism facilitated their return migration to Germany. Between 1980 and 1991 about 1.6 million *Aussiedler* settled in Germany. Since then the immigration rate has somewhat decreased to about 200,000 per year.

Since the opening of the Berlin Wall and the German Reunification, the western part of the country has attracted about one million people from former East Germany, due to expectations of a better life and working conditions. Furthermore, a limited number of people from Eastern Europe have received temporary labour contracts to work in Germany for specific projects, for instance in the building industry. It mainly concerns firms from Eastern Europe that bring their own employees.

In the early 1990s the number of asylum seekers increased dramatically, from 256,000 in 1991 to a peak of 440,000 in 1994. More than most other European countries, Germany has admitted great numbers of refugees in the past decades. Due to stricter admission policies, which were introduced in the 1990s, the number of asylum seekers dropped to 130,000 per year. However, about 60% rejected asylum seekers are 'tolerated', which means that they get a temporary residence permit. This mainly applies to people who fled during the civil war in the former Yugoslavia.

Labour migration from the Mediterranean started in 1955. Due to the economic prosperity and the industrial boom, that characterised the post-war *Wirtschaftswunder*, demand for labour was high. In this period, Germany actively recruited employees in Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey, Morocco, Portugal, Tunisia, and Yugoslavia. Large firms were more or less free to hire workers from foreign countries. In the period 1955-1973, often referred to as the *recruitment phase*, an estimated number of 14 million foreigners

went to Germany. The assumption was that these guest workers would only stay for a limited time and then return to their country of origin. However, this often did not happen, as employees logically tend to prefer workers that are more experienced. So, about three million labour migrants never returned and settled permanently in Germany.

After the oil crisis of 1973 and the concomitant economic recession the so-called *consolidation phase* began, which lasted until 1980. Despite the recruitment stop in 1973, the number of ethnic minorities continued to increase due to family reunification. During this period a discussion started on immigration restriction, return to the countries of origin and the integration of ethnic minorities. Since 1980, the German government has pursued an active policy of immigration control and the encouragement of the return of labour migrants. Despite this policy, the number of immigrants hardly decreased and return figures were minimal.

Of the total German population, 7,173,866 had a foreign nationality in 1995. This is 8.8% of total population¹³. Since German naturalisation regulations are very strict, the actual rate of people of non-German origin will not be much higher than this rate, if we do not consider the Aussiedler as such. Of all non-Germans 1,811,748 (25.3%) are nationals of other EU countries. By far the largest group are the Turks, with a total number of 2,014,311 (28.1% of all non-Germans). Other major groups are: subjects from states of the former Yugoslavia (797,754), Italy (586,089), Greece (359,556), Poland (276,753), Spain (132,283), Portugal (125,131), and Iran (106,979).

4.2 Integration and employment situation

Government policies that presumed that most ethnic minorities would eventually return as well as the inaccessibility of German citizenship have not stimulated the integration of ethnic minorities. Measures to restrict family reunification, to curb the number of asylum seekers, to stimulate with financial means the return of labour workers, dominated ethnic minority policies for a long time. There does not seem to be general national consensus on the position and future of ethnic minorities in Germany. Especially after the immigration of about one million Aussiedler, one million 'East Germans', and one million non-German immigrants (mainly asylum seekers and through family reunification) that occurred in the period 1989-1991, racism and open hostilities by extreme right wing groups increased. Although racial violence has decreased again in the past few years, there remains reason for concern.

As in other Western European countries, the economic recession of the 1970s and the general decline of industry and unemployment particularly affected ethnic minorities.

¹³Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer, *Daten und Fakten zur Ausländersituation*. Bonn, March 1997.

However, the situation greatly differs between the different groups of ethnic minorities. Table 3 indicates that the labour market position of the Turks is clearly the worst, whereas unemployment among ethnic minority communities such as Portuguese, Spaniards and citizens from the former Yugoslavia, only slightly differs from the rate for the whole population.

Although unemployment figures among some ethnic minorities, especially the Turks, are well above average, the differences do not seem higher than in most European countries. The Netherlands, for instance, has a higher unemployment rate for ethnic minorities, whilst overall employment is lower than in Germany. As in other countries, the second and third generations are generally performing better in education and employment. More and more ethnic minorities have skilled jobs in various labour market sectors. On the other hand, ethnic minorities are still confronted with a higher school drop-out, and they face discrimination on the labour market. There is particular concern that some sections of young ethnic minorities will fail to get jobs and, hence, risk being marginalised.

Table 3: Unemployment among total population and people with a foreign nationality in Germany in 1990 and 1996¹⁴

	1990	1996
Total population	6.6	11.2
Non-Germans	10.1	18.6
- Turks	10.0	22.5
- Former Yugoslavia	6.0	9.9
- Spaniards	6.8	11.7
- Portuguese	5.5	13.2
- Italians	10.5	18.0
- Greek	9.7	17.8

4.3. Ethnic minority policies

Despite the massive immigration in recent years, Germany still does not consider itself as an immigration country. Of the five countries in this research, the tendency to deny immigration is the strongest in Germany. The concept of integration is strongly influenced by the notion of *jus sanguinis*, which means that in principle one can only be German on the basis of descent. German identity is primarily determined by genealogy. This explains why it used to be very difficult to acquire German nationality for ethnic

¹⁴ Source: Beaufragten der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer, *Daten und Fakten zur Ausländersituation*. Bonn, March 1997.

minorities. In 1991, new legislation made naturalisation easier. However, the official concept of integration still implies assimilation. According to the federal government, naturalisation should not be an instrument for integration, but should be considered as the very end of a long integration process. Therefore, naturalisation of adults is usually only possible after a waiting period of at least 15 years.¹⁵

The German principle of *jus sanguinis* also implies that Aussiedler instantly have the right to a German passport the moment they cross the border. For the Aussiedler the German government has always had targeted ethnic minority policies, which were rather effective. These policies comprise a whole package of measures, such as the provision of education, employment services, financial assistance, etc.

On the other hand, the German government has acknowledged the necessity to promote socio-economic integration of other ethnic minorities. German policies are characterised by a strong ambiguity. In official discourse, the permanent presence of ethnic minorities is denied, but in practice, targeted ethnic minority policies have been developed since the early 1980s. Until then, policies were aimed at stimulating the return of ethnic minorities to the countries of origin. When it became clear that these policies had hardly any effect, the German government was in a way being forced by reality to adopt another approach, and policies shifted in the direction of most other European countries. Although the German debate on ethnic minority policies is seemingly endless, there seems to be a general consensus that it would be desirable to take more active steps to prevent marginalisation of ethnic minorities, especially the younger generations. It is likely that the growing racism within German society, which clearly became evident in the past decade, have contributed to this changing attitude.

It is important to observe that the German federal states have a large degree of autonomy, which is also reflected in the remarkable differences in ethnic minority policies. For example, the State of Bavaria applies much stricter conditions for naturalisation than several states in northern Germany. Ethnic minority policies in northern states generally show more resemblance with those of the Netherlands, leaving more room for the own identity of ethnic minorities, while Bavaria requires assimilation in German culture. Consequently, the naturalisation rates in the different states differ widely. Likewise, the picture is highly differentiated on the local level. Some large cities, which regularly have high concentrations of ethnic minorities, have developed more progressive ethnic minority policies.

Federal ethnic minority policies are factually co-ordinated by the Ministry of the Interior. Since 1978, there is an office of the *Beauftragter der Bundesregierung für die Belange der Ausländer* (Federal Government Commissioner for the Interests of

¹⁵ The German policy on naturalisation is exactly the opposite of the French policy, which is also assimilationist in nature, but perceives naturalisation as an important means towards integration.

Foreigners). This kind of foreigner's commissioners, who represent the interests of ethnic minorities, also exist on state-level and in large cities. This is particularly important as non-EU citizens do not possess voting rights at all and only few ethnic minorities have the German nationality. In order to fill this democratic vacuum, some cities have established consultative councils where ethnic minority communities are represented.

Current measures of the federal government to promote the integration of ethnic minorities can be divided in three categories: consultation and advice, language education and professional training. Three social work organisations, among which churches, have established social services for ethnic minorities, which receive financial support from the state. Furthermore, the government has appointed so-called *Rückkehrberater* (return migration consultants), that assist ethnic minorities who want to return to their county of origin. The *Sprachverband Deutsch für ausländische Arbeitnehmer* (German Language Association for Foreign Workers), which was established by the Ministry of Labour in 1974, finances a wide array of language courses for ethnic minorities. Finally, all federal employment programmes are also open for ethnic minorities, including participation in the German apprenticeship system (see next section).

4.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

After a temporary increase in the mid-1980s, German unemployment rates dropped again to low levels of approx. 6% around 1990. In the past years, the German unemployment rate has significantly increased again, from 6.6% in 1990 to 11.2% in 1996, which is an increase of 69.7%. Over the same period, unemployment among ethnic minorities has increased from 10.1% to 18.6%, an increase of 84.2%. Although the whole German population has suffered from this development, it particularly hit ethnic minorities. This goes especially for the Turkish community, who experienced an increase in unemployment of 125% over the same period, from 10% to 22.5% in 1996. Such unemployment rates among certain ethnic minorities are not uncommon on a European level. Nevertheless, these are unprecedented levels for Germany, and mass unemployment and the economic recession that Germany is currently experiencing, is subject of current political debate and the German government is currently reforming its fiscal and economic policies, and attempts to make the protected German labour market more flexible.

As in other countries, the government puts much emphasis on combating (long-term) youth unemployment, which is particularly high among ethnic minorities. Several general policy measures and programmes aim to stimulate employment among young people. Employment policies are largely based on the improvement of vocational

qualifications of German and ethnic minority people. Participation in the *arbeitsmarktpolitischen Programme* (employment policy programme) of the employment office is open to ethnic minorities.

Germany has an extensive apprenticeship system, which comprises education, vocational training, and traineeships. The eventual aim is to re-integrate (young) unemployed in the labour market. Participation in this system is regulated by the employment office that partly accounts for the costs of the training, and gives financial compensation to employers who hire a trainee.

Through the programme *Maßnahmen zur sozialen und beruflichen Eingliederung ausländischer Jugendlicher* (Measures for Social and Vocational Integration of Foreign Youth), the Federal Ministry of Labour promotes the integration of young people in the labour market. It specifically aims to increase their chances for admission to regular vocational training or the above-mentioned apprenticeship system. This is done through subsidising language courses, vocational qualifying courses, and by offering social and pedagogic guidance for participants. Unemployed youth under the age of 25 and youth without a realistic chance of work form the target group. In 1991, 12,000 participants were youngsters of foreign origin, that is to say about one quarter of the participants. The Ministry of Labour introduced a whole array of other measures to promote labour market participation of unskilled youth through special courses, traineeships etc.

4.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

Germany has not developed an ethnic minority policy that sets clear objectives. The governmental measures to stimulate the return of ethnic minorities, which characterised official policies until recently, have failed completely. Generally speaking, there is increasing acknowledgement that the absence of ethnic minority policies has not contributed to the integration of ethnic minorities. This awareness partly explains the recent (but hesitant) introduction of measures to promote integration, such as the less restrictive naturalisation procedures. However, it is too early to assess their results.

Up to now, most integration measures took place in the field of employment. Ethnic minorities tend to be clearly underrepresented in the German apprenticeship system, viewing the high unemployment they suffer. Ethnic minorities often fail to find an apprenticeship, since some employers prefer to engage German young people. Also in most other employment programmes ethnic minorities tend to be underrepresented. Thus, discrimination forms an obstacle to full participation on the labour market. There is no specific anti-discrimination legislation to prevent this. Moreover, ethnic minorities have almost no access to the wide field of government and semi-government jobs, since most of them lack German citizenship.

4.6. Conclusions

In the past three decades, no other Western European country has received as many immigrants as Germany. Until recently, it was also relatively generous in accepting asylum seekers. Still, the government officially denies being an immigration country, and was late in developing ethnic minority policies. Policies used to concentrate on encouraging the return of ethnic minorities, and German citizenship was extremely difficult to obtain. There is little room for maintenance of an own identity. The official standpoint assumes that integration means, to a great extent, assimilation. As far as ethnic minority policies have been developed in the past, they highly concentrate on socio-economic measures, i.e. training and employment policies.

German ethnic minority policies are sometimes depicted as 'denial policies'. To a certain extent this holds true, but also most other European countries officially denounce the idea of being an immigration country. The main difference is that Germany is very late in recognising the permanent presence of ethnic minorities and the development of policies that seek practical solutions for the particular problems they face. This hesitance can be partly explained by the German notion of citizenship, which is primarily defined by ancestry (*jus sanguinis*), and leaves little room for cultural diversity. Nowadays, policies seem to move slowly into a more realistic direction. Several opposition parties are arguing for more ethnic minority policies that further facilitate naturalisation and leave room for diversity. This kind of policy is already pursued in various German states.

Despite the fact that Germany has received so many ethnic minorities, the lack of real ethnic minority policies, the position of ethnic minorities in the German education system and on the labour market does not much differ from other European countries. The comparison with the Netherlands is interesting, since its official ethnic minority policies fundamentally differ from Germany. Some German politicians used it as a good practice example, which should partly be implemented in Germany. Nevertheless, in the Netherlands unemployment among various ethnic groups is relatively higher in Germany. Although some observers argue that ethnic minorities are far less accepted in Germany, there is no objective reason to support a theory that ethnic minorities are generally worse off in Germany.

5. United Kingdom

5.1. Introduction

Migration to the United Kingdom is largely linked to its colonial background. After the Second World War, migration was stimulated by the economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s, when industry increasingly needed cheap labour. Most post-war migrants were Commonwealth nationals. According to the *British Nationality Act* of 1948, all subjects of Commonwealth countries would become British nationals as soon as they entered Britain.¹⁶ Consequently, most migrants held British passports. In comparison with other European countries, the UK did not assume that these people would return to their countries of origin. This difference of attitude can partly be explained by the idea of the Commonwealth as a succession to the British Empire, within which each citizen would be equal and be free to move.

In the 1960s racial tensions rose and the economic situation worsened, causing rising unemployment. This forced the government to take successive steps to curb the free immigration of Commonwealth citizens. The *Second Commonwealth Immigrants Act* of 1968 made a distinction between Commonwealth nationals with a parent or grandparent born in Britain and other citizens. The second category, mostly comprising non-white Commonwealth nationals, was henceforward denied entry to the UK. Under the Conservative governments in the 1970s and 1980s, immigration of non-white Commonwealth nationals was made increasingly harder.

Nevertheless, the UK has never seen itself as an immigration country, and to a certain extent, rightly so: Since the Second World War emigration from the UK (mainly to the US and Commonwealth countries) has generally been greater than immigration. The post-war period is characterised by a high inward and outward mobility. Consequently, the ethnic composition of the UK population has changed quite drastically.

In 1996, the total ethnic minority population was estimated at 3.4 million, which is about 6.1% of the total population. Approximately 79% of this group are British nationals. About half the ethnic minority population was born in the UK, and the proportion of first generation immigrants is decreasing. In the UK, one usually makes a distinction based on ethnic background. Of all ethnic minorities aged 16 and over in 1995, 324,000 are Indian (from India and East Africa); 200,000 Black Caribbean; 101,000 Black African; 22,000 'Black other'; 154,000 Pakistani; 51,000 Bangladeshi; 49,000 Chinese; and 201,000 have another ethnic background.

¹⁶Vermeulen, H. (ed.), *Immigration Policy for a Multicultural Society: A Comparative Study of Integration and Religious Policy in Five Western European Countries*. Migration Policy Group & Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Brussels & Amsterdam, 1997.

5.2 Integration and employment situation

Despite the concept of equality of *all* British nationals, including (former) subjects of Commonwealth countries, racial tensions became manifest for the first time with the 1958 riots. Race relations continued to worsen in the 1960s with rising unemployment, increasing educational problems, and the concentration of ethnic minorities in particular neighbourhoods. At an earlier stage than other European countries, this forced the UK to develop policies and legislation to prevent racial discrimination and to promote equal opportunities. The first statutory measures date back to 1965.

In the past three decades, the UK has put particular emphasis on anti-discrimination and positive action policies. A striking difference with most other European countries is the high degree of political mobilisation, organisation, and activity among most ethnic minorities, by which means their voice is more clearly heard. Because the majority of ethnic minorities have full citizens' rights including the right to vote, many ethnic minorities are politically active. In the past decade, there seems to be a 'breakthrough' in politics. More and more ethnic minorities join political parties, including the Conservative Party, and are elected in representative bodies. Although ethnic minorities are generally still underrepresented, their number seems to be increasing and relatively bigger than in most other European countries.

Whereas 6% of the population and the workforce are ethnic minority people, they form 11% of the unemployed. The unemployment rate among ethnic minorities is 18.7% compared to 8.2% for the white population (table 4). Thus, unemployment among ethnic minorities is consistently higher. However, there are striking differences between the different ethnic groups as far as their employment situation is concerned. Certain groups are significantly more successful than others.

The highest unemployment rates tend to occur among refugees (about two thirds), the Bangladeshi (40.3%), Black African (29.9%) and Pakistani (24.5%) communities. On the other hand, the unemployment rate among the Indian community (11.7%) is relatively low. Similar differences can be observed in economic activity rates. Among men of working age, economic activity rates are the highest for those of the white population (86%), the Indian population (81%), and the Black population (80%). It is the lowest for people of Pakistani/Bangladeshi origin (74%). Ethnic groups tend to be active in particular sectors. Self-employment is more important for Pakistani/Bangladeshi and Indian groups (19% and 15%) than for the white (13%) and Black (6%) population.

Table 4. Unemployment rates among for native British and ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom, in 1995¹⁷

	<i>Employment rate age 16 - 59/64</i>	<i>Unemployment rate age 16 and over</i>
All other ¹⁸	71.6	8.7
White	72.8	8.2
All ethnic minority	53.4	18.7
Black Caribbean	60.0	20.8
Black African	48.2	29.9
Black other	55.6	- ¹⁹
Indian	63.9	11.7
Pakistani	37.1	24.5
Bangladeshi	25.8	40.3
Chinese	56.4	-
Other	52.8	17.1

The main barriers to employment and overall involvement in society are the lack of fluency in English, the concentration of ethnic minorities in inner city areas (that are particularly struck by unemployment), lack of education and/or transferable qualifications, the decline of manufacturing industries (like textile and clothing), and discrimination. Finally, the young age profile of the ethnic minority population could form a partial explanation for their lower participation on the labour market, since unemployment tends to be higher among young people.

The overall picture is highly differentiated. Some groups, such as the Indians, appear to make much progress and get increasingly involved in the economy, especially in business, and other sectors of society. Communities like the Bangladeshi, on the other hand, suffer more problems in terms of education and employment.

More than in other European countries, the British housing market is rather segregated. The government exercises little control on the housing market and social housing is very limited. This has led to high concentrations of ethnic minorities in particular neighbourhoods. The effect of this development is often an accelerated decay of these neighbourhoods. Moreover, it is generally believed that ethnic segregation contributes to the marginalisation of ethnic minority youth. In these areas, there is often a

¹⁷ Source: Sly, Frances, Ethnic Minority Participation in the Labour Market: Trends from the Labour Force Survey 1984-1995. In: *Labour Market Trends*. Governmental Statistical Service, June 1996. Unemployment rates based on the ILO definition; average winter 1994/5 - autumn 1995.

¹⁸ The whole work force, including those who did not state their ethnic origin.

¹⁹ Less than 10,000 in cell: estimate not shown.

cumulation of problems such as inadequate housing, long-term unemployment, and insufficient education.

5.3. Ethnic minority policies

Since its emergence in the 1960s, British ethnic minority policies have been characterised by a strong focus on the prevention of discrimination and the promotion of equal opportunities. Compared to other European countries, British policies have a strong legal orientation. There is a general legal framework under the *Race Relations Act* (1976), that seeks to protect the rights of ethnic minorities in different spheres of life, which has to ensure that ethnic minorities have equal opportunities in, among other things, work and education. This applies to direct as well as indirect discrimination.

The Race Relations Act makes it possible to set up special provisions for particular racial groups, commonly referred to as *Positive Action*. This can apply to education, training and engaging employees. Under certain conditions, the law allows special provisions for certain groups, as a means to remove the cumulative disadvantages they face. For instance, business education for particular ethnic minority groups helps them to enter into business. Although the Race Relations Act legally protects ethnic minorities from discrimination, the application of the legal procedures is extremely difficult, since a racial motive is very hard to prove in case of alleged discrimination.

In this context, the most important institution is the *Commission for Racial Equality* (CRE), which falls under the Home Office (which is responsible for ethnic minority policies), but is largely independent of it. The CRE controls compliance with the Race Relations Act. It investigates racial discrimination, provides legal assistance to victims of discrimination, gives advice to the government, and gives subsidies to local organisations. Moreover, it has set up a network of *Racial Equality Councils*.

Although the Conservative governments did not deny the existence of racism and discrimination, they see it as an individual issue, not as an institutional one. "According to this viewpoint, individuals who have been affected by racism should claim their rights through the Race Relations Act. Basically the Conservatives apply an individual assimilation model . . . Seen from this angle, the Race Relations Act needs no improvement"²⁰ Apart from the Race Relations Act, the UK has never developed a consistent ethnic minority policy. Current ethnic minority policy is largely a mixed lot of scattered measures and regulations. Partly under public pressure of white voters, the

²⁰ Vermeulen, H. (ed.), *Immigration Policy for a Multicultural Society: A Comparative Study of Integration and Religious Policy in Five Western European Countries*. Migration Policy Group & Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Brussels & Amsterdam, 1997, p.43.

Labour as well as the Conservative parties are reluctant to introduce policies specific targeted at ethnic minorities.

In the past, initiatives and programmes were developed that indirectly aimed to promote the integration of ethnic minorities. For instance, under the *Urban Programme* funding from the central government (which finished in 1993), local authorities were able to fund a whole range of community initiatives in urban neighbourhoods with high ethnic minority concentrations. In this context, grants were given to ethnic minority applicants to promote their training, entry into business and encourage new business start-ups. These and other programmes have generally been targeted at the whole (deprived) population and not particularly at ethnic minorities. Ethnic minority policies were embedded in general policies to alleviate deprivation. However, under successive Conservative governments most anti-deprivation policies were abolished in the 1980s and 1990s.

Compared to other European countries, relatively many specific initiatives are taken at the local level. Furthermore, private initiatives and charities play a rather important role in programmes for ethnic minorities and their funding. At the local level, various initiatives exist to promote the integration of ethnic minorities. Since the role of the state has been reduced in the past two decades, an even greater appeal is made to the already important voluntary sector.

For instance, for ethnic minorities it is often possible to apply for specific local authority support when starting a business, such as credit facilities, training or other forms of support. Many local authorities have established *Enterprise Centres*, and partnership with private businesses. These centres provide sheltered workplace and training facilities for (starting) entrepreneurs. In some cities, specialised agencies have been set up to attract investment resources (grants, bank loans, etc.), which are used to support small ethnic minority enterprises.

5.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

Between 1985 and 1990 overall unemployment has decreased from 11.5% to 7.1%. After an increase to 10.5% in 1993, the rate has dropped again to a level of 8.8% in 1995. As mentioned above, unemployment tends to be higher among ethnic minorities, although there is a large degree of differentiation. Unemployment among ethnic minorities has largely followed the overall trend in the past decade. However, the trends within ethnic minority populations seem to be more accentuated. Differences between peaks and lows are generally larger than for the white population.²¹

²¹ Office for National Statistics, *Social Focus on Ethnic Minorities*. Governmental Statistical Service, Crown, 1996.

UK employment policies over the past two decades should be seen in the context of the *laissez faire* philosophy that underpinned the policies of successive Conservative governments. Policies were generally directed at decreasing the role of the State, and encouraging free market mechanisms. The role of the trade unions was greatly curbed, and the labour market became more flexible. For disadvantaged groups (such as the unemployed and low-skilled workers), these policies often meant further impoverishment. This also affected parts of the different ethnic minority communities.

Despite the absence of consistent ethnic minority policies on national level, many efforts have been put in preventing discrimination on the labour market. The Commission on Racial Equality plays a crucial role in this respect. As in the Netherlands, also UK employers have to register the ethnicity of their employees, in the interest of positive action. Unlike the situation in the Netherlands, this practice is widely accepted and recognised in the UK. Anti-discrimination legislation also allows *positive action*. Positive action does not seek to remove competition, but to provide for fair competition.

The national government has not implemented a positive action plan for its own organisations. However, on the local level, targeted policies and positive action plans have been implemented. This is especially the case in Labour-dominated municipalities. Some local authorities only give public contracts to so-called Equal Opportunity Employers. The private sector plays an important role. Various large firms do actively encourage the employment of ethnic minorities and/or have implemented positive action plans. What is interesting, is that they do this on a voluntary basis.

The Department for Education and Employment (DfEE) is responsible for employment policies. The DfEE has contractually obliged Training and Enterprise Councils (TECs) to ensure equal opportunities. The DfEE also ensures equality of access and treatment within all its education programmes.

The DfEE mainly promotes racial equality on the labour market through the work of the *Race Relations Advisory Service* (RREAS) and published guidance. The RREAS operates throughout the UK, offering advice and guidance to employers on implementing racial equality policies. This work is supported by various publications, such as *Positive Action* and *The Equal Opportunities Ten Point Plan for Employers*. The Race Relations Act allows training bodies and employers to restrict or offer preferential access to facilities or services to members of a particular racial group. However, the Government does not want to force employers to pursue such policies, since it believes that it is for employers to decide what they need to do to provide equality of opportunity in employment.

UK government has implemented various general work incentives, such as wage benefits for unemployed with families, decreasing labour costs for employers who engage the long-term unemployed, and income support for the unemployed who enter a part-time job.

All Government training and employment programmes are open to the unemployed, often with relaxed or priority entry criteria. Various employment service programmes, such as *Job Clubs* and *Restart Courses*, aim at equipping long-term unemployed with relevant job skills. However, they are not specifically targeted at ethnic minorities. The Government believes that correct implementation of Race Relations Act should ensure their (equal) participation in such programmes.

5.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

Compared with the other research countries, the UK unemployment rates are relatively low. The government has largely failed in resolving the problem of long-term unemployment. Among certain sections of the white and ethnic minority communities cultures of unemployment and poverty seem to have developed. Due to the lack of state control over the housing market, they often live segregated in decayed neighbourhoods, which seems to accentuate and reinforce their further societal isolation.

The government considers that the Race Relations Act 1976 is, broadly speaking, working satisfactorily, after two decades during which employers, the courts, and industrial tribunals have become familiar with its provisions. To a certain extent, this appears to be true. Moreover, the anti-discrimination policies over the past 20 years seem to have raised awareness under numerous employees.

It is difficult to assess the results of general employment and anti-discrimination policies. Over the past 20 years, many ethnic minority people have moved to higher level jobs. Particularly people of Indian and African Indian origin have improved their employment status. The percentage of men from these groups and of Chinese origin having high level occupations is at least as high as among the white population. In addition, the gap in unemployment rates among these communities has been narrowed compared with that of the white group.²²

For most other ethnic minority communities, however, the picture is less rosy. They suffer substantially higher unemployment rates, and are still predominantly employed in low or semi-skilled jobs. The biggest concern is that certain groups may form a kind of 'underclass' that will be largely excluded from good education, work, and political influence. It seems not so much the lack of consistent ethnic minority policies that has created this situation, but a result of the *laissez faire* policies that characterised the past

²² Source: DFEE, Department for Education and Employment.

two decades. This had lead to an increasing divide in society. Lack of prospects is a problem among some sections of the White as well as of the ethnic minority communities, but ethnic minorities are generally in a more disadvantaged position.

5.6. Conclusions

Despite Britain's long experience with anti-discrimination policies and positive action, racism still is a major problem and some particularly disadvantaged groups risk permanent exclusion. Unemployment and the economic malaise of the past decades, which also affected many White people, has not favoured public attitudes towards ethnic minorities. Racism is still fairly widespread and racial tensions sometimes become manifest in the form of ethnic rioting.

Besides anti-discrimination policies no specific ethnic minority policies have been developed. This can partly be explained by pressure of public opinion, partly by the general policies of non-State interventionism.²³ There are some doubts concerning the effectiveness of the Race Relations Act and the Commission for Racial Equality. Many commentators criticise British policies of putting too much emphasis on general legislation, declarations of intent, codes of practice etc., instead of the implementation of practical policy measures aiming at improving the situation of ethnic minorities.

On the other hand, the anti-discrimination policies and legislation have at least had some effect on attitudes of many employers. Moreover, the fact that most ethnic minorities have full political rights, including the right to vote, undoubtedly increases their possibilities for participation and encourages their integration. Particular groups, such as Indians and Chinese achieved considerable successes in education, employment, and politics. All things considered, the British experience is very mixed, and clearly shows the limited impact of government policies. General socio-economic circumstances and factors relating to specific group characteristics seem to play a more decisive role in the integration of ethnic minorities.

²³ The change of government in 1997 is likely to have its impact on employment and ethnic minority policies. The final report will describe these new policies.

6. France

6.1. Introduction

As in the United Kingdom, migration to France is strongly linked to its colonial background. Labour migration to France goes back to the middle of the last century, when expanding French industries needed increasing numbers of labourers. Since the French population growth stagnated due to low birth rates, labour migrants were increasingly welcomed. France also recruited foreigners for its army at an early stage. France usually recruited these people from neighbouring countries or in its African and Asian colonies. Migrants were generally encouraged to assume French nationality and to participate in society. The French concept of citizenship assumes that anyone, regardless of ethnic background, can become a French citizen. Migration to France has continued in this century.

After the Second World War, the French government established the *Office national d'Immigration* (ONI, National Immigration Office), which should co-ordinate and control migration to France. In reality many people came to France without official permission to look for work. Once in France, they often succeeded in getting work and residence permits. In the 1960s and early 1970s large numbers of labour migrants came to France, in particular from Portugal and the Maghreb (especially Algeria). This labour migration, which reached a peak in 1970, came to an end with the recruitment stop of 1974. After 1974 migration policies became increasingly restrictive, and as in most other European countries, the government presumed that most labour migrants would return to their country of origin. However, migration would continue through family reunification and illegal immigration.

In 1990 about 3,596,000 people with a foreign nationality lived in France, which is about 6.4% of the total population. However, in the past decades about 1.75 million people received French citizenship. In 1990, the largest ethnic minority communities living in France were: Portuguese (650,000), Algerians (614,000), and Moroccans (573,000). These numbers only indicate ethnic minorities that have a foreign nationality. Other ethnic minorities include those from former colonies in West Africa and Asia, as well as European countries such as Italy and Spain.

6.2 Integration and employment situation

Although France has a relatively open concept of citizenship, attitudes towards ethnic minorities have become increasingly negative. The extreme right-wing party *Front National* is having more success in France than comparable parties in other European countries. In some local authorities with high concentrations of ethnic minorities, it has

become the dominant political party. Open hostilities and discrimination towards ethnic minorities regularly occur.

The socio-economic position of many ethnic minorities, especially those coming from non-European countries, is a reason for concern. The unemployment rate among ethnic minorities is significantly higher than the national average. For example, the ethnic minority communities from the Maghreb are facing unemployment figures well above 20%.

*Table 5: Unemployment among French citizens and non-nationals in France, 1991 (in %)*²⁴

Nationality	Unemployment (%)
French	8.7
Non-French total	17
Algerians	27
Tunisians	20
Moroccans	24
Turks	26
Portuguese	7.8
Spaniards	12.3

In addition, the housing situation of many ethnic minorities is rather concerning. Ethnic minorities tend to live concentrated in certain neighbourhoods and the so-called *banlieues*. These high concentrations are partly an unintentional consequence of France's social housing policy. In the past it deliberately constructed relatively large houses, in order to stimulate French families to have more children. The low native birth rate has been a continuous concern for the French state throughout this century, and it has always pursued an active policy to stimulate the birth rate. However, this policy has failed. Since ethnic minority families generally have more children, these houses were often allotted to them. This provoked their concentration in areas with this type of social housing. In some of these areas, the majority of the population is of ethnic minority origin. In practice this has resulted in ethnic segregation.

These areas are often characterised by a concentration of disadvantaged ethnic minorities - mainly of Maghrebian origin - with a high percentage of youngsters. Unemployment rates among these second and third generations, though often

²⁴ Werner, H; W. Seifert, *Die Integration ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in den Arbeitsmarkt*. Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nürnberg, 1994.

possessing French nationality, are often above 30%. In the banlieues and neighbourhoods of big cities the unemployment rate among ethnic minority youth may even reach levels up to 50-60%.²⁵ The obvious lack of perspectives easily leads to school failure, social problems, and deviant or criminal behaviour. This cumulation of problems often places ethnic minority youth in an even more disadvantaged position.

However, as in other European countries, the picture is rather differentiated. In the past, France has been able to integrate immigrants successfully. A high percentage of the current French population is of foreign origin. Several ethnic minority communities, such as the Portuguese, have a good position on the labour market. It is also important to note that there are remarkable differences within the individual ethnic minority communities. For example, a considerable number of Maghrebians are highly educated and occupy good positions on the labour market, whilst others lack sufficient education and are unlikely to get a job. For citizens with a foreign nationality, the access to the labour market is more limited, since they are not only denied entry to work in the government sector, but also in the numerous large companies that are owned by the State.

6.3. Ethnic minority policies

The basis of the French policies is the *republican model*. The so-called *jus soli* is the basis of citizenship, which means that anyone who is admitted to French territory and intends to settle there permanently, is theoretically considered as part of the French nation. Foreigners can easily acquire the nationality of the receiving country, and are supposed to belong to that nation after naturalisation.

The traditional French approach has insisted on the equal rights of all citizens, which accordingly precludes the institutional recognition of ethnic minorities. Ethnic minorities are accepted as a part of society, but are expected to assimilate in the French culture. Naturalisation is hereby seen as a means to achieve incorporation in French culture, and not as an end to the assimilation process, as in Germany. Although the French interpretation of 'integration' does not officially imply full assimilation, there is relatively little room for maintenance of the own culture of ethnic minorities.

It is important to note that the term 'ethnic minority' is contradictory to the unitary character of the State. Therefore, the term 'populations of immigrant origin' is mostly used. The French 'assimilationist' model is described as having strong notions of the superiority of French culture. There is a clear link between this model and the former

²⁵ Werner, H; W. Seifert, *Die Integration ausländischer Arbeitnehmer in den Arbeitsmarkt*. Institut für Arbeitsmarkt- und Berufsforschung der Bundesanstalt für Arbeit, Nürnberg, 1994.

colonial policies, in which the *mission civilisatrice*, (i.e. the spread of French culture and language) played an important role.

Official French policies hardly leave room for the development of targeted ethnic minority policies. The general assumption is that general institutions and policies, for example to combat exclusion and unemployment, are meant for all citizens. Ethnic minorities are not considered as a separate target group, but are supposed to benefit from general policies. Besides the French concept of integration, an other reason for the absence of targeted ethnic minority policies, is that the government fears that this may increase support for extreme right wing parties. This factor also plays a role in the United Kingdom.

Until 1974, there were hardly any migration or ethnic minority policies. In the years following the recruitment stop in 1974, policies were mainly directed at the prevention of further migration. Measures were taken to curb illegal immigration to France. Also in France, one tried to stimulate return migration but, as anywhere else, without substantial success.

After 1981, when the socialists came to power under the presidency of Mitterand, immigration policies became increasingly restrictive. The government continued to curb (illegal) immigration by taking measures such as the introduction of the visa plight for most 'non-Western' countries, and to penalise employers who hired illegal immigrants. On the other hand, the government reformulated its policies towards ethnic minorities already living in France. It no longer assumed that they would return to their country of origin, but stated that ethnic minorities should instead integrate themselves into French society.

Especially in legislation, some important changes took places. The legal position of ethnic minorities was improved through the introduction of automatically renewable and combined residence and work permits. This gave ethnic minorities who were already legally staying in France a more secure position as well as full access to the labour market. At the time, family reunification was officially recognised as a right. Furthermore many illegal immigrants were legalised by a special policy measure. Immigrants from former colonies generally had special rights with regard to issues as naturalisation and family reunification.

As has been mentioned before, the French State has developed relatively few programmes that are targeted at the integration of ethnic minorities. Nevertheless, there are numerous activists and private or semi-public organisations aiming to promote the interest of ethnic minorities and promoting their integration. On national level, there are several bodies which deal with policies toward ethnic minorities. The *Fonds d'Action sociale pour les Travailleurs Immigrés* (FAS, Social Welfare Fund for Immigrant

Workers) supports government programmes in education, culture, and employment policies. The *Conseil national des Populations immigrées* (CNPI, the National Council of Immigrant Populations), which was created 1984, advises the government on issues pertaining to ethnic minorities. In 1990, the *Haut Conseil à l'Intégration* (High Council on Integration) was established, which advises the premier on issues relating to the integration of ethnic minorities. On regional level there are regional integration commissions, which co-ordinate integration of ethnic minorities in the labour market. On government level, the Ministry of Social Affairs, in particular its *Direction de la Population et des Migrations* (DPM, Population and Migration Division), is responsible for most ethnic minority issues.

6.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

Between 1990 and 1995, overall unemployment has steadily increased from 9.0% to 11.5%. Although it is regarded as a national problem, it particularly affected certain ethnic minorities. Especially the young ethnic minority population living in the banlieues risks permanent exclusion from the labour market. Therefore, employment policies directed at disadvantaged people, have a high priority in French politics. These employment policies are often linked to urban policies meant to upgrade decayed neighbourhoods.

As has been mentioned before, France has few explicit target group policies. It opts rather for setting up programmes that help all people that are facing particular problems, regardless of ethnic background. In some cases, ethnic minorities form the most important part of this target groups. Although no official distinction on the basis of ethnic background is made, the participation of ethnic minorities in general programmes is stimulated and controlled by bodies such as the FAS.

The reality of growing ethnic and cultural diversity has forced France to implicitly acknowledge the need for a more multicultural approach in certain policy areas. Thus, implicitly France has recognised the need to develop targeted policies.²⁶ Existing target group policies are mostly limited to measures such as literacy and language courses, further education and vocational training. Within some other programmes to combat unemployment, special measures targeted at ethnic minorities have been developed.

In the early 1980s, the government introduced a series of measures to stimulate employment among young people, such as increasing accessibility of vocational training for young people, courses, and traineeships. Like in Germany, employers get financial benefits in return for engaging a poorly skilled trainee. This programme had a

²⁶ Council of Europe, *Community and Ethnic Relations in Europe*. Strasbourg, 1991.

general character. In 1993-1994, a special employment project was developed for ethnic minority youth lacking job skills and who were living in decayed neighbourhoods. It was extended in the following years to 140 projects involving 1400 ethnic minority youth.

Since the socio-economic circumstances in certain urban areas are very concerning, urban policy forms a top priority in French politics. The aim of French urban policy is to upgrade these areas by improving the housing situation, stimulating the access to employment and education, etc. For that purpose, some local authorities can receive state support by concluding so-called *contracts de ville* (city contracts). Within these contracts, the FAS can give financial support for special measures for ethnic minorities. In other areas, that are not included in the *contracts de ville*, *contracts d'agglomération* can be concluded, which specifically aim at integrating ethnic minorities. These are funded by the Ministry of Social Affairs. In 1996 the government launched new proposals for urban policy, which include measures to further combat unemployment, criminality and to restore social ties.

6.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

Although ethnic minorities are supposed to benefit equally from the general programmes on education, to combat unemployment and to upgrade urban areas, the participation of ethnic minorities in these programmes is relatively low compared to participation by the native French population. So, the general approach is not always successful in effectively reaching certain sections of the target group. Among certain ethnic minority communities, the problem of youth unemployment and the segregation problem has worsened in the recent past. Therefore, several institutions have been established that aim to assist ethnic minorities and to increase their chances to participate in general programmes. In some cases, special programmes for ethnic minorities have been set up. Although it is difficult to assess the result of these programmes, they seem to be more effective in reaching ethnic minorities and improving their situation.

6.6. Conclusions

France's policies towards ethnic minorities represent a special case. France has been relatively liberal in its admission and naturalisation regulations. This can partly be explained by ideological factors. Pragmatic reasons, such as the low native birth rate and the concomitant labour shortages play an important role in explaining French policies. With the current high unemployment, French policies have become increasingly restrictive, and nowadays greatly resemble other European countries.

On ideological grounds, France has always refused to develop target group policies. However, recognition seems to be growing that general policies are not always effective in reaching the entire population. This reality has forced the government to adopt some measures targeted at ethnic minorities, especially in the fields of employment and education. It mostly concerns measures that are being taken to improve access and participation of ethnic minorities within existing programmes, such as programmes for urban renewal. Nevertheless, France keeps its strong preference for a general approach.

The French example indicates that equal rights and easily obtainable naturalisation are preconditions for integration, but that they are by no means a guarantee. Some ethnic minorities risk a situation of low education, ethnic segregation, unemployment, and discrimination. For these groups, a targeted approach can be desirable in particular policy areas.

7. Comparative analysis and conclusion

7.1. Migration background

The countries described in this report have very different migration backgrounds. Both the UK and France both have a long history of immigration, largely linked to their colonial background. Large-scale migration to Germany is more recent (since the mid-1950s) and most ethnic minorities came as labour migrants from the Mediterranean. Migration to the Netherlands is of both types, and consists of people from its former colonies as well as labour migrants. Finland has only recent experiences with immigration on a larger scale. Finland shares with Germany a third type of immigration, namely of 'ethnic repatriates', i.e. ethnic Finns and Germans who lived in other countries for several generations. Often they largely lost contact with Finnish or German culture, but on the basis of their ethnic origin, have the right to come back to their 'homeland'. In all countries, the number of asylum seekers has increased significantly in the past decade.

7.2. Ethnic minority policies

The difference in concepts underlying ethnic minority policies is significant. In France, for example, the so-called *republican model* is paramount. The so-called *jus soli* is the basis of citizenship, which means that anyone who is admitted to French territory and intends to settle there permanently, is in principle part of the French nation.²⁷ Therefore, foreigners can easily acquire the nationality of the receiving country, and are supposed to belong to that nation after naturalisation. Hence, most ethnic minorities possess the same rights as the indigenous population. There is a relative lack of group-specific policies and an emphasis on naturalisation and integration is interpreted, to a great extent, as assimilation.

German ethnic minority policies presume that integration can more or less be equalled with 'assimilation', but in all other aspects German policies are fundamentally different from the French approach. German notions of citizenship are based on *jus sanguinis*, which means that having German ancestors determines whether one is German. This explains why it was very difficult to acquire German citizenship for ethnic minorities until recently. Germany formulated explicit ethnic minority policies at a relatively late stage.

²⁷ Vermeulen, H. (ed.), *Immigration Policy for a Multicultural Society: A Comparative Study of Integration and Religious Policy in Five Western European Countries*. Migration Policy Group & Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies, Brussels & Amsterdam, 1997.

The Netherlands and the UK both apply more or less the principle of *jus soli*, but have developed policies, which leave more room for the maintenance of own identity of ethnic minority communities. In this *multiculturalist vision*, integration does not necessarily exclude integration. Although these countries still deny being an immigration country, it was at a relatively early stage that they formulated policies towards ethnic minorities. The Dutch government has developed policies based on a target group approach. The UK has put particular emphasis on anti-discrimination legislation, ensuring equal opportunities for all citizens and positive action.

Finland represents a special case, since it is a recent immigration country, and it has developed ethnic minority policies only recently. This explains that, until recently, the Finnish government did not see the need to develop ethnic minority policies and largely ignored their presence. Since the size of the ethnic minority community is currently growing, and as many of them have a disadvantaged position, the government has now acknowledged the need to develop ethnic minority policies. It seems to develop policies that seem resemble most the Dutch approach.

Some authors seem obsessed by theoretical differences between official ethnic minority policies, and tend to overestimate the impact of these differences on factual policies. Ideological differences as formulated in official ethnic minority policies are generally bigger than those found in reality.

In all countries, the disadvantaged position of many ethnic minorities is increasingly recognised. Hence, each country has developed explicit or implicit ethnic minority policies. Furthermore, it seems that ethnic minority policy of the different countries move in the same direction, and increasingly start to resemble each other. For instance, whereas as in France more attention is being paid to group-specific policies, current Dutch policies have the tendency to focus less on specific target groups and more on general policies to combat deprivation and exclusion.

In all countries admission policies tend to become increasingly tight and the public attitude towards ethnic minorities has generally become less tolerant. There also seems to be a trend in ethnic minority and employment policies to put more emphasis on the own initiative and commitment of ethnic minorities.

7.3. Integration and employment situation

The differentiation found in the situation of the different ethnic minority communities within each country is generally greater than differences *between* countries. Unemployment rates among ethnic minorities, for example, show great variation, from less than the average, to two or three times higher than the national average. The only real exception is Finland, where almost half of all ethnic minorities is unemployed.

Certain ethnic minority communities are obviously much more successful than others. Some factors can be identified which explain these differences.

The period of residence seems to be the most important determinant of integration. In general one can say that the longer a group has lived in a country, the more integrated they get. To a certain extent, integration is a matter of time. One cannot expect from the first generation to integrate in one or two decades. In almost all cases, second and third generations are performing much better in all societal fields, since they generally speak the language fluently, are familiar with the culture of the receiving country etc. In Finland, most migrants have recently arrived, and this fact possibly explains their difficult situation.

Besides the period of residence, other factors play a role, such as the cultural distance between ethnic minorities and the receiving country, such as language, religion, and culture. For many 'Indonesians' and Surinamese in the Netherlands for example, the cultural distance with the Netherlands is significantly smaller than for Moroccans and Turks.

The intention of migration is also important. Many labour migrants from the Mediterranean came to Western Europe with the intention to return after a certain period. Logically, many of them were not motivated to integrate since they would return anyway, and their attention tend to remain more directed at their country of origin.

Cultural factors seem to play a role in the importance attached to education and in which economic sector people tend to get active. In the United Kingdom, for example, it is remarkable how successful the Indian and Chinese communities are in business, and the high levels of education they reach. In the Netherlands, Turks are more active in entrepreneurship than Moroccans.

Last but not least, the attitude of the receiving country is an important determinant. Ethnic minorities whose arrival is more or less accepted or even desired seem to have more success, are better received, and face less discrimination. In this context, there is a remarkable contrast between the reception of Aussiedler and other ethnic minorities in Germany.

These and other elements form partial explanations for the enormous differences between the socio-economic position of the different ethnic minority communities. Moreover, within the different ethnic minority communities major differences may occur. Although the problems that ethnic minorities currently face cannot be denied, it is important to note that many ethnic minorities are actually making important progress. The major concern is that certain sections of the ethnic minority community may 'miss the boat' and may end up in a vicious cycle of insufficient education, unemployment,

deviance etc. In addition, some autochthonous citizens risk such a situation of permanent deprivation, but among ethnic minorities the risk on structural exclusion seems higher.

7.4. Employment policies, general and targeted at ethnic minorities

All countries have developed policies to combat unemployment. The policies range from general macro-economic and fiscal measures to specific programmes targeting disadvantaged groups. In recent years, the emphasis seems to have shifted increasingly to the latter set of measures. Within these policies directed at disadvantaged unemployed, ethnic minorities are often a specific target group. In this context, the focus is often on measures that combine social and vocational training, and integration in the labour market. With this kind of measure, there is an explicit link between employment and education policies.

Germany has an elaborate apprenticeship system. Special measures have been developed to encourage the participation of ethnic minority youth in this system, as well as to help them to obtain the required vocational qualifications.

The British approach is especially focused on anti-discrimination legislation and positive action. Many measures to combat unemployment (in general and among ethnic minorities) have been developed at the local level. Compared to other countries, the central government plays a modest role. Furthermore, private initiatives and charities have a more pronounced role than in other countries.

The Dutch government has developed several job schemes, aiming at providing training and low-entry jobs for long-term unemployed and disadvantaged groups. Although general in nature, ethnic minorities are also expected to benefit from these measures. Moreover, especially in the government and police sector, many positive action plans have been introduced.

As Finland faces extremely high unemployment figures, the government has developed general unemployment policies, especially aimed at decreasing unemployment among long-term unemployed and low-educated people. The government is currently developing explicit ethnic minority policies, which include measures to integrate them in the labour market.

France has developed several instruments within general employment policies, which target ethnic minorities. Although no official distinction exists on the basis of ethnic or national background, many ethnic minorities participate in programmes developed in

the context of these policies. Sometimes specific actions are developed to improve the access to general programmes of ethnic minorities.

Most employment policies targeted at disadvantaged groups in general or ethnic minorities in particular, comprise a combination of vocational training and apprenticeships or low-entry jobs. This model exists in each country. The differences observed are rather gradual than fundamental.

7.5. Results of ethnic minority and employment policies

Ethnic minorities have generally made important progress in terms of education and overall integration. Their participation on the labour market is mostly increasing, although unemployment rates use to lag behind. It is not clear to what extent this progress is a result of the own efforts of ethnic minorities, and to what extent government policies have played a role. However, it seems that macro-economic factors, notably the employment growth, play a decisive role. Access to employment is generally considered as the most important means towards integration. Another important determinant in access to work is education. Researchers agree that a higher education significantly increases everyone's chance of getting a job.

Government policies only have a limited effect on the situation of ethnic minorities. For instance, the remarkable differences between official ethnic minority policies of the five research countries are not reflected in the employment figures. The Netherlands, with its extensive and group-specific ethnic minority policies, has the highest unemployment rates for ethnic minorities after Finland!

Although the margins of politics are rather narrow, governments can contribute to create beneficial conditions for the integration of ethnic minorities. Also the granting of citizenship or the granting of voting rights are necessary conditions for integration. Anti-discrimination legislation and positive action, for example, does not seem to resolve the entire problem of discrimination, but it can play a positive role in increasing equality on the long term. Also, policies to increase chances of ethnic minorities in education and employment can certainly have beneficial effects on integration.

7.6. Conclusions

There seems to be reason for cautious optimism concerning the integration of ethnic minorities in the European countries. Many ethnic minorities make clear progress, certainly with the growing up of second and third generations, although most ethnic

minorities are still in a disadvantaged position. There is more concern that particular groups will form a kind of underclass in the future that could face structural exclusion.

Ethnic minority policies generally show more similarities than the ideologies that underpin official policies. Currently most ethnic minority and employment policies are directed at particularly disadvantaged groups. In the case of employment policies, this mainly concerns the prevention of long-term unemployment among young people. All five research countries have set up programmes to combat such unemployment. Ethnic minority youth can participate in all these programmes. In some cases, these programmes are especially targeted at ethnic minorities.

Most (youth) employment programmes comprise a combination of education, vocational training and work experience. In practice, education and employment policies are generally strongly intertwined, as they form an integrated whole in pathways towards integration into society.

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