

Conceptualizing Mainstreaming in Immigrant Integration Governance

A LITERATURE REVIEW

UPSTREAM project

Ilona van Breugel, Xandra Maan and Peter Scholten (Erasmus University Rotterdam)



Co-funded by the European Union

Contents

Introduction	3
2. Super-diversity and its implications	6
2.1 Super-diversity	6
2.2 Consequences of super-diversity	7
2.3 Perspectives on cultural diversity	9
2.3.1 Super-diversity and multiculturalism?	9
2.3.2 Super-diversity and assimilationism?	10
2.3.3 Super-diversity and interculturalism?	11
2.4 Conclusion	12
3 The social construction of target populations	13
3.1 Target grouping	13
3.2 Dilemma of recognition	15
3.3 Conclusion	17
4 Building a typology of mainstreaming	19
4.1 Typology of mainstreaming	19
4.2 Models of immigrant integration	21
4.2.1 Differentialism	21
4.2.2 Multiculturalism	21
4.2.3 Assimilationism	21
4.2.4 Interculturalism	22
4.3 Conclusion	23
5 Governance of mainstreaming	24
5.1 Polycentric governance	25
5.1.1 Horizontal governance: '(de)concentration'	25
5.1.2 Vertical governance: '(de)centralisation'	26
5.2 Conclusion	27
6 Discourses of mainstreaming	28
6.1 Mainstreaming in gender	28
6.2 Country examples	29
6.2.1 Content: Mainstreaming as a move towards generic and inclusive policies	30
6.2.2 Coordination: Polycentric governance of mainstreaming	31
6.3 Conclusion	32
7 Conclusion	33
BIBLIOGRAPHY	35

Introduction

Mainstreaming has been defined as 'the future' of immigrant integration in Europe (see also MPI, 2014). The central element of mainstreaming involves the orientation of integration policies at the entire diverse population, including, but not limited to specific migrant groups. The objective of this generic approach is to create a more inclusive society and thereby improve integration outcomes (MPI 2014). Mainstreaming is framed as a response to 'the multiculturalism backlash' (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010) and the 'assimilationist turn' (Joppke & Morawska, 2003). Following this rise and fall of multiculturalism, mainstreaming signals a new phase in the already versatile recent history of migrant integration policies. At the same time, mainstreaming would also correlate with government retrenchment and fading government attention for the incorporation of vulnerable migrant groups.

In spite of a growing attention for the mainstreaming of integration governance, little is known about how and why integration policies are mainstreamed and to what effect. In the UPSTREAM-project we will look at the rationale of mainstreaming, its implementation, as well as its consequences in terms of integration outcomes. Central research questions throughout the project are why immigrant integration policies are mainstreamed, what the policy rationale behind mainstreaming is and under what conditions mainstreaming occurs, and what actors see as the main consequences of mainstreaming. The project consists of several work packages subsequently focusing on the conceptualisation of mainstreaming, and an analysis of the policy making and implementation of mainstreaming in different cases studies at a EU, national and local level (in respectively the EU, France, Poland, Spain, The Netherlands and The United Kingdom).

At the first stage of the project the literature review as represented in this report asks how to define mainstreaming. **What exactly is mainstreaming, and where does the concept come from?** These are the guiding research questions for the transnational report (WP2), developing a typology of mainstreaming as the basis of the project. Although mainstreaming is often conceptualized as something 'new', we will try to relate the concept to the broader literature on integration governance; this will be an important foundation for the theoretical contribution of the UPSTREAM project to the literature on migrant integration. In contrast to the empirical analysis in the following work packages this literature study is explicitly deductive in character and should be understood as a conceptual frame to serve the comparative study of mainstreaming. While the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies may be more implicit or diverse in practice the typology developed here should be understood as an ideal-typical concept leading to a hypothesis on the development of mainstreaming that will be put to the test empirically in the following work packages. The transnational report is based on a literature study and 8 expert interviews with several professors and practitioners in the field of immigrant integration and governance.

The aim of this research project is to contribute to this discussion on mainstreaming from a multi-level and interdisciplinary perspective. It combines case-studies at a local, national and EU level to understand what mainstreaming is, and how and why it does or does not take place. To this aim, this literature review connects the fields of migration and governance studies. More specifically this study connects the literature on (super-)diversity and interculturalism to other models of cultural diversity, and connects the literature on target group policies and poly-centric governance.

Based on this literature, a typology of mainstreaming in immigrant integration policy will be developed throughout this report. The typology brings together two dimensions that we believe may explain the development of mainstreaming; cultural perspectives (pluralistic- monistic) and policy targeting (generic-specific), as will be elaborated below. As mentioned above, this typology will be applied to the more empirical study of mainstreaming in policies and politics in the subsequent work packages (work package 3: The politics of mainstreaming, work package 4: Mainstreaming in practice). The research focusses on integration policies regarding third country nationals¹ of the first, second and third generation.

The starting point for this typology of mainstreaming immigrant integration policies was to bring together the most essential dimensions of mainstreaming as conceptualized in migration and governance studies. In migration studies, mainstreaming is often associated with the growing scale and complexity of diversity, also described as hyper-diversity or super-diversity. The assumption here is that immigrant integration policies in super-diverse societies would have to be mainstreamed, as target groups have become too complex to define. Diversity has become so widespread that policies have to target the entire diverse society rather than only specific minority groups. Connecting this literature to models of immigrant integration (such as differentialism, assimilationism and multiculturalism) raises the question as to how far these models are capable of effectively addressing super-diversity. It offers a conceptual framework in which the notion of mainstreaming can be embedded. In fact, mainstreaming has been considered by some as a strategy of achieving 'interculturalisation'. This involves both policies aimed at the promotion of (inter-ethnic/inter-religious/inter-racial) contact within diversity societies as well as forms of identity politics aimed at embracing diversity as a core facet of society. This hypothesis will be elaborated in the first part of this report and empirically tested in the following stages of the research project.

The second facet of mainstreaming that will be discussed in this report is derived from a very different body of literature; governance studies. This allows the project to benefit from the broad theorisation of mainstreaming as developed in this literature. In governance literature mainstreaming has been applied to a wide range of policy areas, with several key common denominators. One relates to the inadvertent effects of the social construction of policy target groups. The definition of policy target groups is often an inevitable and essential part of policymaking, but will always have specific social and political consequences. Hence, mainstreaming in the governance literature relates to a variety of strategies of policymaking while avoiding the negative side effects and promoting the positive effects of target group constructs. In addition, governance literature connects the concept of mainstreaming to poly-centric modes of policy coordination. In contrast to the mostly state-centric modes of policy coordination that are associated with various multiculturalist as well as assimilationist national models of integration in Europe, mainstreaming is related to more multi-level modes of governance involving national, local and regional levels as well as more generic governance modes involving a variety of government policy sectors and non-governmental actors.

Thus, this literature will produce a typology and a number of hypotheses about policy mainstreaming that will be applied and tested in subsequent stages of empirical research in the context of the UPSTREAM project. The typology of immigrant integration policies will facilitate comparisons between the country cases of the project as well as for a more in-depth analysis of the rationale behind mainstreaming. The empirical cases will have to learn whether super-diversity

¹ Non-EU foreign national.

indeed triggers policy mainstreaming, and whether mainstreaming is indeed considered a means for achieving interculturalisation (or rather one of the other models). Furthermore, the empirical cases will have to learn whether mainstreaming indeed correlates with a trend from state-centric to polycentric (horizontal and vertical) governance.

The literature of migration studies and governance studies will be discussed in depth in chapters 2 and 3. The process of diversification, or super-diversification, is the topic of the second chapter on super-diversity and its implications. The social and political effects of categorisation will be the focus of our analysis in chapter three on policy target grouping. After a description of these developments in the field of immigrant integration, a typology to account for mainstreaming is provided in chapter four of this report. The typology displays an ideal-typical distribution of models of immigrant integration along two dimensions; monist or plural societal models and specific and generically targeted policies. This typology is complemented by a review of the governance of mainstreaming, in chapter five of this report. Focussing on dispersed coordination of immigrant integration policies between governmental departments and other (non)-state actors. Secondly, the governance sectors zooms in on the multilevel character of integration policies, taking in to account, the EU, national and local level of governance. These EU- and country-cases and their respective discourses of mainstreaming are discussed in chapter six on the main developments in the field of immigrant-integration for these cases contextualising examples of (non-)mainstreaming. Finally the report is concluded in chapter seven, linking the literature review of this transnational report to the research project as a whole, providing a layout for the empirical analysis of these concepts on a EU, national and local level.

2. Super-diversity and its implications

Emigration and immigration are 'nothing new'. However, the composition and scale of migration changed rapidly over the past decades. In the migration literature, mainstreaming is often connected to this growing scale and complexity of migration and diversity. As a consequence the increasingly 'super-diverse' (immigrant) populations are posited as one of the explanations for the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies. Super-diverse societies avert the need to demarcate policy target groups as it provides a rationale for addressing the entire diverse population rather than specific subparts of it (such as ethnic minorities).

The question at stake in this chapter is how the development of super-diversity relates to the mainstreaming of integration governance. This chapter will firstly elaborate on the concept of super-diversity and subsequently its consequences. Finally the concept is connected to different cultural models of diversity that we see as essential for understanding mainstreaming: multiculturalism, assimilationism and the relatively new conceptual model of interculturalism, as developed by authors such as Wood (2009) Bouchard (2011), Cantle (2012) and Zapata Barrero (2013). While the first two models are readily developed and (empirically) established, interculturalism is a relatively new concept that still requires further empirical testing. However, in line with this chapter's conceptual character, we will here introduce the theory of interculturalism, together with the theories of multiculturalism and assimilationism. As mentioned before, the practice and implementation of these models and their link to mainstreaming will be analysed empirically during the subsequent phases of our research.

2.1 Super-diversity

The notion of super-diversity is often applied to societies that, due to long histories of immigration, have become so diverse that their diversity has become one of the defining characteristics of these societies. Vertovec (2007, p.1024) argues this superlative is indeed needed because the notion is "*intended to underline a level and kind of complexity surpassing anything the country has previously experienced*". This complexity is experienced because 'a dynamic interplay' of a plurality of variables makes it increasingly difficult to 'box' people into large identifiable groups. According to Vertovec (2007, p.1026) the plural variables are not new. It is however the "*emergence of their scale, historical and policy-produced multiple configuration and mutual conditioning that now calls for the conceptual distinction*". Important variables in this respect are; gender, country of origin, mode of migration, degree and type of trans nationality, legal status, socio-economic status, languages and religions (Vertovec, 2007; Faist, 2009). Following this differentiation between diversity and super-diversity leads to the conclusion that we can no longer ask 'groups' to 'learn to live together'; the focus of immigrant integration policies shifts from groups to individuals. Identities have become more dynamic, which requires nation states, communities and individuals to learn to think about their identities in a more nuanced and complex way (Cantle, 2012, p.32). Super-diversity here thus represents a condition of society, rather than a method of incorporation.

One of the key sources of super-diversity is the long accumulation of diversity due to successive waves of immigration, especially for what has been described as the 'old' immigration countries in Europe, such as the United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands. For these countries the first waves of modern immigration consisted of immigrants coming from the (former) colonial

territories. During the 1960s they encountered a new wave of immigration. Many Western-European countries received guest-workers, foreign employees who at first were seen as temporary labour and subsequently as 'guests' in the host society. These guest-workers were primarily single men. The country of origin of these migrants differed from the post-colonial migrants; initially Italy was one of main source countries, later followed by migrants from other South-European Countries and increasingly also North-African Countries and Turkey. When these "guest-workers" effected their newly established rights for family-reunification and family-formation which were enshrined in international treaties, this added another dimension to the diversity of the migrant groups. In the last decades, migration patterns have changed to a large extent. Since the 1990s, various new immigration countries have emerged in Central, Eastern and Southern Europe, including countries like Spain and Poland. Previously 'sending' countries such as Spain and Italy are now turning into 'receiving' countries. In addition, new migration waves evolved one of which is formed by refugees.

What is notable in the 'old' immigration countries in particular, is that migrant groups have become increasingly heterogeneous; in terms of the large number of countries of origin, ethnicities and cultures represented as well as internally, in terms of different generations of migrants. For example, looking merely at the country of origin, immigrants living in the Netherlands in 1990 came from 30 different countries altogether. These countries included neighbour countries, the former colonies (such as Suriname and Indonesia) and the traditional 'guest worker' countries such as Morocco and Turkey. By 2010, this number has steeply risen, with immigrants coming from 174 different countries (OECD Statistics). Spain, as a new immigration country hosted immigrants from 113 different countries in 2010, including many South-American countries such as Argentina, Colombia and Ecuador, Eastern European countries such as Bulgaria and Romania, and neighbour countries such as Morocco, Portugal and France. Just like the country of origin, other variables have diversified extensively during the last decades resulting in a complex mixture of people who are increasingly difficult to 'box' into the original distinction on the base of ethnicity or religion. Diversity is no longer a characteristic of migrants ('they are different'), but became a characteristic of society ('we are all different').

Besides increasing diversity due to new migration patterns, diversity has also increased as a consequence of the subsequent development of second and third generation immigrants, and the variation that thus occurred (Thomson and Crul, 2007). The transgression, reproduction and reinvention of boundaries over generations (Alba and Nee, 2005) have led to what Cantle (2012) calls 'hyphenated or multiple identities'. These identities are a result of the growth of mixed-race relationships and mixed-race children, complemented with "*the mixing of characteristics of nationality, country of origin, religion and ethnicity*" (Cantle, 2012, p.22). Examples are children whose parents have different ethnicities, but also people who identify themselves as British-Muslim or Dutch-Moroccan. The boundaries between migrants and natives thus become increasingly blurry. This development does not constitute the condition of super-diversity, but it does play an important role in the emergence of super-diversity in western societies.

2.2 Consequences of super-diversity

Scholars have emphasized various positive as well negative social consequences of super-diversity. Although some of these can be attributed to 'normal diversity' as well, the 'super-additive' may indicate that these benefits will be increasingly important after passing from a diverse society into a super-diverse society. Firstly, Zapata Barrero (2013) states that diversity should be seen as a public

good and as an asset, “as such, diversity becomes an opportunity for individual and social development” (2013, p.23). Faist acknowledges the role of this individual and social development by indicating that when sensitive and responsive to diversity, cultural skills can be regarded as “personal competences and selling points” (2009, p.173). This individual development will subsequently enhance international trading opportunities and can yield the creation of a greater innovative potential (Wood, 2009). These benefits are all on personal level, or focused on more economic elements of society. Parekh (2000) on the other hand emphasizes the positive influence of diversity from a cultural perspective. According to him, conflicting human capacities and values are the cause of the limited perspective of a culture. Every culture “realizes a limited range of capacities and values and neglects, marginalizes and suppresses others”. The added value of cultural diversity is thus that they will “correct and complement each other, expand each other’s horizon of thought and alert each other to new forms of human fulfilment”. Furthermore, having access to other cultures makes people aware of the ‘diversity within cultures’, which prevents homogenization within a culture and provides them with choices, since “they are able to see the contingency of their culture and relate to it freely rather than as a fate or a predicament” (Parekh, 2000, p.167-169).

Although many benefits might be attributed to super-diversity, several drawbacks have been identified in the literature as well. For instance, Faist (2009, p.182) indicates that cultural pluralism (or: heterogeneity) is often associated with fears for ‘domination by foreign influences’. Interculturalist studies (for instance Cantle 2010, Wood 2009) embrace super-diversity but also point at the challenge of preserving social cohesion and a shared sense of belonging in super-diverse setting. In particular, interculturalists stress the need to promote inter-ethnic contact in settings of diversity. In a more or less similar way, Putnam (2007), writing on neighbourhoods, concludes that diversity in the short and medium term does not increase social capital. Although it does not seem to trigger in-group/out-group division, it does trigger anomie or social isolation: “Diversity [...] seems to bring out the turtle in all of us” (p.151). This ‘turtle-reaction’ is endorsed by Bouchard (2011) and Cantle (2012, p. 14), who subsequently named it the ‘paradox of diversity’. The paradox implies that “the more diverse societies have become and the more people have been exposed to difference and become accustomed to it, the more they seem to retreat into their own identity, embrace identity politics and support separates ideologies”. This paradox may therefore give ground to the emergence of parallel societies rather than one diverse society. This would imply that several of the alleged benefits may not be achieved.

As such, a key governance challenge is to promote the positive and avert the negative consequences of super-diversity. According to Vertovec (2007, p.1050) “the concept of super-diversity points to the necessity of considering multi-dimensional conditions and processes affecting immigrants in contemporary society. Its recognition will hopefully lead to public policies better suited to the needs and conditions of immigrants; ethnic minorities and the wider population of which they are inherently part”. These public policies however are directly influenced by the governmental perspective on cultural diversity and the subsequent attitude towards super-diversity. This refers to the underlying conceptual ideas about cultures and integration of integration models, or ‘modes of incorporation’ as Faist (2009) calls them, thus stripped of the accompanying policy practices (which will be discussed in chapter 4.2). The main perspectives on cultural diversity will be discussed in the following paragraph.

2.3 Perspectives on cultural diversity

In the migration literature (and related literature from sociology and anthropology in particular), various perspectives have emerged on diversity in contemporary societies. These perspectives, such as multiculturalism, assimilationism and the relatively new concept of interculturalism, involve very different ways of conceptualizing diversity. Furthermore, they often direct at very different paths of action for coping with diversity, often entwining theory and ideology to a high degree. In the following, we will analyse in particular how the identified trend toward super-diversity relates to these broader and established perspectives on cultural diversity.

2.3.1 Super-diversity and multiculturalism?

Multiculturalism is simultaneously used to describe the fact of pluralism, which is the 'state of affairs', and as a moral stance that cultural diversity is a desirable feature for a given society, which should ideally be accommodated by a political program (Joppke, 2004, p.239; Meer & Modood, 2012, p.179). It is the multiculturalist ideology that is central to this section.

Kymlicka (2010, p.35) outlines the historical context of multiculturalism as part of a larger 'human rights revolution'. Underlying this revolution is "*the foundational ideology of the equality of races and peoples*". Multiculturalism is considered the successor of the struggles for decolonization and struggle against racial segregation and discrimination. This explains why, according to Cantle (2012, p.54), early multiculturalism was 'inevitably defensive' and focused on "*protecting minorities from racism and discrimination and on developing positive action programmes to begin to provide minority communities with some semblance of equal opportunities*". Kymlicka (2010) thereby describes three patterns of multiculturalism, each with distinct associated rights concerning different groups: indigenous people, sub-state national groups and immigrant groups. With regard to Western-European countries, the focus is often solely on the third category of immigrant groups.

Following this history, the overarching goal of multiculturalism was and still is "*to build fairer and more inclusive democratic societies*" and to develop new models of democratic citizenship (Kymlicka, 2010, p.37). In order to accomplish this, multiculturalism strives to reduce discrimination, promote equality of opportunity, overcome barriers to full participation in society and foster acceptance of ethnic pluralism and cultural understanding across all groups. A key element in multicultural strategies to achieve these aims involves the recognition of cultural identities and the opening up of public spaces to their representation (Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2010, p.19).

A key element of the debate on multiculturalism involved the so-called dilemma of recognition that multiculturalism brings about. On the one hand, the recognition of migrant groups has undeniably played a key role in the emancipation of these groups in many countries. For instance, Bruquetas-Callejo a.o. (2011) show how Dutch policies for ethnic minorities were essential for orientating these groups at Dutch society. Also, Amiraux and Simon (2006) show what the negative consequences can be when the presence of minority groups is denied or neglected. On the other hand, the tendency to recognize differences and institutionalize the voice of migrant groups has been key-argument in the literature on the 'multiculturalism backlash' (see Joppke, 2004; Kymlicka, 2010; Meer & Modood, 2012; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2012). Multiculturalism is in principle based on ethno-cultural differences, creating (relatively) fixed categories to which people belong. Consequently it is argued this would have reinforced the 'otherness' it wanted to overcome

and insulated individuals inside their own groups (Bouchard, 2011; Cantle, 2012; Zapata Barrero, 2013).

To what extent does the emergence of a super-diverse society affect the possibilities for and effectiveness of multiculturalism as a policy program? Vertovec and Wessendorf (2010, p.19) claim that diversity, compared to multiculturalism, is fuelled by the *“idea that rather than treating members of ethnic minorities as ever-representative of bounded collectives, institutions should recognize cultural difference as an individual treat”*. Multiculturalism tries to accommodate and protect the heritage of different cultures, and to do so many governments will communicate with community representatives. In the context of super-diversity, this raises a practical issue about how to ‘recognize’ differences if migrant groups become increasingly numerous, internally heterogeneous (for instance between first, second and third generations) and when identities become increasingly hyphenated (involving mixes of different categories).

2.3.2 Super-diversity and assimilationism?

Assimilation is a theory of immigrant integration (or: acculturation) and can likewise be understood as an ideology and policy. The ideology of assimilationism is mainly focussed on governmental policies supporting or accelerating the process of assimilation of immigrants into the mainstream, in order to create a more monistic society. According to the historical overview given by Kivistö and Faist (2010) and Zapata Barrero (2013), earlier attempts to conceptualize assimilation had some reoccurring flaws: immigrants were displayed as passive subjects undergoing the assimilation process, or oppositely, the assimilation process of immigrants was perceived as seamless, unidirectional and almost inevitable. In addition, some scholars saw ethnic identities as fixed and distinct and yet others failed to incorporate the recognition of the diversity of the host society. Following these flaws in theory and what were deemed unethical policy practices, the 1960s saw a ‘revolt against assimilationism’: *“within both sociology and history, there was a rather widespread abandonment of assimilationist theory in favour of variant versions of pluralism”* (Kivistö & Faist, 2010, p.105-106).

However since the 1990s several scholars are working on what is described as the ‘assimilationist turn’. Alba and Nee (1997; 2005) provide an important contribution with their theory on ‘new assimilationism’. They define assimilation as *“the decline, and at its endpoint the disappearance, of an ethnic/racial distinction and the cultural and social differences that express it”* (1997, p.863). This process of eliminating differences can take place between minorities or between a minority and the majority, and can be unidirectional or multidirectional. On the individual level this means that the individual will change to be more like the members of another (minority or majority) group. It focusses on a movement in the direction of the mainstream culture, even though the mainstream culture might simultaneously change by incorporating elements of minority cultures (Alba & Nee, 1997). Brubaker (2001) adds to the ‘return of assimilation’-literature by identifying the specific transformations which the concept has undergone. According to him, new assimilationist theory places greater emphasis on the process, rather than the end result, sees the individual as an active, but often unintentional acting, subject and emphasizes the intergenerational context in which change occurs (See also: Faist, 2009). Assimilation does no longer assume an either/or situation, but instead poses a multidimensional question: *“assimilation in what respect, over what period of time, and to what reference population?”* (Brubaker, 2001, p.544).

Brubakers' last point touches upon the weakest element of contemporary assimilation theories, namely the 'reference population'. A critique of the earlier work on assimilationism was that they saw cultures as static and homogenous. This did not suffice, since the host society was internally diverse as well (Alba & Nee, 1997, p.833). Therefore, assimilation theory no longer assumes that there is a societal core to which migrants assimilate unquestioningly (Faist, 2009). The logical subsequent question is then how to demarcate the reference population in an era of super-diversity? According to Alba and Nee (2005), the two-way character of assimilation increasingly leads to blurring boundaries, such as the incorporation of other ethno-cultural values or practices into mainstream-culture (Kivistö & Faist, 2010). Waldinger (2003, 2007) also criticized the concept of the 'mainstream society'. If the 'mainstream' is constantly enlarged to incorporate different ethno-cultural elements, what is left to distinct the mainstream from? Hence, for the time being, the issue of the demarcation of the mainstream or reference population remains unresolved.

2.2.3 Super-diversity and interculturalism?

Compared to the previously described conceptions of cultures, interculturalism is relatively new and requires empirical testing and further conceptualisation. Some critics have argued that interculturalism differs very little from recent work on multiculturalism (Meer & Modood, 2012), whereas others consider interculturalism rather to be a mild framing of assimilationism (Martiniello 2012). The discussion on interculturalism should be understood within the wider debate on the 'backlash on multiculturalism' (Joppke, 2004; Vertovec & Wessendorf, 2009; Cantle, 2012; Meer & Modood, 2012), since interculturalism claims to tackle exactly those issues multiculturalism failed to solve. In this sense, interculturalism is often positioned as a next stage in the development of integration policies, beyond multiculturalism and assimilationism (Cantle 2012, Wood 2009, Zapata Barrero 2013).

Zapata Barrero (2013) recently tried to connect three different strands on interculturalism, namely his *constructivist* strand, the *contractual strand* of Bouchard (2011) and the *cohesion strand* of Cantle (2012). Whereas Bouchard sees interculturalism as a conflict and division arbitration method, supporting the co-existence of several groups in a divided society, Zapata Barrero approaches interculturalism as a positive policy-strand, focused on the production of innovative outcomes of interaction. Cantle, somewhere in between, stresses the goal of bonding and bridging, thereby increasing social cohesion. Conclusively, Zapata Barrero introduces the *comprehensive strand*, which sees intercultural policies as a multidimensional technique focussed to uphold stability, cohesion and development. According to him, these goals should be interpreted as complementary and therefore the accompanying practices should be "*applied at different moments in the city, according to different purposes and needs*" (Zapata Barrero, 2013, p.32). Wood (2009) adds interculturalist goals such as increasing policy effectiveness and to make cities more attractive for people and investors.

Creating 'open' spaces, that is, an atmosphere that feels open and where everyone can feel safe and valued (Wood & Landry, 2007), is an important prerequisite for intercultural exchanges, interactions and the organization of intercultural activities and initiatives (Bouchard, 2011) on which interculturalism is founded. In contrast to assimilationism, interculturalism fosters respect for diversity. However, in addition to being diverse, it encourages the development of shared interests and a shared sense of loyalty and belonging (Bouchard, 2011; Zapata Barrero, 2013, p.23). To achieve this overarching sense of 'we', it is not enough to make minorities solely responsible for

adaptations to fit in the already existing 'we'. Several scholars emphasize the two-way-process in this respect. Bouchard (2011, p.438) for instance argues that interculturalism, as a pluralist model, "*concerns itself with the interest of the majority culture [...] as much as it does with the interest of minorities and immigrants*". Thereby the focus is placed on the engagement of all citizens, who are collectively responsible (Wood, 2009, p.11), and the need for adaptations of institutions of the majority society to accommodate migrant values and social practices as well (Faist, 2009).

Like multiculturalism, interculturalism has a pluralist mind-set, which is sensitive to ethnocultural diversity and which rejects all discrimination based on differences (Bouchard, 2011). A stance that is equivalent to the principle of recognition. However, In contrast to multiculturalism, interculturalism is supposed to be less group-ist, more geared towards interaction and dialogue, more yielding of synthesis and more committed to a stronger sense of the whole (Meer & Modood, 2012). While Meer and Modood describe many reasons why these elements are important for multiculturalism as well, it should be noted that "*multiculturalism does not cultivate these concerns to the same degree*" (Bouchard, 2011, p.464). The implicitness versus explicitness of the concerns therefore constitutes a large part of the differences between interculturalism and multiculturalism. Because of these differences, it is argued that interculturalism is better capable of managing the super-diverse society (Meer & Modood, 2012, p.186). According to Wood (2009, p.26), in interculturalism "*Diversity is the norm, and it is incumbent upon all residents to make adjustments*".

2.4 Conclusion

Super-diversity is recognizable in many (Western)-European societies, as the limited sketch of migration history and the description of the intergenerational developments have shown. Central to the discussion of the perspectives on cultures is the transfer from a society with a recognizable core-culture to a society characterised by "*an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants*" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1024). Whereas immigrants were previously expected to assimilate into the mainstream society, increasing pluralism made the boundaries of the mainstream society increasingly difficult to determine. Multiculturalism on the other hand, already has a pluralist focus. However, its 'group-ist' focus makes it difficult to adjust to the super-diverse situation in which it is troublesome to ensure representation and subsequent accommodation clearly distinct ethnocultural groups. Finally, interculturalism seems to benefit from this situation, by explicitly locating diversity at the core of its vision on culture and society. In addition, Cantle (2012) suggests that interculturalism lacks the history and 'baggage' of which multiculturalism, as well as assimilationism, suffer these days. How these cultural perspectives connect to the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies and its effectiveness is topic of further research in this project (see also Chapter 4).

3 The social construction of target populations

"States have no choice but to categorize. Every state must draw lines between kinds of people and types of events when it formulates its criminal and civil laws, levies taxes, allocates benefits, regulates economic transactions, collects statistics, and sets rules for the design of insurance rates and formal selection criteria for jobs, contracts, and university admissions. The categories adopted for these institutional purposes do not float above society in a "superstructure" of mental life. They are sewn into the fabric of the economy, society, and the state." (Starr, 1992, p.264)

Policies always carry in them a certain social construction of the social groups or categories they address. This often requires definition, recognition and mobilization of specific target groups (De Zwart and Poppelaars, 2004, p.4). Much has been written on classification and categorization in policy- (See Jeffers, 1967; Wilson, 1987; Schneider & Ingram, 1993; Rogers-Dillon, 1995; Sen, 1995) and immigrant-integration literature (See Rath, 1991; Simon, 1998; De Zwart, 2005; Yanow & van der Haar 2013). Both discussions put the process of policy making and underlying patterns of categorisation to the centre of analysis: a *"rediscovery of the role of politics in policy administration"* (Fischer, 2003). In her well-known 'Policy Paradox and Political Reason' Deborah Stone (1988, p.308) argues that public policy is *"centrally about classification and differentiation"*, characterising political reasoning as *"primarily a reasoning of sameness and difference"* and only secondarily a *"reasoning of more or less"*.

This chapter follows the analysis of the social and political effects of target grouping as discussed by Schneider and Ingram in their work on the social construction of target groups, exposing the social and political effects of these mechanisms. Paragraph 3.1 goes into the process of target grouping as discussed in the policy literature, as will be applied to the specific context of immigrant-integration policies in paragraph 3.2. In this paragraph, De Zwart's 'dilemma of recognition' will be introduced, describing the dilemma of recognition, targeting and reinforcement of groups in different cultural models of integration. Finally this dilemma will be related to mainstreaming and what can be learned from the dilemma to more effectively address contemporary immigrant integration policies.

3.1 Target grouping

Targeted policies can be an effective and necessary measure to reduce inequality between groups. The more accurate a policy reaches its target group, the less wastage along the process, maximizing the efficiency in reaching its policy goals (Sen, 1995, p.11-12). However these processes of categorization carry significant social and political effects. Schneider and Ingram's (1993) theory of the social construction of target populations expose the social and political effects of (implicit) target grouping. Building on the work of Dahl and Lindblom (1953), Schattschneider (1960), Lowi (1972) and Wilson (1987) Schneider and Ingram developed a model that explains why some groups are advantaged over others and how policy design reinforces such advantages (1993, p.334). The model demonstrates how *"messages (...) become internalized and have a long term impact on the identity, political participation, and beliefs of target groups."* (Schneider & Ingram, 2013, p.195).

Target groups are crucial to the effectiveness of policies, because targets must coproduce, they must behave in a certain way to achieve the policy goal or solve the policy problem. Through their categorisation and hierarchical organisation governments address the so-called pluralist notions of

justice, allocating benefits and burdens along groups (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p.84). As a first step target groups are defined and differentiated, in order to realise a certain target goal. When addressing drunk-driving for example, policy designers can choose between different target populations. Schneider and Ingram list an array of potential targets varying from bartenders, repeat or first offenders and drug and alcohol treatment centres. The government could also address the general public through public relations campaigns, target the liquor industry by raising the taxes or prohibit bars and restaurants along public highways. When choosing one of these targets, among the many potential targets, the government sends out a message about what and who matters, and who does not (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p.85). The selection of targets and consequently the social construction of target populations refer to the cultural characterizations or popular images of the persons or groups whose behaviour and well-being are affected by public policy: a normative and evaluative portrayal of groups in positive or negative terms through symbolic language, metaphors, and stories (Edelman in: Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p.334).

By exposing the underlying patterns of social construction, Schneider and Ingram distinguish the different target populations and their social and political effects on policymaking. The theory explains why some groups are benefited over others and how policy design reinforces such advantages, producing designs that perpetuate degenerative tendencies (Schneider & Ingram, 1997, p.145). The policy designs “*structure opportunities and send varying messages to differently constructed target groups about how government behaves and how they are likely to be treated by government. Both the opportunity structures and the messages impact the political orientations and participation patterns of target populations*” (Ingram, Schneider & DeLeon, 2007, p.98).

“*[P]olicy designs affect participation through rules of participation, messages conveyed to individuals, resources such as money and time, and actual experiences with policy as it is delivered through caseworkers, police, or public agencies. Messages convey who belongs, whose interests are important, what kind of “game” politics is, and whether one has a place at the table*” (Ingram, Schneider & DeLeon 2007, p.100).

Schneider and Ingram distinguish four types of target populations, categorised by either a positive or negative social construction and extensive or weak power resources. On the one hand there are the powerful and positively - and thus deservedly- constructed 'advantaged groups', such as the elderly or veterans, and the powerful though negatively -undeservedly- constructed 'contenders', such as minorities. On the other hand there are the politically weak though positively - again deservedly- constructed 'dependents', such as children and the disabled, and the politically weak and negatively -undeservedly- constructed 'deviants', such as criminals and drug addicts (Schneider & Ingram 1993, p.335-336). By connecting power and social construction the theory is able to explain “*distinctive pattern[s] in the allocation of benefits and burdens to the different types of target groups*” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p.337). On basis of the model it is expected that benefits are to be oversubscribed to advantaged groups, while dependents and deviants will receive too little beneficial policy and contenders will be assigned benefits quietly. Burdens on the other hand will become oversubscribed to deviants and dependents, while overt and symbolic to the contenders and undersubscribed to advantaged groups (p.337).

The way clients are treated and problems are addressed by government thus depends very much on the political power and social construction of the respective target group according to Schneider and Ingram (1997, p.105). In order to establish effective, public-orientated policy one

must provide beneficial policy to “*powerful, positively viewed groups, logically connected to an important public purpose*” and provide punishment to “*the negatively constructed powerless groups*” (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p.337). Numbers of authors have pointed to the stigmatising effect of group distinctions (see Jeffers, 1967; Tajfel, 1981; Wilson, 1987; Rogers-Dillon, 1995; Sen, 1995; Tilly, 1998; Brubaker & Cooper, 2000; De Zwart, 2005), emphasizing how they reinforce the inequality that the policy aims to overcome. Schneider and Ingram’s widely applied and recognized model (see Ingram, Schneider & DeLeon, 2007; Pierce, forthcoming) digs deeper and reveals the mechanism of the social and political undemocratic effects of (implicit) target grouping:

One of our fundamental contentions is that policies that fail to solve problems or represent interests and that confuse, deceive, or disempower citizens do not serve democracy. Policy designs that serve democracy, then, need to have logical connections to important public problems; represent interests of all impinged-on groups; and enlighten, educate, and empower citizens. Policy should raise the level of discourse. Given the electoral dynamics described here, however, it is not likely that policy will be designed to achieve all three of its democratic roles unless the power of target populations is made more equal and social constructions become less relevant or more positive. In other words, the only groups in the policy typology for which policy is likely to serve democratic roles are the powerful, positively constructed groups. Until all groups are so situated, policy will continue to fail in its democratic mission (Schneider & Ingram, 1993, p. 345).

Schneider and Ingram reveal the workings of the target group mechanisms ‘under the surface’. This leaves the question how to best address target groups in policy making, hinting at the so-called ‘dilemma of recognition’. Should groups here be addressed explicitly, risking reinforcing the positive and negative stereotypes as analysed by Schneider and Ingram, or in generic terms, running the risk to disguise the underlying power-relations, the second dimension of their theory?

3.2 Dilemma of recognition

In his classical study on the black underclass William Wilson (1987) argues that the best way to help these ‘truly disadvantaged’ is to deemphasize targeted policies. Targeted policies should be avoided because they stigmatize minority groups. The policies would primarily benefit the black middle class, and (therefor) cannot generate sustained political support. Instead Wilson advocates to solve the problems of the truly disadvantaged through universal policies “*that enjoy the support and commitment of a broad constituency*” (p.120). “*The hidden agenda is to improve the life changes of groups such as the ghetto underclass by emphasizing programs in which the more advantaged groups of all races can positively relate*” (p.120). Sniderman et al. (1996) complicate this hypothesis by distinguishing between policy targeting and policy justification. In their experiment with race-neutral and race-specific policies the authors find that race-specific policies gain little support unless justified on universal grounds. “*Going beyond race in justifying why people are entitled to assistance policy makes a difference*” (p.52): generic policies increases popular support significantly (p.50). The same goes for “*defining who is to benefit*” (p.52). The authors claim that when distinguished between policy targeting and justification the choice between race-neutral or race-specific policies represents a false choice (p.52). In fact they claim is it most efficient to target policies specifically at minority groups, but advance and defended them on universalistic grounds (p.53).

This discussion on ethnic, racial or minority (non-)recognition is a common topic in immigrant integration policies, varying from so called ‘colour-blind’ policies to affirmative action (see

Aspinall, 2007; Sabbagh, 2011; Simon & Piché, 2012; Yanow & Van der Haar 2013). The discussion also resonates in studies on ethnic registration as part of anti-discrimination measures (see Simon, 2005; Grigolo, Hermanin & Möschel 2011; Simon 2012), dealing with the dilemma of recognition and registration of ethnicity in measuring the effects of anti-discrimination policies. One of the arguments to take from here is that “*identity politics are not only active in creating ethnic labels (...) the choice not to make ethnicity a salient category in statistics – is also a repertoire in the policy of identity and boundary making*” (Simon, 2012, p.1368-1376). It is argued that in absence of ethnic categories, policies potentially carry the same risk of sustaining or reinforcing the inequalities it intends to overcome (p.26) as targeted policies. Generic policies and registration leave policymakers no tools to deal with specific problems or inequalities, while the structure perpetuates itself, or potentially works even stronger under generic non-targeted policies or registration “*for carrying its meanings in silence*” (Yanow & Van der Haar, 2013, p.251).

De Zwart elaborates further on this ‘dilemma of recognition as he calls it. He draws particular attention to the so-called ‘replacement strategies’ (2005), as one of the possible responses to the ‘dilemma of recognition’. As mentioned above, targeted policies require “*definition, recognition, and even mobilization of the groups concerned, which accentuates caste, ethnic, and racial distinctions*” (p.137). Some governments fear that these side-effects will defeat the policy purposes, leaving policy makers with a dilemma between targeted and generic policies and their respective effects. The author describes three possible responses to this dilemma, respectively ‘accommodation’, ‘denial’, and ‘replacement’.

The first policy response, ‘accommodation’, also known as the multicultural politics of recognition, runs its redistributive policies according to membership in taken-for-granted groups, accommodating the present group distinctions. The Dutch minority-policies until the early 1990’s are an example of this policy-type, facilitating the maintenance of the immigrants ‘own culture’ and redistributive policies specifically targeting the ‘cultural minorities’ (De Zwart, 2005, p.138-139). The second policy suggestion, ‘denial’, described as the ideal-typical liberal solution, argues against the benefits of redistributive policies. Instead stressing individual rights - apart from pre-existing structures of society - despite inequality between social or cultural groups. By emphasizing the costs of accommodation, the tradition promotes denial as a policy strategy. The philosophy of republican citizenship, that officially informs the French colour-blind integration policies, is a key example of this model. The final policy response is ‘replacement’, a compromise between denial and accommodation. While pursuing redistribution benefitting caste, ethnic, or racial groups, the government constructs its own social categories, “*different in name and usually more inclusive than the folk categories they replace*” (De Zwart 2005, p.140). This way the official recognition of social divisions, considered the cause of the problem, is avoided, while still allowing for redistribution benefitting disadvantaged groups (p.140). Favell (1998) argues that despite its Republican discourse and assimilative integration policies the French *practice* until at least the 1980’s operated according to such a pragmatic ‘hidden agenda’: targeting policies along socioeconomic factors, indirectly address(ing) immigrants by targeting neighbourhoods with a high concentration of immigrants, but avoiding the explicit recognition of such groups.

Central to the replacement strategy is the “*exercise in social construction*” (De Zwart, 2005, p.141) with governments trying to institutionalise categories of their own. There is the danger, however, that the vagueness of the group definitions –the actual social categories that are

addressed cannot be named and are thus targeted through evasive administrative constructs-mobilizes people exactly along the established social boundaries, reinvigorating what was to be replaced (p.158). On the other hand there is the danger of the government creating new inequalities, leading to a self-perpetuating effect for the categories introduced. Inequality will develop according to the mobilisation capacities of groups to collect the new benefits (p.158). When applying this dilemma to the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies, the development of super-diversity has to be taken into account too. Following the super-diversity argument one can conclude that there are now so many different and heterogeneous migrant groups, that singling out specific target groups has become too complex and ineffective (see chapter two and see also e.g. Simon & Piché, 2012). Making specifically targeted policies very hard to apply, and above all ineffective, in many circumstances. However at the same time one should be aware to avoid the risks of 'ignorant' generic policies too. Taking both super-diversity and the assets and risks of targeted policies into account is one of the challenges when mainstreaming immigrant integration policies.

3.3 Conclusion

Building on the social and political effects of target grouping on policy making (Schneider & Ingram, 1993; 1997; 2007) this chapter has elaborated upon the dilemma of recognition, for we consider this one of the key issues of mainstreaming. After describing the functioning of respectively accommodation, denial and replacement as mechanisms to deal with the dilemma of recognition one of the main questions at stake for our study is the role *mainstreaming* plays in this dilemma. Mainstreaming could be understood as a form of replacement when replacing policies targeting specific immigrant groups by generic policies. One should be careful however, to avoid continued or even increased categorisation and stigmatisation when introducing generic policies. Perhaps distinguishing between policy targeting and justification (Sniderman et al., 1996) could play a role here too.

The dilemma between specific and generic policies, their pitfalls and successes are central to our research. While mainstreaming is primarily associated with generic policies (MPG, 2007; MPI, 2014) eventually the balance between "*mainstreamed approaches [and] targeted measures when more specific immigrant needs are evident*" (Second European Handbook on Integration MPG, 2007, p.28) characterizes the development and eventual implementation of mainstreamed immigrant integration policies, finding a midway between both ideal-typical policy approaches and their caveats. In principle however mainstreaming is about generic policies, this "*exercise of social construction*" (De Zwart, 2005, p.141) requires deep empirical study in order to establish methods to effectively target the society as a whole or specific group, overcoming existing stereotypes and preventing their reoccurrence.

In our typology of mainstreaming (see chapter 4) this dilemma of recognition is depicted on the vertical axis, varying from specific to generic policies. Specific policies are understood as policies that are explicitly aimed at specific (migrant/ethnic/cultural) groups, whereas generic policies represent color-blind policies aimed at the entire population. Connecting the literature on target-grouping to the literature on super-diversity as discussed in the previous chapter, raises the question how to account for (super-)diversity in policy making and measuring (Simon & Piché, 2012). How this will be approached depends very much on the 'diversity models' of the case at hand (Simon, 2012, p.1387). This will be addressed in the second dimension of our typology on monist or pluralist cultural

perspectives, embedding the dilemma of recognition in the cultural and political context the countries are deriving from.

4 Building a typology of mainstreaming

Following the argument of super-diversity one can conclude that there are now so many different and heterogeneous migrant groups that singling out specific target groups has become too complex and ineffective. As discussed in chapter two, this development of super-diversity is increasingly difficult to link to models such as differentialism, multiculturalism and assimilation. Following the literature by scholars like Wood (2009), Bouchard (2011), Cantle (2012) and Zapata Barrero (2013) the answer can possibly be found 'interculturalism'. Defining interculturalism as an alternative to multiculturalism and assimilation, the model focuses on inter-ethnic contact and the development of a shared understanding within super-diverse populations without referring to stable and fixed minority groups or national identities. Mainstreaming in this context could make a good policy strategy for addressing a super-diverse society and achieving interculturalism (MPI, 2014; Collet, Petrovic & Scholten, forthcoming).

However the link between super-diversity and interculturalism, and mainstreaming as a means to achieve this, is for so far hypothetical and has to be empirically tested. On top of that, mainstreaming is not necessarily a tool for achieving interculturalism only; critics have argued that mainstreaming can be, and has been, applied for assimilationism (for instance in the French case). Thus, the relation between mainstreaming and the integration models are the focus of this study. In the paragraphs below we develop a typology of mainstreaming, based on the discussion on super-diversity and target-grouping, embedding the dilemma of recognition in the cultural and political context the cases are deriving from.

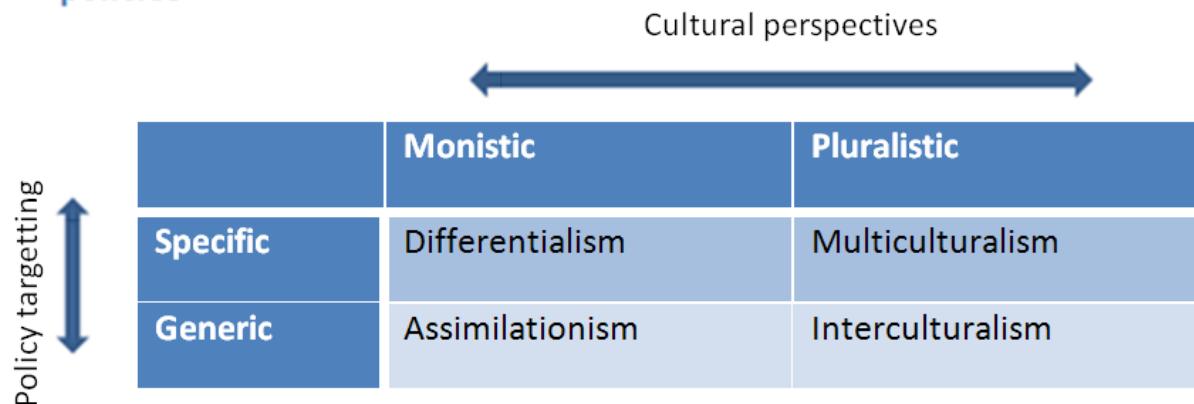
4.1 Typology of mainstreaming

To analyse this role of mainstreaming in different forms of integration policies, we developed a conceptual typology of mainstreaming in the context of different models and phases of immigrant integration (see figure 1). This typology builds on a combination of the literature of (super-)diversity on the one hand (chapter two) and target group constructions on the other (chapter 3), as we have seen in the previous chapters these form the two main dimensions of mainstreaming. On one dimension, we distinguish between policies aimed at a monist society, based on an essentialist concept ethnicity and core culture(s); and policies aimed at a pluralist society defined by diversity and the crossing and blurring of ethnic and cultural boundaries. A key question here is whether a model sees a culture, either a minority or majority culture, as something absolute and immobile or as something dynamic and flexible. The other dimension, the policy targeting dimension (the 'dilemma of recognition'), distinguishes between generic and specifically targeted policies. The key difference here is whether a model explicitly targets specific groups or whether it targets the entire population.

Following these two axes, four ideal-typical models of immigrant integration can be defined; differentialism, multiculturalism, assimilationism and interculturalism. Important is that for this study, following the literature on super-diversity and interculturalism, we hypothesize that mainstreaming will be primarily adopted as a policy strategy for achieving interculturalism. This reflects the conceptualization of mainstreaming as has been deductively developed in the preceding two chapters; a shift from specific to generic policies, and an orientation at the whole diverse society. However, whether this is so, or whether mainstreaming is adopted as a strategy for achieving very

different modes of migrant integration (like assimilationism), is up for empirical testing in the subsequent stages of this research. Also, we are very interested in the 'routes' that countries take before turning to mainstreaming, for instance whether mainstreaming constitutes a shift from assimilationism to interculturalism, from multiculturalism to interculturalism, or any other sequence of models that is theoretically possible.

Figure 1 Model to situate the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies



These four models constitute ideal-typical frames rather than a solid and static depiction of the actual policies. Our typology speaks to earlier typologies of integration models, such as the typology by Castles and Miller (1993) as later applied by Koopmans and Statham (2000). The latter distinguished between the formal basis of citizenship ranging from civic territorial grounds to ethno-cultural grounds for citizenship, and cultural obligations tied to citizenship varying from cultural monism to pluralism (2000, p.32–33). Generally three types of regimes are distinguished; the 'ethnic' e.g. differentialist, 'assimilationist' and 'multicultural' regime. All well-known regimes that still dominate citizenship studies today. Koopmans and Statham stress the dynamic character of the process of integration. The authors conceive of citizenship as a "*conceptual (and political) space in which different actors (...) and policies can be situated and developments can be traced over time*" (Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005, p.9), the stability and uniformity of the citizenship regimes thereby become "*issues of empirical investigation, not implicit assumptions tied to the rigidity of a conceptual typology*" (2005, p.9).

While Koopmans and Statham's typology, and the other literature mentioned above, focus on models of citizenship, our study is about integration policies. Beyond the legal mechanisms of access to a country or the requirements for obtaining its citizenship, our studies focuses on the wider social, cultural, economic and political context of the process of immigrant integration. Departing from the dilemma of recognition, our typology deviates from the previous models in an important sense, by specifically distinguishing whether policies address specific migrant groups or whether they address the entire diverse population, which is considered an essential variable for the study of mainstreaming. Building on the development of super-diversity we added the model of interculturalism to the typology.

4.2 Models of immigrant integration

4.2.1 Differentialism

The theoretical model of differentialism, also known as 'ethnic segregationism', involves the recognition and institutionalization of differences. In this model, immigrant integration is about accommodating differences between groups that are considered autonomous or sovereign within their own community (Scholten, 2011, p.40). *"The dominant group is unwilling to accept immigrants and their children as members of the nation. This unwillingness is expressed through exclusionary immigration policies (...), restrictive naturalization rules and the ideology of not being countries of immigration"* (Castles & Miller, 2003, p.249). Social life, according to this model, is to be organized as much as possible within specific cultural groups or communities. Immigrants are approached through specific and separate policies, stressing their status as distinct national, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. Similar to assimilationism this model is based on an essentialist conception of culture and ethnicity (Scholten, 2011, p.40). Where the bonding under the assimilationist model is focussed on the national community through generic policies, for differentialism this occurs within separate communities, targeted by specific and separate policies, separating and facilitating the different cultural groups.

4.2.2 Multiculturalism

Like differentialism, multiculturalism involves group specific policies, however here they serve to emancipate and integrate minority groups in the broader multicultural society rather than institutionalizing ethnic boundaries. In contrast to the essentialist notion of separate groups that defines differentialism, multiculturalism considers these differences variations of one culturally plural nation, distinguishing itself by the recognition of being a multiculturalist state (Scholten, 2011, p.40) rather than a monist state. Immigrants are granted equal rights without having to give up their diversity (Castles & Miller, 2003, p.251). Immigrant integration is understood in terms of cultural diversity, accommodating cultural differences and facilitating tolerance between them (Vertovec, 2007; Scholten, 2011, p.40). Examples of multiculturalist policies are the support of (cultural activities of) community associations and the modification of public services to make them more responsive to culture-based differences such as values, languages and social practices (Vertovec, 2007, p.1027).

When applying De Zwart's (2005) 'dilemma of recognition' both models of differentialism and multiculturalism are characterised as 'accommodation': using the politics of recognition as a means to *"designate beneficiaries of redistributive policies according to membership in groups that state and society take for granted"* (2005, p.138). The key difference between these two models is that differentialism recognizes differences in order to institutionalize group boundaries within society; multiculturalism recognizes differences in order to allow targeted policies to emancipate these groups in the context of broader society.

4.2.3 Assimilationism

In contrast, assimilationism strives for the social-cultural adaptation of immigrants to their host-country as a condition to preserve the nation's social cohesion. A *"one-sided process of adaptation"* where the immigrants are *"expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population"* (Castles & Miller 2003, p.250), whereby the state creates the conditions to stimulate this process (p.250). Whereas 'new

assimilationism' in theory acknowledges the bidirectional process of assimilation, this is not yet identifiable in the assimilationist policy practice.

The classification of groups or categories is an inherent dilemma in assimilationism. While problems are often defined in ethnic or cultural terms, the policies addressing them are framed generically instead of specifically because the policies should not invigorate the categories but instead overcome them to integrate the minorities groups in the majority culture of their host country. This mechanism strives to create one inclusive and thereby monist society, based on the host society's institutions, culture, norms and values.

When comparing this model to De Zwart typology, it indeed matches the ideal-typical assimilationist model of 'denial', "*insist[ing] that, despite inequality between social or cultural groups, redistribution policies do not benefit any particular group*" (De Zwart, 2005, p.139). The philosophy of republican citizenship, that officially informs the French integration policies, is a prime example of this model. By emphasizing the costs of accommodation, e.g. stigmatisation and reinforcing cultural boundaries, the tradition promotes denial (De Zwart, 2005, p.139). Instead it addresses policies only in generic terms.

4.2.4 Interculturalism

The fourth ideal-type is the conceptual model of 'interculturalism' (closely related to what Koopmans and Statham describe as 'universalism'). In recent years the concept of 'interculturalism' is gaining more ground (Wood, 2009; Bouchard, 2011; Zapata Barrero, 2013) and is often understood as -possibly the only- answer to the complexities raised by super-diversity. The "*encouragement of interaction, understanding and respect between different cultures and ethnic groups*" (Wood, 2009, p.11) is a central element of the interculturalist approach. Interculturalism is concerned with the interests of both majority and minority cultures (Bouchard, 2011), requiring cultural sensitivity and adaptation from all sides. In contrast to multiculturalism which is primarily focused on the majority accommodating the minority, or assimilation where the minority has to adapt to the culture of the majority, interculturalism is focused on the engagement of all citizens, emphasizing collective responsibility and action (Wood, 2009, p.11) and a culture of openness (Cantle, 2012, p.142). Another key element of the model is the capability-based approach and a 'less group-ist' (Meer & Modood, 2012) stance toward individuals than in the multicultural model (Zapata Barrero, 2013, p.23). The development of a common public culture, more cohesion and a 'sense of loyalty and belonging' for all (p.23) is the overarching goal of interculturalism.

Finally then, based on the above, interculturalism can be linked to De Zwart's policy strategy of 'replacement'. The strategy is described as a compromise between denial and accommodation. Governments pursue the distribution along ethnic, caste or racial lines, while constructing their own social categories, different in name, and more inclusive than the categories they replace (De Zwart, 2005, p.140). While De Zwart links 'replacement' to the pragmatic practice behind the French assimilist model, indirectly addressing immigrants through socioeconomic factors, in our typology we link 'replacement' to the ideal-typical model of interculturalism.

As a result of the increased diversity and hyphenated identities, specific policies no longer suffice. To achieve an intercultural model of society, the entire society is addressed through generic policies. However not all problems can effectively be addressed through generic policies and in practice some form of group specific policies will always be present (De Zwart, 2005, p.140). Taking

the intercultural idea of openness and the engagement of all citizens into account, this would mean that specific policies, where necessary, address the groups involved in a particular policy problem, e.g. school drop-out or social-economic deprivation. These groups may partly overlap with previously targeted immigrant groups, but are accessed on a more problem-based and bottom-up way, and are more open and inclusive than the old and more rigid target group policies. Replacement in this sense could be understood as a strategy for mainstreaming by replacing the explicit targeting of immigrant groups with generic policies or, where necessary, open and bottom-up specific policies.

4.3 Conclusion

Based on the literature of super-diversity, we can hypothesize that there is a correlation between a trend from monist to pluralist policies and a trend from specific to generic and more inclusive policies. However, the relation between mainstreaming and interculturalism still needs to be established. In the context of this research, we will put this hypothesis to the test and examine whether mainstreaming indeed contributes to a shift to interculturalism. As sketched by De Zwart, the policy choices of denial and replacement can in practice be hard to distinguish, they can be used for very different ends depending on the underlying model for integration, in this case either assimilationism or interculturalism. When studying mainstreaming the link with interculturalism can therefore not be taken for granted. A critical account of where the development of mainstreaming comes from and which ends it serves is needed. On top of that, taking into account the dangers of (continued) categorisation and stigmatisation under replacement (De Zwart, 2005, p.158), the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies requires deep empirical study, focussing specifically on the "*exercise of social construction*" (De Zwart, 2005, p.141). It is necessary to investigate useful methods to effectively target the society as a whole or only specific groups, overcoming existing stereotypes and preventing their reinforcement of reoccurrence.

5 Governance of mainstreaming

After a conceptualization of mainstreaming and the models of integration it relates to, this chapter focuses on the governance of mainstreaming. Besides its content, mainstreaming also has an important coordination dimension. Mainstreaming distances itself from state-centric modes of governance that have traditionally been associated with migrant integration policies. Reflecting such state-centric modes of governance, a wealth of literature has emerged on so-called 'national models of integration' (Brubaker 1992; Koopmans & Statham, 2000; Koopmans et al., 2005). Such national models assume policies to be stable (Scholten, 2012, p.45) and context dependent on the national level: "*the modes of presenting problems and questions are politically constituted by the nation states for which migration becomes a challenge*" (Bommes & Thränhardt, 2010, p.10). Key examples of these 'models' would have been the French Republican model of immigrant integration (Bleich, 2003; Schain, 2008) contrasted to the Dutch (Entzinger, 2003; Duyvendak & Scholten, 2012) or British multicultural model (Bleich, 2003; Schain, 2008). Spain and Poland on the other hand, as relatively new immigration countries (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011; Kicinger & Korys 2011) could not be characterised by distinct national models of integration governance. Instead, Spain is often typified as a bipolar and relatively unstable model operating on a national, regional and local level between immigration and integration policies (Bruquetas-Callejo et al., 2011), while for Poland immigrant-integration is a relatively non-political topic with few (contested) big policy developments (Kicinger & Korys, 2011).

While models can be useful to reduce complexity and construct international comparative studies, critics have argued that models tend to "*oversimplify policies and overstress the alleged coherency and consistency of these policies*" (Duyvendak & Scholten, 2012, p.268). The academic ideal-types tend to get confused with political stereotypes (Bertossi & Duyvendak, 2012) turning a blind eye to the more dynamic and multi-level process of policy making and framing. Static representations of integration models tend to be poorly equipped to address new developments in e.g. the demographics of the population. With increasingly heterogeneous immigrant populations arriving, and an upcoming second and third generation in the older immigration countries, the migrant population tends to get more and more diverse. In his critique of national models Bertossi (2011, p.1562) argues that these models marginalize the role of agency and collective interest. Rather than portraying social actors as passively inheriting and adapting to ideas of immigration and citizenship, Bertossi emphasizes us to be aware of underlying strategies of e.g. the categorisation of social groups (p.1572).

In response to such criticism, mainstreaming adopts a more poly-centric perspective on policy coordination. The governance of mainstreaming involves questions of the coordination and management of mainstreaming in the polycentric setting of immigrant integration policies. On the one hand the '(de)concentration' of policy responsibilities on the horizontal dimension can be distinguished. Governance here varies from centralised policy coordination by a single government department, to a distribution of policy responsibilities across various partners; different governmental departments and non-state actors. On the other hand there is the vertical dimension of (de)centralisation, referring to the policy coordination between multiple levels of governance: the local, national and EU-level. The central research question running through these developments is whether a trend towards the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies also involves a trend

from state-centric to poly-centric (multi-actor as well as multi-level) governance at the level of coordination?

5.1 Polycentric governance

The policy development of mainstreaming in the field of immigrant integration can be linked to the academic literature on *governance*. Governance should thereby be distinguished from the narrower definition of government, a state-centric mode which refers to the institute itself. Instead governance refers to the broader concept describing all forms of poly-centric governing, not necessarily in the hands of the formal government (Hughes, 2003, p.76).

Rulemaking and rule interpretation on global governance have become pluralized. Rules are no longer a matter simply for states or intergovernmental organizations. Private firms, NGO's, subunits of governments, and the transnational and trans-governmental networks that result, all play a role, typically with central state authorities and intergovernmental organizations" (Keohane & Nye, 2000, p. 37).

The traditional state-centric modes of government increasingly fall short to address these complexities. As a result more poly-centric approaches of governance have emerged between a range of government actors, as well as semi-public, non-governmental and even private organisations (Rhodes, 1997). The polycentric division of responsibilities allows for more flexibility to effectively respond to the policy challenges in different areas or levels of governance. The governance networks are designed in such a way that they can respond to individual challenges rather than imposing one single government structure (Jones & Baumgartner, 2005). Within polycentric governance two different dimensions can be distinguished; firstly the horizontal governance of '*(de)concentration*' and secondly *(de)centralization*, depicting the vertical variations of governance (Petrovic, Collet & Scholten, 2012, p.3).

5.1.1 Horizontal governance: '*(de)concentration*'

The '*(de)concentration*' dimension refers to the continuum between centralised policy coordination by a single government actor, or shared amongst a broader network of policy actors (Petrovic, Collet & Scholten, 2012, p.3). Three sorts of '*(de)concentration*' can be distinguished: sharing responsibility between different government actors; cooperation with civil society organisations; and public-private partnership (PPP). The sharing of policy responsibilities between government actors and departments can be useful when facing multi-dimensional policy problems which reach beyond the responsibility of one specific department. The second form of '*(de)concentration*' entails cooperation with civil society organisations such as trade unions or human rights actors. Finally, the public-private partnership has become deeply embedded in certain policy areas such as infrastructure and banking (Petrovic, Collet & Scholten, 2012, p.3-4).

A key facet of governance mainstreaming refers to the allocation of policy responsibilities for the coordination of integration policies. As with gender mainstreaming, mainstreaming in this respect means that the responsibility for integration policy is distributed across various stakeholders: different governmental departments and non-state actors. As opposed to more centric governance structures, with a central Minister and department or directorate responsible for *all* integration policies. For instance, responsibility for integration in the labour market is placed with the Department of Employment, integration in the sphere of housing with the Ministry of Housing. Deconcentrated forms of governance mainstreaming pose a challenge in terms of maintaining policy

coherence, the big asset on the other hand is that it promotes a general and shared responsibility for immigrant integration rather than a stand-alone policy within a separate Department or Ministry.

Most European countries however do have some form of coordinated stand-alone immigrant integration policy, such as National Refugee Integration Forum in the UK, while there are also *“many examples where migrant integration policies are strongly entwined with more generic policy areas such as education, housing, labour policies, social policies, housing and foreign policies”* (Petrovic, Collet & Scholten, 2012, p.6). With regard to collaboration with non-governmental organisations, some countries, such as the Netherlands, have constituted formal cooperation structures consulting migrant organisations. Similar cooperations have been established locally around Europe. A risk with this form of de-concentration is the fragmentation and weak organisation of migrant organisation (see also e.g. Rath, 1999; 2001). A poor representation of immigrant groups obstructs more solid sharing of policy responsibilities.

5.1.2 Vertical governance: '(de)centralisation'

The other dimension of polycentric governance relates to the coordination between multiple levels of governance: particularly the local, national and EU dimension. In addition the regional dimension is relevant in e.g. the case of Spain, and to a lesser extent, France. The policy coordination may either shift between centralist and local modes of governance, e.g. shifting between centralist, nationally or EU, top-down regulated policies to locally organized bottom-up initiatives. Multi-level governance theories have emerged in the *“field of European Union studies to account for the development of new state and non-state political structures that distribute traditionally centralised powers over a range of new institutions at different levels of the polity”* (Favell & Martiniello, 1999, p.8). The concept was introduced by Gary Marks seminal study of Structural Policy (and Multilevel Governance) in the EC (1992; 1993). Marks introduced the concept as a way of understanding the decision making dynamics of the emerging political order and integration of the European Union (European Commission back then). The concept describes a ‘system of continuous negotiation among nested governments’ at diverse tiers on a supranational, national and regional level.

While the concept of multi-level governance was initially introduced within the study of EU structural policy, the influential concept has become applied more broadly in other areas and regimes. Here, multilevel governance engages the participation of non-government actors, as well as governments, in authoritative decision making (Hooghe & Marks, 2002, p.4). Several authors have applied the theory of multi-level governance to the field of migration (Favell & Martiniello, 1999; Koopmans & Statham, 2000; Scholten, 2012). Immigrant integration policymaking is characterised by the inherently transnational nature of migration, the role of the European Union in the regulation of migration and citizenship, and the local and regional relevance of immigrant-integration policies. The field indicates the *“growing importance of supranational and transnational actors, institutions, legal norms, and discourses, on the one hand, and increased local autonomy from national constraints, on the other”* (Koopmans & Statham, 2000, p.58).

Scholten (forthcoming) defines multilevel governance as “*a specific mode of governance that can emerge in multilevel settings if the structure of relations between levels involves some form of coordinated action and the frames of immigrant integration are similar or at least congruent between the levels*”. When focussing on multilevel governance between the national and local level of policy making: *“the divergent dynamics of agenda setting on these diverse levels can result in different ways in framing immigrant integration”* (Scholten, 2012, p.47), challenging the idea of

national models of integration. The multilevel dynamics of agenda setting and framing can reinforce each other in ways that can produce either coherent and consistent policies, or induce conflicts between policies on these levels (Scholten, 2012, p.47). The main challenge for national government is to balance these interconnections into a coherent national model.

Local cases from France, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands illustrate the sharp frame conflicts and shifts and growing gap ('*décalage*') between policies on local and national level. The multi-level policies either effectively involve each other or have a decoupling effect. The examples illustrate the growing fragmentation in immigrant integration policies, more multifaceted than assumed by national models, with local governments responding to local circumstances, developing their own integration policies. This has contributed to a shift from state-centric 'national models of integration' (Bertossi, 2011) to a more dispersed multi-level governance pattern characterized by interaction between European, national and local governments (Scholten, 2013). In addition to the dispersed responsibility between different government-departments and non-state actors on a horizontal level, division of labour can also be distinguished on vertical level between the different levels of local, national and EU-governance. Dealing with issues with a distinct local character, such as housing and inter-ethnic contact, while issues relating to citizenship would be allocated on the national level and issues related to migration on the European level.

5.2 Conclusion

Bringing together the insights of polycentric governance and mainstreaming as defined in the typology depicted in Chapter 4, we are particularly interested in the relation between changes in policy types and policy coordination. Does a trend toward mainstreaming and interculturalism go hand in hand with a trend from state-centric to poly-centric (multi-actor as well as multi-level) governance? This is an expectation that can be derived from the policy literature and will be subjected to empirical test in our research.

When studying the governance of mainstreaming one has to be critical on the effectiveness of polycentric developments. In her scoping study of mainstreaming, MPI (2012) for example highlights several studies that showed a disconnection, or '*décalage*', between national and local policies. Where both levels work according to very different logics of policymaking, sometimes even taking conflicting policy measures (Poppelaars & Scholten, 2008). On the other hand studies have revealed instances where effective polycentric governance was achieved by a tight coordination of policies through specific venues (Scholten, 2012). In short, polycentric governance poses challenges to the coordination of this spectrum of policies. When we follow the hypothesis that the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies is accompanied by a development of polycentric governance, or more so, that polycentric forms of governance are necessary to address diversified populations, we have to be critical on the effective coordination thereof.

6 Discourses of mainstreaming

Over the preceding chapters a twofold typology has been developed of the mainstreaming of immigrant integration. In subsequent parts of this research, empirical research will be done as to how and why policies are mainstreamed (WP3) and how this works out in policy practices (WP4). This chapter provides a first exploration of how mainstreaming in gender unfolded (6.1) and an exploration of academic and policy debates on mainstreaming in the (country and EU) case studies to be examined (6.2).

Rather than searching only for 'explicit' references to mainstreaming, which are often hard to find, our exploration of discourses on mainstreaming is based on our own definition of mainstreaming as developed in preceding chapters. The first part of our conceptualization of mainstreaming takes the diversification of contemporary society and the social and political costs of target policies as the point of departure. This leads to the argument that specific policies and monist perspectives on culture and society no longer suffice. The challenge for government then is to introduce "*a concern for immigrant integration into the development, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies across all relevant portfolios*" (European Handbook on Integration, 2007, p.15), in order to create a more inclusive society and thereby improve integration outcomes (MPI, 2014).

As we have seen in the preceding chapters mainstreaming of immigrant integration mainly implies adjusting generic policies to address inequalities and underrepresentation. In other words, bring these into the 'mainstream'. This concept of mainstreaming thus involves a development towards generic policies oriented at the entire diverse population. Following our typology this can lead either assimilationist or intercultural models of integration, depending on the underlying cultural perspective of monism or pluralism. Secondly we distinguish a coordination dimension of mainstreaming, involving a horizontal element of (de)concentration and a vertical element of (de)centralization. Based on the policy literature we expect mainstreaming to go hand in hand with a trend from state-centric to poly-centric (horizontal and vertical) governance.

6.1 Mainstreaming in gender

Although a new concept in the domain of immigrant integration policies, mainstreaming is a familiar practice in the fields of e.g. education and disability, although the concept is perhaps best known for its application in gender studies. Gender mainstreaming as a strategy first appeared after the UN Third World Conference on Women in Nairobi, in 1985. The formal concept was later drafted the following (UN, 1997):

Mainstreaming a gender perspective is the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.²

² For the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies it can be useful to look at mainstreaming and gender assessment tools as developed within gender mainstreaming. Council of Europe 1998, see also European Commission 2007.

While “[t]he potential of a more radical analysis of policies through a gendered perspective challenged the status quo in the EU policy system” (Stratigaki, 2005, p.180), gender mainstreaming also carries risks when it comes to gender equality. (The implementation of) Gender mainstreaming has been critically discussed in the literature (See Booth & Bennett, 2002; Eveline & Bacchi, 2005; Lombardo, 2005; Stratigaki, 2005). The critiques concern the vagueness of the concept and its objectives, its limited transformative power and the risk of ‘becoming everyone’s responsibility, yet nobody’s at the same time’. In addition the generic “one size fits all” approach overlooks differences among women such as age, class, sexual orientation or ethnic background. Mainstreaming runs the risk of reinvigorating old group distinctions and inequalities, instead of overcoming them, as also explained by De Zwart in the context of immigrant integration. Authors stress to focus on the process of ‘gendering’ rather than a static depiction of gender (Eveline & Bacchi, 2005), to address gender mainstreaming holistically, simultaneously accounting for the equal treatment perspective, the women’s perspective and the gender perspective (Booth & Benett, 2002), norm setting (Stratigaki, 2005) and framing (Lombardo, 2005). In line with our twofold typology of mainstreaming Booth and Benett distinguish between mainstreaming as a strategy to achieve equality and mainstreaming as a set of methods and specific tools to implement the strategy. *“If mainstreaming is to effect transformational change, it will simultaneously provide both the strategy and methods for achieving equality”* (2002, p.442).

In the Second European Handbook on Integration (2007), the concept of mainstreaming was developed in a more practical way, borrowing heavily from the idea of gender mainstreaming. When applying gender mainstreaming to the context of immigrant integration the generic and de-concentrated policy approach is clearly recognisable. Gender mainstreaming struggles with a similar dilemma of recognition as known in immigrant integration. In this case addressing groups of men and women that are diverse in many terms, such as age, education, nationality, class etc. However taking the specific context of immigrant integration into account, the relationship with gender mainstreaming remains weak, considering the context-specific factors driving the development of mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies.

6.2 Country examples

At the EU level the mainstreaming of immigrant integration is very explicitly introduced by the European Commission in respectively European Commission communication on integration (2003), the Common Basic Principles of Integration (2004), the European Common Agenda for Integration (2005) and the Second European Handbook on Integration (2007). One of the Common Basic Principles now calls policymakers to focus on “*mainstreaming integration policies and measures in all relevant policy portfolios and levels of government and public services*” (European Commission, 2004). Additionally over time mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies at the EU level have been described as measures to improve and facilitate immigrants’ participation in mainstream structures, considering integration policy as a cross-cutting policy issue, to be implemented across different policy areas (European Commission, 2005). The Second European Handbook on Integration (2007), drawing from the idea of gender mainstreaming, describes mainstreaming as a policy instrument to promote equality, offering equal opportunities and access to these opportunities for all.

In short, mainstreaming at the EU level is understood primarily as a move towards generic, inclusive policies that are governed through a de-concentration of policy responsibilities across

departments and partners. Apart from the EU policy documents mainstreaming is not mentioned as such in the other (country) cases of our research (The Netherlands, The United Kingdom, France, Spain and Poland). However, key elements of mainstreaming can be recognised in each of these countries. Some of these elements will be described in the following paragraphs. A more extended analysis of the policy discourse and implementation of (elements of) mainstreaming will be undertaken in the next work packages of our research. For now we highlight some exemplary samples of mainstreamed immigrant integration policies, characterizing the prevailing cultural models and modes of governance of the respective countries. The examples are classified along the elements of mainstreaming as discussed in this report; mainstreaming as a move towards generic and inclusive policies as well as the coordination of polycentric governance. In addition austerity measures come forward as a motivation for mainstreaming (Spain and to a lesser extent the Netherlands), as well as 'accidental' mainstreaming by the general (mere) absence of immigrant integration policies altogether in Poland.

6.2.1 Content: Mainstreaming as a move towards generic and inclusive policies

While mainstreaming may not be explicitly mentioned as such (now), several countries have a long tradition of mainstreamed immigrant integration policies. French policy for example, is strongly rooted in the French Constitution which prohibits any type of distinction between French citizens according to race, origins of religion. Therefore, officially, immigrant integration policies are typically generic and 'colour blind'. However, French policy does indirectly target immigrants (first and second generation), through the allocation of budgets to disadvantaged areas. The so-called '*politique de la Ville*' who often coincide with ethnic divisions. These policies can be understood as a form of territorial based mainstreaming, designed to disseminate integration concerns across policy sectors and within general policies. Due to the refusal to recognise the groups that are indirectly targeted, the policies run the risk of failing to address the specific disadvantages faced by immigrants and their descendants, while simultaneously reinforcing stereotypes and inequality (see De Zwart, 2005 on 'replacement'). Based in the Republican strand of universalism, French immigrant integration policies focus on participation in the French society's life, acculturating French culture (including linguistic assimilation) and the adopt the national values (High Council for Integration, 1993; 2010; 2013).

Quite to the contrary of this French assimilationist framework of mainstreaming there is the development of 'community cohesion' within British immigrant integration policies. Moving away from the 'multiculturalist celebration of different identities' the concept of community cohesion still recognises diversity, but emphasizes shared values and a common future rather than differentiation (Commission on Integration and Cohesion, 2006). By explicitly addressing the entire community in all its diversity, this development demonstrates a move towards generic and open forms of immigrant integration policies. With its stress on diversity and shared values, the community cohesion projects can perhaps be understood as an example of intercultural mainstreaming of immigrant integration governance (see also Community Cohesion Review Team, 2001; Cantle, 2012).

The Netherlands is one of the few country cases where the discourse on mainstreaming is more or less explicit. Over the last decade the Dutch approach reveals a clear trend toward embedding migrant integration into generic policy areas like education, housing and social affairs. In fact, on the national and local level, there is a sharp decrease in references to 'integration policies' as a separate policy area. However, the Dutch case also illustrates some of the dilemma's this 'mainstreaming' can bring about. First of all, there seems to be a strong correlation between policy

mainstreaming and a broader retrenchment of government from various policy domains. In fact the role of (and budgets for) government policies in migrant integration have been minimized. Secondly, the Dutch case still stands out in an international perspective when it comes to the availability of 'ethnic statistics'. Data on the (socio-economic and socio-cultural) position of ethnic minority groups in various societal domains (work, labour, education, attitudes, crime) play an essential role in the development of 'generic' policies. However, seen from a French 'colour-blind' perspective, this Dutch approach to ethnic statistics is considered at odds with a consistent mainstreaming approach.

6.2.2 Coordination: Polycentric governance of mainstreaming

(At least) two shifts towards generic policies can be distinguished in the Netherlands since respectively the 1990's and its revival in 2007. Moving away from the earlier multicultural models of specific and targeted immigrant integration policies, the 1994 Integration Nota on 'Ethnic Minorities' marked the first move towards generic policies. On a national level the Nota led to a de-concentrating of several policy responsibilities to other departments, such as Housing and Education. At a local level however, it is often argued that group specific policies continued for a long time. It is now, partly driven by austerity measures, that the financing of these specific policies is drastically cut or stopped at all. While known as one of the key examples of the multicultural model for immigrant integration, in 2011 the Cabinet explicitly distanced itself from "*the relativism enclosed in the concept of the multicultural society*". Instead mainstreaming seems to be conducted to support assimilation. Stressing the equal treatment of all its citizens through generic policies, the government mobilises the objective of the full development of its citizens and their contribution to society ('it is future not background that counts') for an assimilationist stance on integration; an adaption to the Dutch society and its values³.

The interplay between the different levels of governance is also central to the development of mainstreaming in Spain. The first policies in the field of immigrant integration in Spain developed at a local level. When the first immigrants settled local governments started working together with local NGO's accommodating the immigrants. This local development was followed up by regional governments who subsequently became active in the field. Since then, the relation between local and regional governments is characterised by the coordination of integration policies. The central government only came to the stage by 2000, when it created a Forum for the Integration of Immigrants. Due to **austerity measures and shifts in the political arena, immigrant integration has by now navigated attention away from immigrant integration, leaving the topic nearly invisible**. At least on the national level the mainstreaming of immigrant integration might in fact have become a reality, due to these budget cuts and shift in political orientation.

A similar development of 'accidental' mainstreaming can be observed in Poland. Due to the low level of immigration to Poland (immigrants consist about 0,2% of the entire population), "*questions pertaining to the social integration of immigrants almost do not arise*" (Grzymała-Kazłowska & Okolski, 2003, p.36). The limited institutional support for the integration of immigrants is understood as a lack of support for multiculturalism and interculturalism by the Polish state. Instead Grzymała-Kazłowska and Weinar (2006, p.72) describe the existing policies as "*assimilation*

³ It should be noted here that despite its strong rhetoric of generic policies, these are in fact complemented by specific targeted policies "where necessary" (2011). See also The Handbook on Integration (2007, pp.14-21) on the balance between generic and specific policies.

via abandonment". Rather examples of mainstreaming as in the case of anti-discrimination or the (near) absence of immigrant integration all together should be understood as 'accidental mainstreaming', under slowly rising levels of acceptance of ethnic diversity.

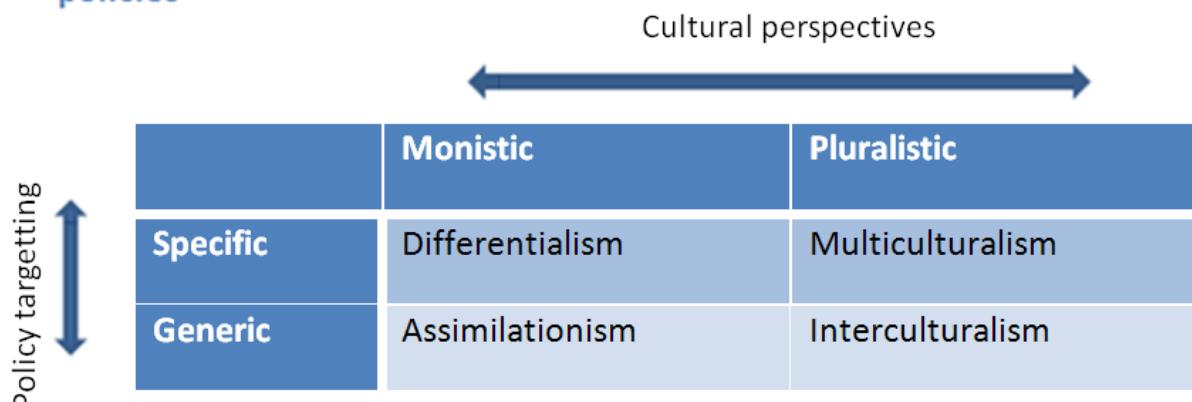
6.3 Conclusion

This chapter provides a first exploration of discourses on mainstreaming based on the conceptualization of mainstreaming that has been developed in preceding chapters. We observed that mainstreaming as a concept is being applied to several other policy areas as well, such as gender. However, the 'epistemological relationship' with the concept of mainstreaming appears to be very weak, suggesting that the emergence of mainstreaming in the realm of migrant integration policies was largely driven by endogenous factors in this area. As expected, we only found very little explicit references to mainstreaming. Only the EU case stands out in this respect. However, following our own conceptualization of mainstreaming, the French, Dutch and UK cases each reveal distinct traces of mainstreaming; each moving in the direction of more generic policies. Poland and Spain reveal similar processes, though coming from a totally different point of departure; in fact as new immigration countries with much less heritage in terms of specific policies, implicit mainstreaming appears to be omnipresent. Furthermore, a first exploration of all the cases (the new as well as the old immigration countries) suggest that the governance of mainstreaming has become less state centric; in particular the turn towards the local level is strong in all countries, though in some countries (like the UK) occurring far earlier than in others (like in France).

7 Conclusion

This report provides a conceptualization of mainstreaming as a basis for empirical research to the policy rationale (Work package 3) and policy practices (Work package 4) of mainstreaming integration policies. Bringing together the literature on mainstreaming from governance studies and migration studies, a two-fold typology was developed of mainstreaming in relation to broader migrant integration policy models. On one dimension, it distinguishes between policies that focus on specific target groups (such as ethnic, racial or religious groups) and policies aimed at the whole diverse population at large. On the second dimension, it distinguishes between policies that adopt an essentialist or monist perspective on society and policies that adopt a more dynamic and pluralist perspective on society.

Figure 1 Model to situate the mainstreaming of immigrant integration policies



From the migration literature we derived the expectation that to the extent that societies become more diverse, the definition of policy target groups will become increasingly complex as diversity instead becomes a defining characteristic for the whole society. This speaks to a broader dilemma from governance studies that the social construction of target populations always has reifying effects in terms of social and political consequences for the populations involved. Taken the development of super-diversity into account our hypothesis is that mainstreaming involves a shift of policies toward pluralistic and generic policies, described in the lower-right corner as 'interculturalism.'

Subsequent stages of this research will put the assumption that growing diversity leads to the rise of pluralistic and generic policies, to the empirical test. For instance, to what extent do we actually observe a trend toward generic and pluralistic policies; are there cases, like the Dutch and French cases seem to suggest, where there is a trend toward generic policies but not to pluralistic policies, under the banner of 'mainstreaming.' In other words, does mainstreaming necessarily contribute to interculturalism, or can it be a strategy for achieving assimilationism (or other models) as well? We will examine the shifts in policy content (policy targeting, cultural perspectives) on the level of policy formulation and decision making (WP3) as well as the level of policy practices and street-level bureaucracy (WP4).

Furthermore, we attributed specific attention to the 'governance of mainstreaming', so how such changes in the content of policies (policy targeting, cultural perspective) are to be achieved and managed. In particular governance studies makes a clear connection between mainstreaming in a shift from state-centric to more poly-centric modes of governance. This involves horizontal 'fragmentation' of policies without a clear central coordinating actor and rather embedding parts of policies into different policy sectors and allocating responsibilities to non-governmental actors as well. It can also involve vertical fragmentation, bringing a multi-level dimension to policies where responsibilities are allocated to national as well as to EU, regional and local actors, and hence requiring substantial vertical policy coordination.

This is a second assumption that will be put to the test in the following stages of this research: does a shift to mainstreaming (in terms of policy content) also involve a shift to poly-centric governance (in terms of policy coordination)? To this aim we have selected cases on the local, national as well as European level. We will examine policy formulation and decision-making (WP3) as well as policy practices (WP4) at each of these levels. Furthermore, we will look at the relation between the policy processes that are identified at these levels. Is there evidence of multi-level governance that coordinates efforts taken on these different levels, or rather of 'décalage' or policy decoupling between the different levels, and to what consequences?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Alba, R. D. & Nee, V. G. (1997). Rethinking Assimilation Theory for a New Era of Immigration. *International Migration Review*, 31(4), 826-874.

Alba, R. D. & Nee, V. G. (2005). *Remaking the American mainstream: Assimilation and contemporary immigration*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Amiraux, V., & Simon, P. (2006). There are no Minorities Here Cultures of Scholarship and Public Debate on Immigrants and Integration in France. *International journal of comparative sociology*, 47(3-4), 191-215.

Aspinall, P. J. (2007). Approaches to developing an improved cross-national understanding of concepts and terms relating to ethnicity and race. *International Sociology*, 22(1), 41-70.

Berger, L. & Luckmann, T. (1967). *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.

Bertossi, C. (2011). National Models of Integration in Europe: A Comparative and Critical Analysis. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 55(12), 1561-1580.

Bertossi, C. & Duyvendak, J. W. (2012). National models of immigrant integration: The costs for comparative research. *Comparative European Politics*, 10(3), 237-247.

Bleich, E. (2003). *Race Politics in Britain and France: Ideas and Policymaking Since the 1960s*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bommes, M., & Thränhardt, D. (2010) *National paradigms of migration research*. Osnabrück: V&R University Press.

Booth, C. & Bennett, C. (2002). Gender mainstreaming in the European Union towards a new conception and practice of equal opportunities? *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 9(4), 430-446.

Bouchard, G. (2011). What is Interculturalism? *McGill Law Journal*, 56(2), 435-468.

Brubaker, R. (1992). *Citizenship and nationhood in France and Germany*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Brubaker, R. (2001). The return of assimilation? Changing perspectives on immigration and its sequels in France, Germany and the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 24(4), 531-548.

Bruquetas-Callejo, M., Garcés-Mascareñas, B., Morén-Alegret, R., Penninx, R. & Ruiz-Vieytes, E. (2011). *The case of Spain*. In G. Zincone, R. Penninx & M. Borkert (Eds.) *Migration Policymaking in Europe* (pp. 291-324). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Bruquetas-Callejo, M., Penninx, R., Garcés-Mascareñas, B. and Scholten, P. (2011). *The case of the Netherlands*. In G. Zincone, R. Penninx & M. Borkert (Eds.) *Migration Policymaking in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Cantle, T. (2012). *Interculturalism. The New Era of Cohesion and Diversity*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Castles, S. (2000). Thirty years of research on migration and multicultural societies. In S. Castles (Ed.), *Ethnicity and globalization: from migrant worker to transnational citizen*. London: SAGE.

Castles, S. & Miller, M. J. (2003). *The age of migration*. New York: The Guilford Press.

Collet, E., Petrovic, M., & Scholten, P. (n.d.). *Mainstreaming Integration Governance. Beyond the assimilationist turn in Integration policies in Europe*.

Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2006). *Our Shared Future*. London: Department for Communities and Local Government.

Community Cohesion Review Team. (2001). *Community cohesion: A report of the independent review team*. Home Office. Retrieved from <http://resources.cohesioninstitute.org.uk/Publications/Documents/Document/Default.aspx?recordId=96>

Dahl, R. A. & Lindblom, E. C. (1953). *Politics, economics, and welfare*. New York: Harper.

De Zwart, F. (2005). The dilemma of recognition: administrative categories and cultural diversity. *Theory and Society*, 34(2), 137–169.

De Zwart, F. (2012). Pitfalls of top-down identity designation: Ethno-statistics in the Netherlands. *Comparative European Politics*, 10(3), 301–318.

De Zwart, F., & Poppelaars, C. H. J. M. (2004). Ontwijkende administratieve categorieën en etnische fragmentatie. Een internationaal perspectief. *Beleid en Maatschappij*, 31(1), 3–23.

Duyvendak, J. W. & Scholten, P. (2012). Deconstructing the Dutch multicultural model: A frameperspective on Dutch immigrant integration policymaking. *Comparative European Politics*, 10(3), 266-282.

Entzinger, H. (2003). The rise and fall of multiculturalism: The case of the Netherlands. In C. Joppke & E. Morawska (Eds.), *Toward assimilation and citizenship: Immigrants in liberal nation-states* (pp. 59-86). Hampshire: Palgrave.

Eveline, J. & Bacchi, C. (2005). What are we mainstreaming when we mainstream gender?. *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7(4), 496-512.

Faist, T. (2009). Diversity – A New Mode of Incorporation? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(1), 171-190.

Favell, A. (1998). *Philosophies of Integration: Immigration and the Idea of Citizenship in France and Britain*. London: MacMillan Press.

Favell, A. & Martiniello, M. (1999). *Multi-national, multi-cultural and multi-levelled Brussels: national and ethnic politics in the Capital of Europe*. Transnational Communities, online working paper series. Retrieved from <http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk/working%20papers/favell.pdf>

Fischer, F. (1993). *The argumentative turn in policy analysis and planning*. Durham: Duke University Press.

Fischer, F. (2003). *Reframing Public Policy. Discursive Politics and Deliberative Practices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Grigolo, M., Hermanin, C., & Möschel, M. (2011). Introduction: How does race 'count' in fighting discrimination in Europe? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(10), 1635-1647.

Grzymała-Kazłowska A. & Okolski M. (2003). *Influx and Integration of Migrants in Poland in the Early XXI Century*. ISS Working Papers. Prace Migracyjne Seria (50).

Grzymała-Kazłowska A. & Weinar A. (2006). *The Polish Approach to Integration*, "Canadian Diversity" Vol. 5(1), 71-75.

Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (1993). *L'intégration à la française*. Paris : UGE 10-18.

Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (2010). *20 ans au service de l'intégration, 1990-2010*. Rapport au Premier ministre. Paris : La Documentation Française.

Haut Conseil à l'Intégration (2013). *Une culture ouverte dans une République indivisible : les choix de l'intégration culturelle. Rapport au Premier Ministre*. Paris : La Documentation Française.

Hooghe, L. & Marks, G. (2002). Types of multi-level governance. In *Cahiers européens de Sciences Po* 3 June. Retrieved from <http://eiop.or.at/eiop/pdf/2001-011.pdf>

Hughes, O. E. (2003). *Public management and administration: an introduction*. New York: Macmillan.

Ingram, H., Schneider, A.L. and DeLeon, P. (2007). Social Construction and Policy Design. *Theories of the policy process*, 2.

Jeffers, C. (1967). *Living Poor: A Participant Observer Study of Priorities and Choices*. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers.

Jones, B. D. & Baumgartner, F. R. (2005). *The politics of attention: How government prioritizes problems*. University of Chicago Press.

Joppke, C. (2004). The retreat of multiculturalism in the liberal state: theory and policy. *The British Journal of Sociology*, 55(2), 237-257.

Keohane, R.O. & Nye Jr, J.S. (2000). Globalization: What's new? What's not? (And so what?). *Foreign policy*, 118, 104-119.

Kicinger, A., & Koryś, I. (2011). The case of Poland. In G. Zincone, R. Penninx, M. Borkert (Eds.) *Migration Policymaking in Europe* (pp. 347–376). Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

Kivistö, P. & Faist, T. (2010). *Beyond a border: The causes and consequences of contemporary immigration*. (87-127). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Koopmans, R. & Statham, P. (2000). Migration and ethnic relations as a field of political contention: an opportunity structure approach. *Challenging Immigration and Ethnic Relations Politics: Comparative European Perspectives*, 13–56.

Kymlicka, W (2010). The rise and fall of multiculturalism?: New debates on inclusion and accommodation in diverse societies. In: S. Vertovec & S. Wessendorf (Eds) *The Multiculturalism Backlash; European discourses, policies and practices* (pp. 32-49). Routledge, New York.

Lombardo, E., (2005) Integrating or Setting the Agenda? Gender Mainstreaming in the European Constitution-Making Process. *Social Politics* 12(3): 412-432.

Lowi, T. J. (1972). Four Systems of Policy, Politics, and Choice. *Public Administration Review*, 32(4), 298–310.

Marks, G. (1992). Structural policy in the European Community. In A. Sbargia (Ed.), *Europolitics. Institutions and policymaking in the “new” European Community* (pp. 191–225). The Brookings Institution: Washington.

Martiniello, M. (2012). Immigrant Integration and Multiculturalism in Belgium. In: Taras (Ed.) *Challenging Multiculturalism. European Models of Diversity* (pp. 120-137). Edinburgh, Edinburgh University.

Meer, N. & Modood, T. (2012). How does Interculturalism Contrast with Multiculturalism? *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 33(2), 175-196.

Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid (2011). *Integratinota Integratie, binding, burgerschap*. Den Haag: Ministerie van Sociale Zaken en Werkgelegenheid.

MPG (2007). *Second Handbook on Integration. For policy-makers and practitioners*. Italy: European Commission (Directorate General for Justice, Freedom and Security).

MPI (2014). *Experiences of mainstreaming immigrant integration in Europe: lessons for the Netherlands*. Brussels: Migration Policy Institute Europe.

Parekh, B. (2000). *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. Basingstoke: Macmillan Press LTD.

Petrovic, M., Collet, E. & Scholten, P. (2012). *Mainstreaming Integration (Knowledge Exchange): Scoping Study*. Brussels: MPI Europe.

Putnam, R.D. (2007). E Pluribus Unum: Diversity and Community in the Twenty-first Century. The 2006 Johan Skytte Prize Lecture. *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30(2), 137-174.

Poppelaars, C., & Scholten, P. (2008). Two Worlds Apart The Divergence of National and Local Immigrant Integration Policies in the Netherlands. *Administration & Society*, 40(4), 335-357.

Rath, J. (1991). *Minorisering, de sociale constructie van “etnische minderheden”*. Amsterdam: SUA.

Rhodes, R. A. (1997). From marketization to diplomacy: It's the mix that matters. *Public Policy and Administration*, 12(2), 31-50.

Rogers-Dillon, R. (1995). The dynamics of welfare stigma. *Qualitative Sociology*, 18(4), 439–456.

Sabbagh, D. (2011). The paradox of de-categorization: De-institutionalizing race through race-based affirmative action in the United States. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 34(10), 1665-1681.

Schain, M. (2008). *The Politics of Immigration in France, Britain and the United States: A Comparative Study*. New York: Palgrave.

Schattschneider, E.E. (1960). The semi-sovereign people: A realist's view of democracy in America. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Schneider, A.L. & Ingram, H. (1993). Social Construction of Target Populations: Implications for Politics and Policy. *The American Political Science Review*, 87(2), 334-347.

Schneider, A.L. & Ingram, H. (1997). *Policy design for democracy*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas.

Schneider, A.L. & Ingram, H. (2013). Social Constructions in the Study of Public Policy. In J. A. Holstein & J. F. Gubrium (Eds.), *Handbook of Constructionist Research* (pp. 189-212). New York: Guilford Publications.

Scholten, P.W.A. (2011). *Framing Immigrant Integration. Dutch Research-Policy Dialogues in Comparative Perspective*. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Research.

Scholten, P.W.A (2012). Beyond national models of integration? Rethinking Interconnectedness and Fragmentation in Dutch and French Integration Policies. In H.J.M. Fenger & V.J.J.M. Bekker (Eds.), *Beyond Fragmentation and Interconnectedness* (pp. 44-58). Amsterdama: IOS Press.

Scholten, P. W. A. (2013). Agenda dynamics and the multi-level governance of intractable policy controversies: the case of migrant integration policies in the Netherlands. *Policy Sciences*, 46(3), 217-236.

Sen, A. (1995). The Political Economy of Targeting. *Theory and Method*, 11-24.

Simon, P. (1998). Ghettos, immigrants, and integration the French dilemma. *Netherlands journal of housing and the built environment*, 13(1), 41-61.

Simon, P. (2005). The measurement of racial discrimination: the policy use of statistics. *International Social Science Journal*, 57(183), 9-25.

Simon, P. (2008). The Choice of Ignorance The Debate on Ethnic and Racial Statistics in France. *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 26(1), 7-31.

Simon, P. (2010). Statistics, French Social Sciences and Ethnic and Racial Social Relations. *Revue Française de Sociologie*, 51(5), 159-174.

Simon, P. (2012). Collecting ethnic statistics in Europe: a review. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(8), 1366-1391.

Simon, P., & Piché, V. (2012). Accounting for ethnic and racial diversity: the challenge of enumeration. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(8), 1357-1365.

Sniderman, P. M., Carmines, E. G., Layman, G. C. & Carter, M. (1996). Beyond Race: Social Justice as a Race Neutral Ideal. *American Journal of Political Science*, 40(1), 33–55.

Starr, P. (1992). Social Categories and Claims in the Liberal State. *Social Research*, 59(2), 263–295.

Statham, P., Koopmans, R., Giugni, M. & Passy, F. (2005). Resilient or adaptable Islam? Multiculturalism, religion and migrants' claims-making for group demands in Britain, the Netherlands and France. *Ethnicities*, 5(4), 427–459.

Stone, D. (1988). *Policy paradox: The art of political decision making*. Glenview: Scott, Foresman.

Stratigaki, M. (2005). Gender Mainstreaming vs Positive Action An Ongoing Conflict in EU Gender Equality Policy. *European Journal of Women's Studies*, 12(2), 65-186.

Tajfel, H. (1981). *Human groups and social categories*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thomson, M. & Crul, M. (2007). The second generation in Europe and the United States: How is the transatlantic debate relevant for further research on the European second generation? *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 33 (7), 1025-1041.

Tilly, C. (1998). *Durable inequality*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

United Nations (1997). "Report of the Economic and Social Council for 1997". A/52/3.18. Retrieved from <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/52/plenary/a52-3.htm>

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(6), 1024-1054.

Vertovec, S. & Wessendorf, S. (2010). Introduction: assessing the backlash against multiculturalism in Europe. In: Vertovec & Wessendorf (Eds) *The Multiculturalism Backlash; European discourses, policies and practices* (pp. 1-31). New York: Routledge.

Waldinger, R. (2003). Foreigners Transformed: International Migration and the Remaking of a Divided People. *Diaspora*, 12(3), 247-272.

Waldinger, R. (2007). The bounded community: Turning foreigners into Americans in twenty-first century L.A. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 30(3), 341-374.

Wilson, W.J. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wood, P. (2009). *Intercultural Cities; Towards a model for intercultural integration*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.

Wood, P. & Landry, C. (2007). *The inter-cultural city: Planning for diversity advantage*. London: Earthscan.

Yanow, D., & van der Haar, M. (2013). People out of place: Allochthony and autochthony in the Netherlands' identity discourse, metaphors and categories in action. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, 16(2), 227-261.

Zapata Barrero, R. (2013). The three strands of intercultural policies: a comprehensive view; a critical review of Bouchard and Cantle recent books on interculturalism. *GRITIM Working paper series*, nr. 17, summer 2013.