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# **Master's Degree in Economics of Globalisation and European Integration**

**Immigration policy review and comparison  
of Germany, Italy and the Netherlands**

**Master dissertation**

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# INTRODUCTION

Civil wars, ecologic disasters, poverty or persecutions all make people all over the world risk their lives and/or considerable finances to get a better life abroad. Migrants can now cover greater distances thanks to the existence and accessibility of new technologies enhancing global migration. Nowadays, despite the attempts to unify the approach to migration and improve communication and relationship between host and home countries, negative perception of immigration prevails. However the EU need immigrants – its national population is aging, but at the same time, European countries are wary of uncontrollable inflow of immigrants.

Since 1970s, the modern and developed European countries started closing their borders to immigrants and in order for foreigners to enter Europe, they need to prove their right and suitability to immigrate or that they will be a good contribution to the target country.

In the western-European countries immigration issues are constantly among most heated topics. Germany is one of the countries with the most immigrants in Europe, which is why it had also been chosen for analysis. Italy, on the other hand, has been known as emigration country in the past. In recent years, however, the nation became important target destination from where immigrants enter the EU. The last state chosen for the thesis is the Netherlands, because when relative numbers are concerned, the Netherlands is an important destination – it also has a colonization history and economic development that attracts immigrants.

With global scale migration being reflected into the social and economic structure, many issues arose – they mainly concern integration of immigrants into the host country's society, the impact of migration on the labour market, limitation in the number and structure of immigrants and also illegal immigration problems. This thesis provides facts on immigration policies in Germany, Italy and the Netherlands. The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the progress, tools and trends of immigration and asylum policy in chosen countries and the socially economic impacts on each of them.

The examined period starts in the post WW2 era. The main focus of the work is from the 1970s, as restriction of immigration in most countries started around that time. The end of examined period differs depending on the development of immigration policies in each country, however generally the research is limited to late 1990s and beginning of the new millennium as this period is a for many reasons breaking point in the development of migration policies in terms of European integration. Regardless of

the actual impact of the Treaty of Amsterdam and the fact that the United Kingdom did not accept it the shift of powers on multinational European level 1998 is deemed an important milestone in definition of this work.

I chose not to reflect the recent development the immigration crisis, as the situation is very unstable making information and available data extremely misleading, ever inaccurate. Moreover the circumstances leading to the current events make the scale of this work as well as its focus unsuitable for such research.

Methods used in this work are alongside with examining various literature sources of both Czech and international authors also various Internet resources were used including official websites of ministries and websites of institutions dealing with asylum policies. Furthermore data were derived from international organisations and statistic offices. All sources are quoted and organised in the list of sources at the end of this work.

## Key Terms

The EU defines **immigration** as “an action when a non-EU country citizen establishes his residence in the EU country for at least twelve months.”  
([http://ec.europa.eu/immigration/glossary\\_en#glosI](http://ec.europa.eu/immigration/glossary_en#glosI))

According to Mavrodi (2012) **immigration policy** comprises of legal norms, policy guidelines and principles, official policy objectives, and concrete instruments of policy-making processes of institutions at the EU level and in the member states concerning the entry, residence, and repatriation of non-EU citizens.

As defined by the European Commission (2014) – a person who leaves his or her country of origin to settle in a foreign country for economic reasons is called an **economic migrant**. Closely related is **labour immigration** labelling a cross-border movement of people relocating for employment.

**Family reunification** is lawful enter of family members of an immigrant in the receiving country. ([http://ec.europa.eu/immigration/glossary\\_en#glosI](http://ec.europa.eu/immigration/glossary_en#glosI))

According to the International Organisation for Migration (2015) **naturalization** means that an immigrant is granted a citizenship of the host country. Naturalization rules are created by governments of each nation and vary across the countries.

# 1. Migration in Europe

Europe has experienced a period of outflow and inflow of citizens and while emigration is considered a sign of fear, persecution or poverty in the home country, immigration is related to prosperity of the destination country.

Each nation's experience with migration differs greatly. There are colonial countries like the Netherlands – with long history of immigration and benevolent residency rules. Germany however was divided after reunification was known to deny being a country of immigration. Lastly Italy has always been known as an emigration country and has only changed that recently (Vavrejšnová, 2011).

After 1950s western-European countries experienced a great economical growth followed by arrival of many people searching for jobs. Better life quality, democracy or open labour market were all incentives for foreigners. This foreign labour force was expected to stay only for a few years. Even countries without colonial history were recruiting external workers via bilateral recruiting agreements, as Europe needed more labourers than the countries could offer.

In 1957 the European integration started and one of the main goals of the European Communities was free movement of workers, yet until 1970s immigration policy was a domain tackled by each member state separately. By mid 1970s, it became clear that the first generation of immigrants actually settled in permanently and governments started limiting labour migration (Lahav, 2004). However, families of foreigners began migrating in and while labour migration was being restricted, family unification flourished. This started international cooperations of European countries, given the growing disagreements between immigrants and natives. Immigration started becoming a threat.

Nowadays according to Münz (1995), “The structure of immigrants and emigrants changed. The shift in the character of migration is caused by globalisation – of capital, labour and also the world economics.” Moreover, new requirements of the labour market favours highly educated and specialised work force. There is also a growing trend of “transnational migration” and increasing share of migrating women. In addition to the different background of immigrants, their bonds towards the country and also incentives for migration, the level of integration into host country's society vary greatly often depending on the approach towards immigrants and overall integration and immigration policies in each nation.

## **1.1. International cooperation**

Fundamentals of the EU lies in free movement of goods, services and capital and persons, hence establishment of a common inner market was one of the goals in the Single European Act (Pascouau, 2013). As defined by the EU membership of a nation gives its citizens the right to work and live in every member state of the Union. This has to be regulated towards other countries, however based on international agreements provision of protection to people in need is the EU's obligation.

In 1975 the international cooperation officially started and to tackle the main issues internal security groups had to be formed. The most prominent was TREVI.

### **1.1.1. TREVI and Dublin Convention**

Pikna (2006) explains that TREVI (standing for terrorism, radicalism, extremism and violence international) was established in 1976 to combat terrorism and coordinate police cooperation among member countries.

Based on findings of TREVI, Dublin Convention was created and approved in 1990. The regulation determined one country responsible for assessment of asylum applications regardless of where the request was lodged in. The asylum policy used to be different across nations and it was easier for applicants to enter Europe via a country with more lenient rules. These states were then rough in handling the rising number of applicants and with longer time it took to process applications, the time each applicant had to spend in refugee camps elongated, not to mention the economic burden for the nations (Fiala and Pitrová, 2003).

This regulation was to eliminate “asylum shopping” – evaluation of each application in multiple countries, in which case the refugee is transported from one state to another.<sup>1</sup> Another situation the Dublin system helped terminate was “refugee in orbit”, when no country decides about the application, as they assume that the asylum seeker is already protected in a different country (Selm, 2001).

### **1.1.2. Schengen Agreement**

Schengen Agreement was signed in 1985 to speed up the establishment of free movement of goods, labour, capital and services, leading to abolition of mutual borders of Schengen countries and strengthening controls on outer borders.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.mvcr.cz/clanek/dublinsky-system.aspx>

According to the Official Journal (2010) short-term measures included abolishing control of cars and adjustment of visa policies so that facilitation of personal controls would not increase illegal immigration, safety issues and drug smuggling. Long-term execution topics were focused on elimination of inner border controls and strengthening outer borders checks. Lastly, the visa policy regarding non-members citizens was to be unified.<sup>2</sup>

The CZ Ministry published that in order for all related countries to be able to exchange information quickly, the Schengen information system (SIS), was created to provide information to preserve public order. Established in 1995, the SIS contains data regarding missing people, criminal suspects as well as information about stolen vehicles, weapons, documents, etc. In 2013, new system SIS II was launched.

### **1.1.3. Treaty of Maastricht and Treaty of Amsterdam**

The Maastricht Treaty has been valid since 1993 and it brought many changes into the structure of the EU: the three pillars system was created, the decision-making power of the European Parliament was fortified and common monetary and economic union was accepted (EUR-Lex, 2010). The Treaty established EU citizenship so every citizen of the Union can move and live freely in the EU territory.

Following regulations regarding foreigners were defined:

- 1) entrance and movement conditions for non-EU nationals in the EU territory,
- 2) requirements for residence of immigrants in the EU, including family unification,
- 3) combat illegal immigration, unauthorised residence and labour of immigrants.

Amsterdam Treaty in effect since 1999 extended competency of the EU in social politics, environment, healthcare, consumer protection cooperation in civil and criminal laws as well as migration and asylum policy and represented a key harmonisation document. Construction of the Common European Asylum System (CEAS) started with signature of this Treaty.

### **1.1.4. Hague programme**

Is a five years plan emphasising the need to support cooperation in safety matters, which was further fuelled by the Madrid and US terroristic attacks.

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<sup>2</sup> <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/oj/2010/09/direct-access.html?ojYear=2016>



To strengthen security it urges member countries to fight illegal immigration, support integration of immigrants and place biometric identifiers into travel documents while strengthening cooperation with third nations. It stresses improving information exchange, taking anti-terrorist measures, enforcing police cooperation and preventing criminal activities and corruption. The programme emphasises improvement of judicial cooperation in both criminal and civil law.

### **1.1.5. European Pact on Immigration and Asylum**

Accepted in 2008 the Pact aims to support and develop immigration and asylum policy. The European Council defined five main targets:

- a) organize legal immigration and support integration while encouraging individual countries to define their own needs and requirements regarding legal migration
- b) illegal immigration control
- c) strengthen effectiveness of border protection
- d) unify asylum policy
- e) create a partnership with sending countries and support their development

### **1.1.6. Treaty of Lisbon**

Signed in 2007 the Lisbon Treaty brought fundamental changes to the functioning of the EU. According to Pikna (2012) the European union as a legal entity was established acquiring all remits of the European Communities. Among the changes was abolishment of the three-pillar structure and possibility for member states to leave the Union. Also, power of the European parliament was enforced with increased number of areas, in which it can make decision with the European Council.

## **1.2. Aspects of migration**

Among the most important motives for migration are political economic and social situation in home countries. People seek better life conditions in higher wage that allows higher savings. Remittance is sent back to immigrant's family at home. Better social security stimulates moving, but leaves host countries feeling weighed down by immigrant-related expenses, which lead to immigration restrictions from governments of host countries. An important factor influencing immigrants' lives, according to Vavrejnová (2011) is language skills and ability to contact authorities, secure

accommodation and employment. Lastly there are study and job qualification related reason for migration.

In general there is correlation between the level of economic and technological development of each country and their immigration levels. Growing economy causes increase in demand for foreign labour force while decrease in prosperity makes immigration less desirable. Regardless, migration is often determined by differences in level of incomes between the host and home country. Studies have shown that there is correlation between differences in salary levels and motivation for labour migration, the summary of this is shown in Table 1 and following chapters.

**Table 1: Intensity of labour migration motivation in relation to the ratio of earnings in the host country and homeland**

Level	Income ratio				Intensity of labour migration motivation
	<i>IC/EC</i>		<i>EC/IC</i>		
1.	3 and more		0,33 and less		Very strong
2.	2,00	2.99	0,34	0,5	Strong
3.	1,43	1,99	0,51	0,70	Mild
4.	1.42 and less		0.71 and more		Negligible

Source: Baštýř, Ivo. *Úroveň a Pohyb Nákladů Práce, Nominálních a Reálných Mezd v ČR a Vybraných členských Státech EU v letech 2000 a 2006: (monografie Zaměřená Na Mezinárodní Komparaci)*. Praha: VÚPSV, 2008. Print.

Table 1 shows that the main negative of very strong labour migration motivation is rising illegal migration that can lead to criminal activities and creating black markets. On the other hand the negligible motivation shows “economic maturity” – countries of origin reach 70% to 75% of economic development of the host country (Baštýř, 2008).

### 1.3. Theory of migration

There are various theories developed independently within different fields of study. Some theories analyse migration on a macro level, others on a micro level. The difference between these theories lies in perception of the main cause of migration and questions the theory seeks to answer. However, there is still no complex unbiased theory that would include all aspects of migration. Therefore this thesis introduces several theories that the author considers important for understanding the theoretical basis of this work. The author suggests perceiving these theories as complementary to one another rather than mutually exclusive.

Based on the classical economic model of Adam Smith the **Macro Theory** *assumes that immigration and emigration result from international difference in human resources supply and demand*. According to Portes (1995), this theory assumes that in some countries work forces are plentiful and capital limited, resulting in low wage levels, while other countries are capital abundant, but lack human resources which leads to high salary. The disequilibrium motivates work force movement until wages rise in labour abundant countries and salary decreases in capital ample places. Only then equilibrium is established.

**Neoclassical theory** *assumes individuals to be rational and make decisions purely based on the calculation of costs and revenue from both financial and human resource standpoint*, as Borjas (1990) explains. This theory assumes different wage levels in domestic and target countries. The decision to migrate or not is presumed to be rational and related to the level of salary as well as likelihood of being able to find a placement in the destination.

This theory introduces “push-pull factors”. According to the European Communities (2000) there are “push factors that describe all elements that force people to leave the country of origin, be it religious or political reasons and/or persecutions, ecologic disasters, civil wars, poverty or unemployment. On the other hand, pull factors describe conditions in the target country motivating emigration” (<http://www.uni-mannheim.de/edz/pdf/eurostat/00/KS-30-00-908-EN-I-EN.pdf>).

**Dual Labour Market Theory** *presumes the existence of a primary and secondary labour market with high-skilled labourers earning high salaries and low-skilled labour force known for low salaries, bad working conditions, instability and no prospects of career growth*. Developed countries need both high-skilled and low-skilled workers, which results in the low salary vacancies being filled with foreigners, while natives take higher-skilled vacancies. *This sociology based migration theory assumes that salary level promotes social status of an individual and is primarily tight to his home country*. Vojtková (2005) states that because immigrants do not reach the same social rank as the natives, they can put the social aspect aside and work on the same level. Their social status at home then improves thanks to higher income (in comparison to the same job at home). For the same reason natives tend to move higher (Ondrčka, 2006). This theory is focused on pull factors of host countries.

## **1.4. Impact of migration**

Slaný (2009) claims that the effects of migration on economic, social and political development of home and receiving countries, mainly depends on volume and qualifications of migrants, condition of labour markets and economic structure of the countries.

### **1.4.1. Wages and unemployment**

Regarding employment and wages Borjas (2003) found that immigration lowers demand and wages of native workers of the same qualification. And “even after accounting for the beneficial cross-effects of low-skill (high-skill) immigration on the earnings of high-skill (low-skill) workers, the average wage still decreases, however it happens differently for every education group”. Most significant decreases were found among high school drop outs while least negative impact of immigration was on collage graduates. The findings indicate more significant impact of immigration on national wage levels than other studies, however Borjas admits that his analysis ignored long term capital adjustments, a criterion that Ottaviano and Peri (2006) implemented in their research having found that “among people with the same education and experience level and within the same gender group, immigrants are not perfect substitution to native workers and considering adjustment of capital natives actually benefit from immigration in terms of average wage.” The study revolves around two different education groups: people with at least high school education and those lacking high school education. The result showed that the only people whose wages decrease are the low-qualified ones, whose slight drop in wage level is met with increase of wage levels of all other groups resulting in increasing total average wage levels. The study shows that “considering an adjustment of physical capital most of the wage effects of immigration accrue to native workers within a decade”.

Later Borjas replies to their finding with again contradictory results stating that their result can only be achieved with specific sample while differently constructed sample would scatter said results. His new study supports his old results that immigration even after counting in long term capital adjustments would decrease wage levels for natives in general, especially affecting those on the same qualification level (Borjas, Grogger and Hanson, 2008).

To conclude, the theories say that “the impacts of immigration on wages and employment depend on whether and to what extent migrants’ skills are complements or

substitutes to the skills of native workers” (Ruhs, 2015). Overall, economic literature match in that immigration effect on wages and employment in host countries are insignificant, often revolving around zero.

### **1.4.2. Effect of migration on receiving countries**

While important among literature on impact of immigration on wage levels of natives, findings of Borjas et al. as well as Ottaviano and Peri was related to the US market, which can differ from the countries in this study. For that reason the author presents the effects of immigration on GDP (as opposed to wages) and total factor productivity. A research conducted by Orefice (2010) shows that “Not only does immigration generate investment opportunities, migrants can affect TFP in host countries by boosting entrepreneurship and flexibility, providing specialization and complementarities and reinforcing agglomeration economies, raising the returns to capital as well as wages across the economy.” Therefore qualification of immigrants is of utmost importance. High-skilled immigrants will tend to increase GDP and support long-term increase in the economy’s labour-capital ratio, however low-skilled foreigners will “reduce average GDP in the short run and promote the adoption of less productive, more labor-intensive technologies” (Dadush, 2014). Despite the fact that high skilled immigrants contribute positively to per capita GDP this result is offset by more severe negative effect of low skilled immigrants resulting in decrease per capita GDP to total immigrants inflow. One of the possible reasons for this is that “capital does not immediately adjust after immigrants inflows” Orefice (2010).

While immigration is generally frowned upon, it is important to note that host countries gain great benefits from accepting foreign labour, as shown in later chapters. However, there are also many disadvantages accompanying acceptance of great amount of immigrants. Rightly set immigration policies can accentuate positive effects of migration while repressing the negative implications (Horáková, 2007).

#### **Positive effects**

Low birth rate and aging population in Europe lead to diminishing number of active workers. Hence, among the main advantages of immigration for host countries is that immigrants represent a solution to the population decrease in Europe. Foreigners also take up work placements that are unattractive for natives. Another reason to desire immigrants is that they can be a great source of high-skilled labour to fill up seasonal

work with. Host country benefiting from foreigners with desired skills and experience working in the country is called *brain drain* (Vavrejšnová, 2011).

Hosts can also benefit from taxes paid by immigrants and their employers, which is directly related to the economic prosperity of the nation. Even international trade can bloom owing to demand of domestic products by ethnic communities and information immigrants bring about their countries of origin (Rabušic and Burjanek, 2003), which helps lower foreign markets' research costs. Culturally, having diverse population of immigrants can be beneficial in creating an environment of openness and understanding between different ethnic groups. Finally, foreigners are often willing to work longer hours for lower salaries, which despite moral and ethical clashes does benefit the host country's economy.

### **Negative effects**

Arrival of a great number of immigrants with lower standards and willing to work for lower salary can cause wage levels in the host country to decrease, as proved by economic literature. Moreover, strong international communities in the country can endanger national identity and traditions of the hosts, not to mention national security risks that have become a pressing topic over the last few years<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, in case immigrants lose their jobs or get themselves in a complicated life situation, when they cannot leave the host country, but have no means to earn a living, the host country has to take the burden of providing social benefits (Vavrejšnová, 2011).

### **1.4.3. Effect of migration on sending countries**

Labour market of home countries is often characterized by low employment due to excess of work force. According to Vavrečková and Baštýř (2009) the outflow of a part of labourers can pose a reduction in burden for the domestic labour market. However, losing citizens due to emigration can cause "brain drain". While short-term effect of emigration is negative, in long term the home country can benefit as explained below.

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<sup>3</sup> <https://www.boundless.com/economics/textbooks/boundless-economics-textbook/immigration-economics-38/introduction-to-immigration-economics-138/impact-of-immigration-on-the-host-and-home-country-economies-546-12643/>

### **Positive effects**

Among the main advantages of emigration is remittance that emigrants send back home. Remittances have significant impact on life conditions of emigrant's family and indirectly impacts development of the home country's economy. Another form in which emigrants contribute to the welfare of the sending countries is investing back in homeland, be it properties, retail or philanthropic activities. Lastly, home countries benefit from emigration by gaining know-hows from abroad, which occurs when emigrants receive special education and/or trainings in the host country and use that to make a change at home.

### **Negative effects**

Among the most important negatives of emigration is *brain drain* issue, when talents and high-skilled workers leave the home country, slowing its growth and hinging its growth potential (<http://www.migrationpolicy.org/topics/brain-drain-brain-gain>). Another disadvantage is that with decreasing population the labour supply of the country will shrink, hence the economy is weakened. Shortage of active population leads to lesser tax payments and spending of the country overall.<sup>4</sup>

## **1.5. Migration and integration policy**

Migration policies can be understood as set of rules directly or indirectly controlling movement of people across international borders. It regulates legal migration and takes precaution against illegal migration and penalizes them.

Immigration policies are a part of migration policies and define requirements for settling in of immigrants. It aims to ensure smooth social and political coexistence of natives and immigrants by helping foreigners get involved in the current events of the host country, open up and share their own cultural heritage (Baršová and Barša, 2005). Immigration policy had been decided upon separately in each member state. There are many reasons why that changed, however, one of the main being problems regarding integration of foreigners. Moreover, some issues cannot be solved solely on a national level and multinational cooperation among European countries is required. An agreement in European migration policy is however difficult due to different intensity

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<sup>4</sup> <https://www.boundless.com/economics/textbooks/boundless-economics-textbook/immigration-economics-38/introduction-to-immigration-economics-138/impact-of-immigration-on-the-host-and-home-country-economies-546-12643/>

that this issue influences each country and also because of varying migration development and experience with immigrants.

Immigration policy of the EU covers the area of visa policy, asylum and border protection. In these fields legal acts are created and agreed on by the European parliament and the European Council. Member states are most eligible to creation of the policy in the area of legal migration (Poruba, 2014). In general, each country attempts to set up filtering regulations that favours foreigners with high potential and ability to integrate into the new society. The system prefers young and educated people, who can use the country's official language – among the requirements for successful applications is often a language exam, proof of ability to contribute to the economic of the receiving country and clean criminal record (Dohnalová, 2012).

### **1.5.1. National approach to integration**

There are essentially 3 approaches to national immigration and integration: the model of differential exclusion, the assimilation model and finally the multicultural model. The characteristics of each model are as follows (Castles and Miller (2003):

**The model of differential exclusion** – is prevalent in states that do not consider themselves an immigration country and see immigrants as temporary visitors (Germany and Italy). Foreigners are only partially integrated into the society, so while they are included in labour markets, they are excluded from all other social spheres. Countries that adopted this integration model make naturalisation difficult.

**The assimilation model** is based on full-adaptation of foreigners into the society. Immigrants are granted citizenship with all of the rights and civic duties of the nationals. Naturalisation usually requires knowledge of the official language and overview of the cultural and historical events of the country. Children of immigrants born in the host country are granted citizenship by default. This leads to a fast and simple integration process that is usually accompanied with minorities losing their original ethnic identity. An example of this model is France.

**The multicultural model** is one where the host country acknowledges ethnical and cultural differences of minorities and encourages them. Ethnic groups are not only tolerated, but their members have access to the same rights and benefits as the major population. In some cases, dual citizenships are permitted so as to stretch the importance of keeping the ethnic identity of minorities. The Netherlands is cited as exemplary for this model.



## 2. Germany

The Federal Republic of Germany is one of the most powerful countries in the world. Economically it is among the most important nations in Europe and its politics have great influence on global scale. The country underwent interesting development, which is related to its contradictory history.

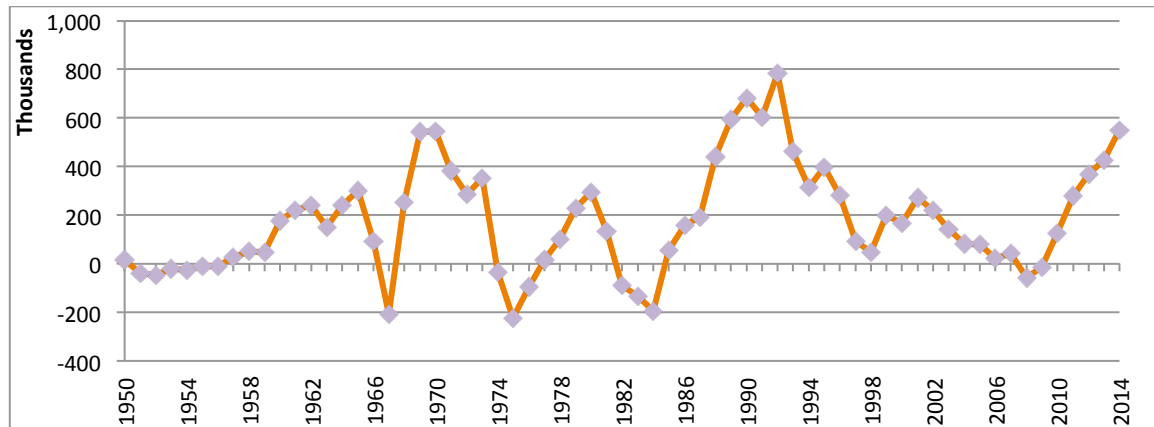
Germany experienced great increase of population in the last century triggered by inflow of immigrants. The numbers comprised of foreign labourers and asylum seekers, but also of ethnic Germans returning from the Eastern Europe and Germany. Despite the great amount of immigration, the creation of the official immigration and asylum policy took long and was met with great difficulty. Until the beginning of the industrialisation era, according to Migration History, “the country was a country of emigration, with little to no forecast to change that. Between 1820 and 1920 around 6 million Germans emigrated”. (<http://www.domid.org/en/migration-history-germany>)

Nonetheless in 1914, Germany was already first in the number of foreign labour force with 1.2 million immigrants however only after the WW2 did Germany experience a major inflow of immigrants, nonetheless since then the country remains one of the nations with the highest amount of immigrants in the world. It is a paradox that the country did not have any integration policy until mid 1990s.

### 2.1. Immigrants in FRG

After the lost war Germany was ruined and its economic prospects gloom. Nonetheless during the economic boom the capacity of German industrial zones built and upgraded during the war showed. There were two key factors: capital inflow and abundance of work force. More workers were needed than the domestic labour market could offer, triggering demand for foreigners. After the end of WW2, 12 million Germans living in areas that prior to 1945 were under German administration arrived. Around 1961 the FRG joined the trend of signing recruitment agreements with other countries, which lasted until 1973. The first contract signed with Italy in 1955 marked the beginning of Gastarbeiters. *Figure 1* reflects these in growing net migration from 1956 to 1965. Immigrants were presumed to be beneficial to the country, as they did not require investments in school, social or retirement support. The figure shows fluctuating German migration. According to this, the peak of positive migration was at 782,071 immigrants in 1992, while in 1975 migration was the most negative.

Figure 1: Net migration in Germany



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt (Destatis)

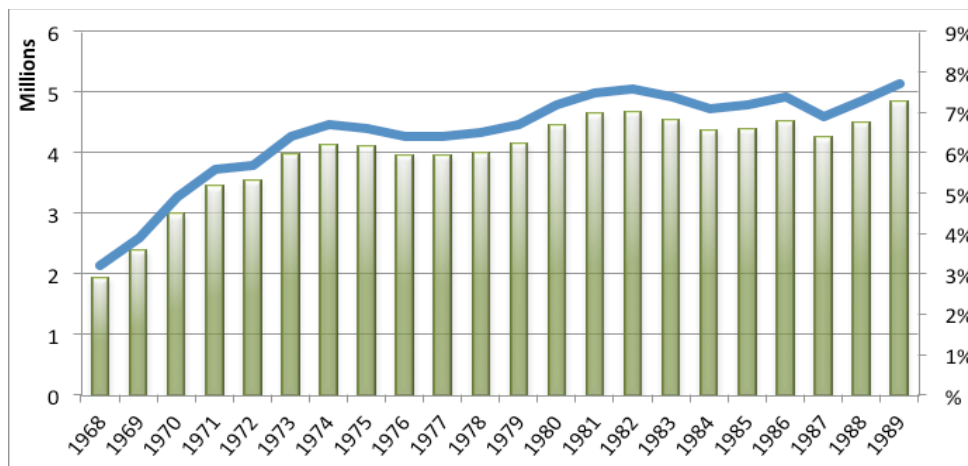
Despite being considered equal to the natives immigrants were not expected to stay long and did not receive professional training therefore were mostly filling unskilled jobs that Germans found unattractive. Also due to the language barrier and no recognition of foreign certificates, immigrants were not suitable to work in higher positions. The presence of guest workers then helped natives get to higher positions.

To control immigration foreigners were only granted yearly renewable work permits and after expiration were to return home. Moreover, the rotational rule in labour recruitment from the 1960s based on time-limited work permits with no renewing that was meant to prevent permanent residence of foreigners did not work. Not only did employers protest against it, as it increased their cost of training new workers, but even labour unions or political parties joined in (Münz, Seifert and Ulrich, 1999). This resulted in granting prolonged work permits to workers with over five years of labour history in Germany in 1971 that reinforced their positions and instigated them to start bringing their family over (Herbert, 2001). Politicians did not anticipate this turnout and until 1980s did not want to accept this fact.

Demand for foreign workers fell off in 1973, when FRG entered economic recession. The government declared a ban on foreign workers recruitment, introduced quotas and limits for newcomers and changed the approach towards immigrants in order to regulate the increasing numbers. However, due to family unification the number of immigrants kept rising despite all regulations (Herbert, 2001).

Despite the massive immigration, Germany did not have an immigration policy. “Germany is not an immigration country” was a slogan the country insisted on. “There was a conflict between ideology and economic reality, which was a significant attribute of German anti-migration policy” (Fassmann and Rainer, 1994).

Figure 2: Immigrants in FRG in absolute and relative numbers



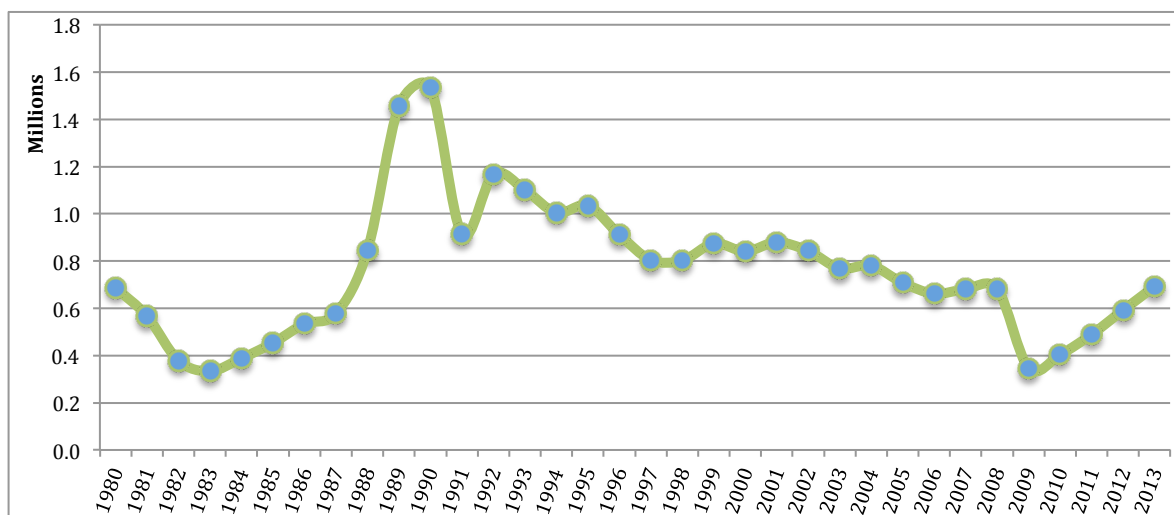
Source: Herbert, Ulrich. Geschichte Der Ausländerpolitik in Deutschland

As shown in Figure 2 when recruitment was halted four million foreigners were already in Germany. The number kept increasing in following years, making citizens uneasy and leading to the infamous Memorandum introduced by chancellor Kuhn in 1979 with three main points:

1. integration of immigrants already in the country
2. support of repatriation of immigrants
3. preventing immigrants from coming to FRG

Due to lack of specific steps, only the last two points were fulfilled. Kuhn's memorandum was mainly related to the second generation of immigrants as it defined requirements for naturalisation or granting of voting rights (Herbert, 2001).

Figure 3: German immigrants' yearly admission

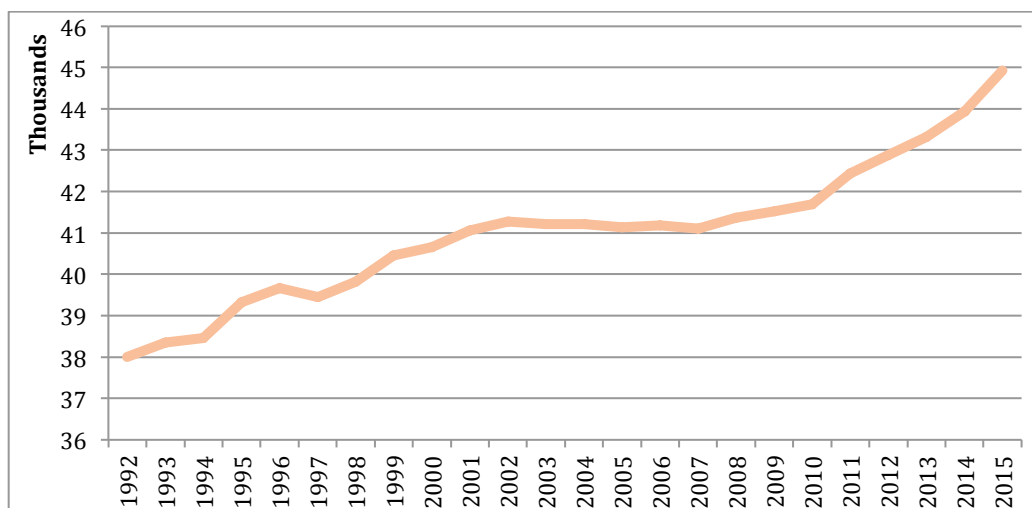


Source: United Nations

In 1989 and 1990 the country received the most immigrants, whereas the lowest acceptance occurred in 1983. Throughout 1990s the number of immigrants was declining due to introduction of restrictive policies (Figure 3).

Partially related to declining immigration the average wage levels in Germany grew constantly since 1992 when foreigner's inflow started decreasing (Figure 4). However this became a stronger pull factor for immigrants and when legal ways did not work, illegal immigration blossomed. As a result, the country had to fight illegal immigrants through more restrictive policies that also affected the lives of legally residing immigrants, as elaborated in following chapters.

Figure 4: Average wage in Germany

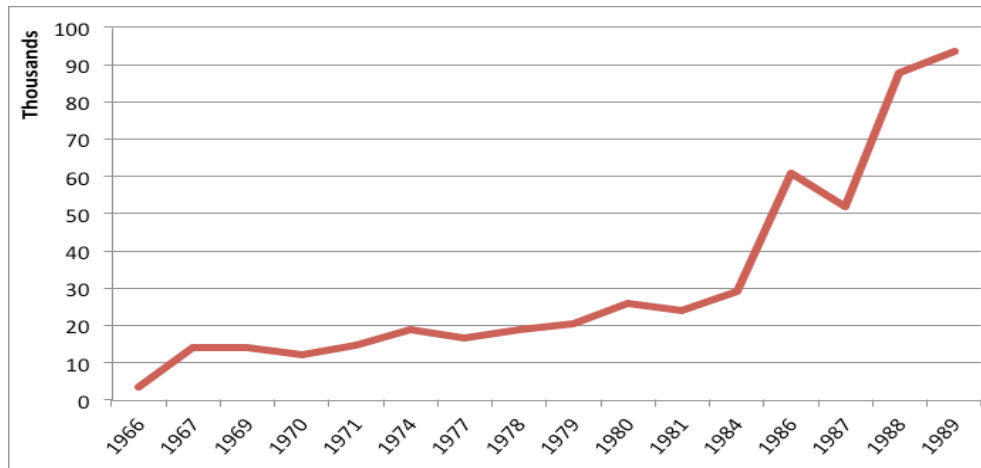


Source: OECD

## 2.2. Reunited Germany

Until the 1980s majority of immigrants in Germany originated from third countries. However this changed between 1990 and 1998 when according to Bade and Oltmer (2004) 1,784,476 refugees sought asylum in Germany – mainly from Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey. In relation to the union of GDR and FRG questions regarding immigration and integration policies arose reflecting different experiences on both sides. Figure 5 shows that after halting labour immigration the numbers of incoming foreign workers was very stable and it looked like the government had the situation under control. This however changed after the reunion of GDR and FRG, which caused foreign labour to skyrocket.

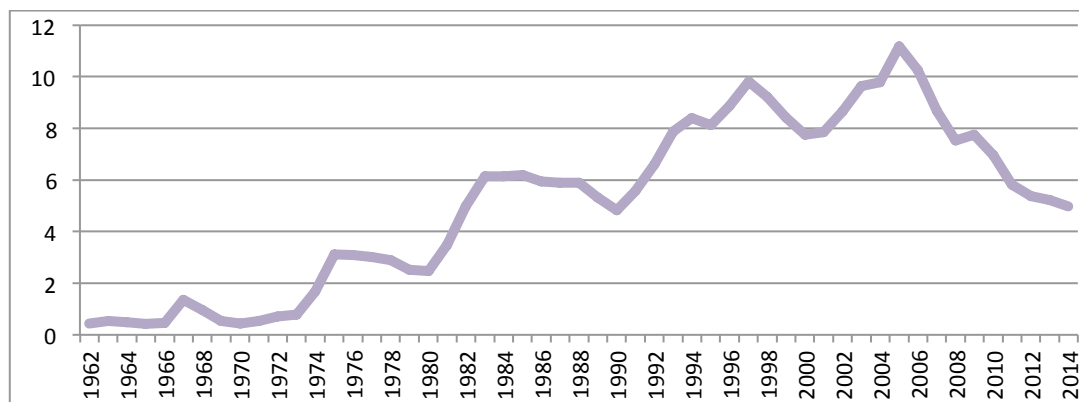
Figure 5: Foreign labourers in FRG



Source: Bade, Klaus J., and Jochen Oltmer. Normalfall Migration.

As seen in Figure unemployment was growing in Germany since the 1970s and it contributed to the public anxiety in relation to growing immigration. This resulted in the new immigration law that restricted residency permits statuses. The permission for permanent settlement was only issued to employed and accommodated people living in the country for at least 5 years, with sufficient command of German and knowledge of the culture and legal system. Acquisition of the limited residency permits was conditioned by attendance of integration courses (Süssmuth, 2006).

Figure 6: Unemployment rate in Germany



Source: OECD

In relation to the high unemployment peaking at over 11% in 2005 Germany responded to enlargement of the EU member base by stipulating limitation of free access to the labour market for citizens of new member countries from 2005 to 2011, however since 2008 in reaction to rising demand for specialists Germany cancelled the barriers to selected professions. Moreover foreign students who have graduated from a German university were granted a year residency permission in order to search for employment

(Worbs, Wolf and Schimany, 2005), as unemployment decreased in following years and labour was again demanded (Figure 6).

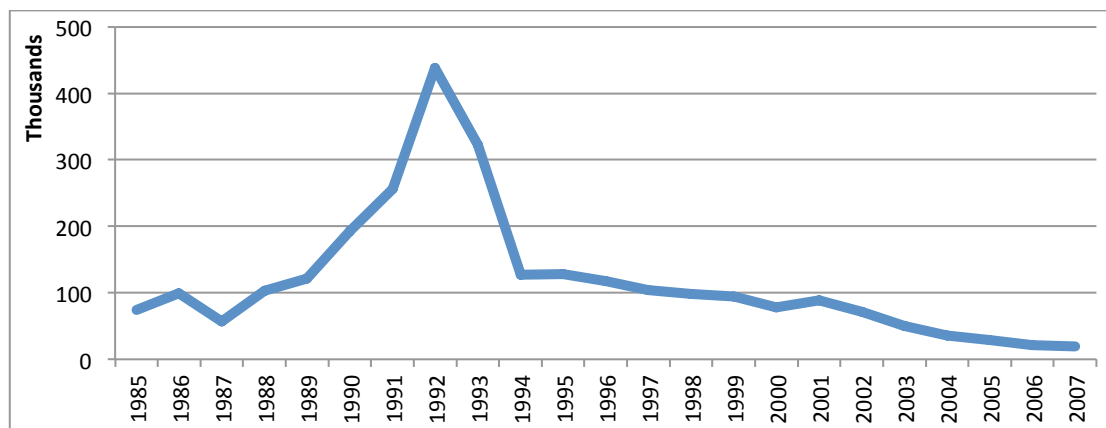
### 2.2.1. Asylum

Green (2013) states that after 1979 asylum became new significant source of immigration, with almost 2.6 million applications lodged in next twenty years.

Due to increasing numbers of immigrants the government was trying to limit asylum rights justifying this by claiming that asylum is being misused and pointing out that majority of asylum seekers are not political refugees but economic ones. In order to discourage new influx of refugees the government imposed regulations for arrival including visa requirement for some third world countries and speeding up rejection of illegitimate applications and limitation of free movement.

The stricter asylum law from 1990 resulted in declining number of asylum applications (Figure 7). On the other hand regulations caused put people a situation in which their applications were declined while they could not go home due to legal humanitarian or political reasons. In 1993 an amendment to this was approved. The “asylum compromise” narrowed asylum applications to only protection against political persecution (Čaněk, 2005).

Figure 7: Total number of asylum applicants in Germany



Source: Eurostats

Figure 7 shows that asylum applications were rapidly increasing since the 1980s peaking in 1992 with 438,190 asylum seekers applying for protection. However after the application of the asylum compromise the number dropped to pre-1990s values and kept declining over following years.

## **2.3. Integration**

In Germany minority cultures are expected to respect and follow values of the majority (SCHÖNBOHM, 2001). Until 2005 there was no official integration policy. Ethnic Germans had an exception since from 1913 they automatically gained German citizenship when proved family links to German ethnicity.

The main goal of integration is allowing immigrants to take part in the society and give them equal access to employment and education. The governmental approach assesses integration in terms of citizenship granting, provision of integration programmes and employment; the programmes include integration courses or social consultancy and were compulsory to those with low or no command of German.

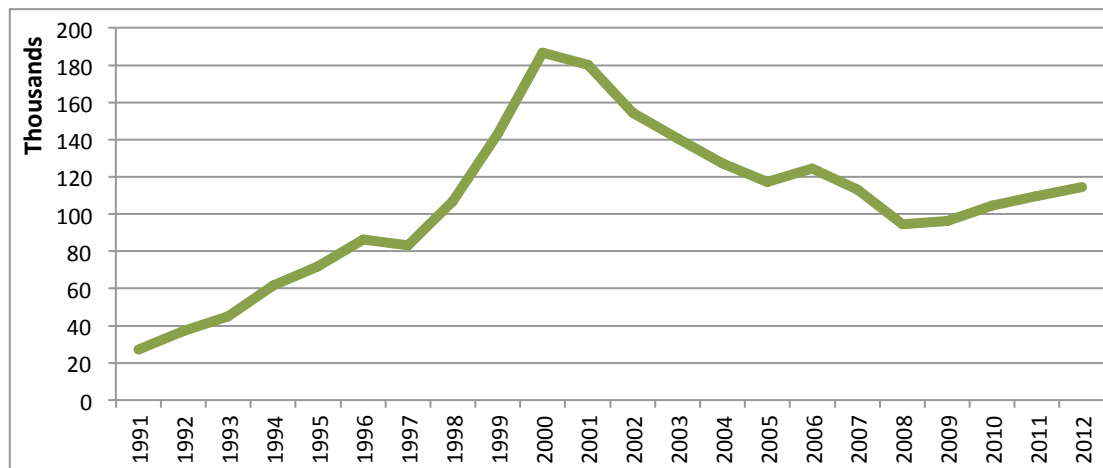
In 2007 a reform to the immigration law was made that supports integration policy while impeding admission of new migrants – the main purpose was claimed to be reducing the burden on the social system and switching focus towards integration of migrants into the labour market (Klingst and Perger, 2013). One of the restrictions introduced is basic command of German language requirement for family unification. The immigration law supports integration by providing immigrants with an “integration offer” including language courses, information about the culture, legal system and history of the host country. Foreigners are required to familiarize themselves with and accept democratic values. Absence from the course can result in losing residency permission, while successful participation can shorten waiting time.

### **2.3.1. Naturalisation**

In European countries there are two main perceptions of immigrants. Jus soli takes into account the birthplace of the foreigner. This principle prevails in France. Jus sanguinis is based on blood relation regardless of whether the person has lived in the country or not. Germany has always inclined to the later (Bade, 1994), therefore since 1913 citizenships were easier to acquire by ethnic Germans, who have been living abroad their entire lives and do not know German language or cultural and social customs, than by descendants of immigrants born and raised in Germany and with full command of all above (Uçarer and Puchala, 1997). This changed in the new millennium with the acceptance of the amendment to immigration law that allowed foreigners to naturalize as long as he or she can prove residency in Germany for 15 years or longer and had a valid residency permission. In this naturalisation concept more emphasis is put on objective signs such as knowledge of language or cultural orientation, which

applicants have to prove to be naturalised. Figure 8 shows that due to application of said requirements the growing interest in naturalisation dropped.

Figure 8: Naturalisation in Germany



Source: Eurostat

### 2.3.2. Failure of the integration system

Emphasis of German integration policy is on language command, however only this alone cannot smoothen cultural differences between ethnicities nor can it solve differing priorities and preferences that cause serious conflicts between immigrants and majority society. At the same time naturalisation as such does not equal to successful integration to which acceptance of civil identity is a key to.

The main issue seems to be cultural identity of various groups in Germany, but also in other immigration countries. It calls upon social and cultural heritage, history, language and religion, needless to say that all European constitution guarantee freedom of religion which is often the main collision course especially with muslim religion that refuse this identity (Tibi, 2002). Islamism as a political ideology was spread among immigrants in seemingly harmless forms such as educational centres. However that Islamists are not interested in accepting values of the democratic society and strive to single themselves against it. Sartori (2005) explains that “in western countries jus sanguinis and jus soli systems determine citizenship and social allegiance, while in Islamic systems the corresponding citizenship is based on optime iure that is assigned only to religious people and citizenship is inferior to the Koran.” This can be one of the reasons why muslim immigrants are less keen to integrate, if they perceive citizenship tied to religious devotion.



### **3. Italy**

Only during the 1980s did Italy start transitioning from a purely emigrant nation into a destination country. With northern and western European countries closing their borders, Italy became the main passageway to the old continent.

Immigrants have been perceived in a bad light by Italian society influenced by politics and media that portray immigrants in the worst way. However as immigrants make almost 10% of active population and participate in job creation immigration policy is very important for economic development of the nation. Also immigrants can help the country with population growth. Alas, while the government seeks high skilled labour force that would have a positive effect on the country's economy, more often it is low skilled and illegal immigrants that flood the country.

#### **3.1. Characteristics of Italian immigration**

In 1973 Italy first experienced positive net migration – owing to the return of emigrated Italians (Veikou and Triandafyllidou, 2004). Immigrants started arriving in 1980s, motivated by Italian economic growth and easy entrance conditions. The transition that Italy underwent was dramatic in terms of numbers of immigrants and speed of change and was a result of Italian “open door” policy and restrictive immigration and asylum policies implemented by other European countries. Italy that did not have any official approach towards immigration policy became a frequent destination for many illegal immigrants and asylum seekers fleeing their homelands.

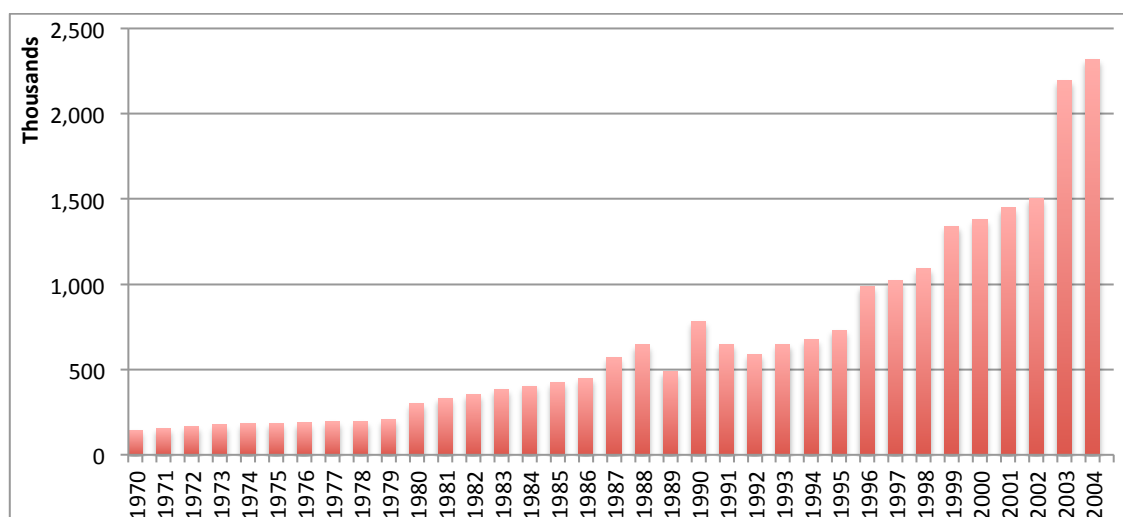
According to Mantovan (2013) the society has changed and the current Italian immigration policy has not accepted that Italy transformed into a receiving country, which shows for example on the fact that naturalisation process is still complicated.

##### **3.1.1. Italian migration in numbers**

According to Veikou and Triandafyllidou (2004) in 1981 the first counting of immigrants discovered 321,000 foreigners majority of which did not have residency permission. 10 years later the number doubled to 781,138, according to *Figure 10*. Since 1993 Italian native population decreases and immigrants contribute to population growth of the country. Mass immigration started in Italy at the beginning of 1990s owing to signature of an agreement to accept refugees from Albania and due to the fall of the Iron

Curtain and communism in Central and Eastern European countries. The number of yearly inflow of refugees skyrocketed.

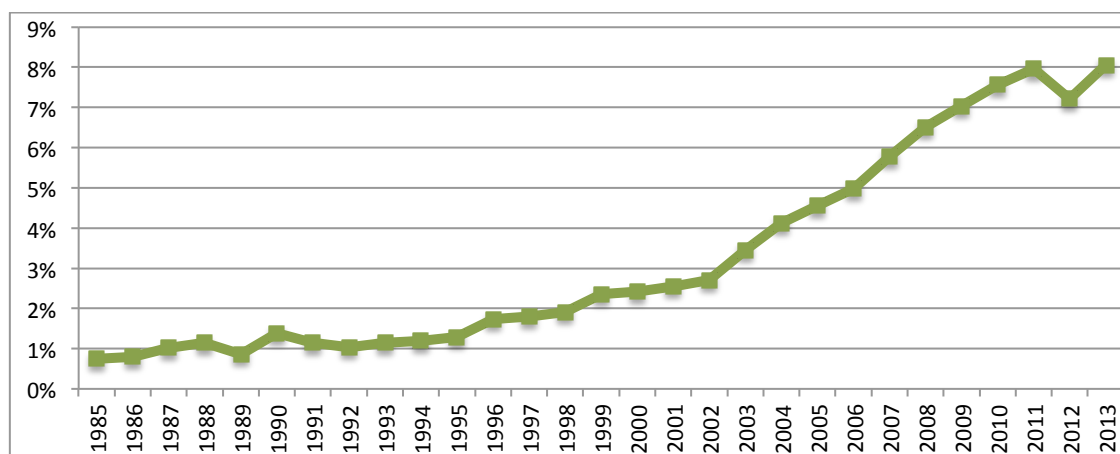
**Figure 10: Immigrants in Italy**



Source: EMN - Italian National Contact Point

Immigrants represent an important part of Italian labour market, as Figure 11 shows, in 2013 they make 8,05% of population. Small companies owned by immigrants are spread across the country and their numbers increased despite the economic crisis in 2008 – because during the crisis immigrants were struggling to find jobs many started their own business. As EMN (2012) points out, studies showed that small businesses created by immigrants have the ability to employ Italians and focus on raising labour quality. The positive effects that foreigners have on the economics calls for introduction of a migration policy that would be mutually beneficent for both the government and immigrants.

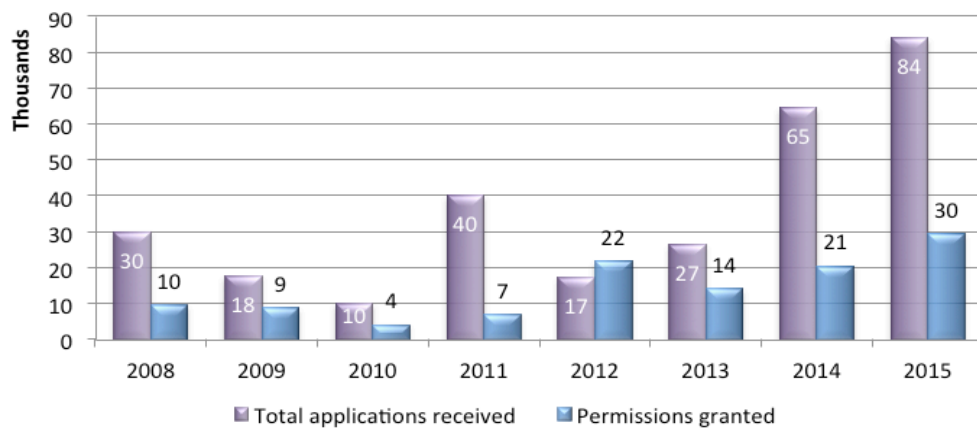
**Figure 11: Percentage of immigrants' population on total population**



Source: International Migration Database

According to Figure 12, between 2010 and 2015 the amount of asylum seekers and permissions granted rose almost ten times. Decision about asylum can take a year, which explains the high number of permissions granted year after the migration wave resulting from the Arabic spring in 2011. In the latest years the amount of applications by far exceed granted residency permits. Nonetheless, ageing Italian population needs pension schemes and the need of new workforce related to the future of Italian economic is clearly linked to foreigners and their integration (Caracciolo, 2009).

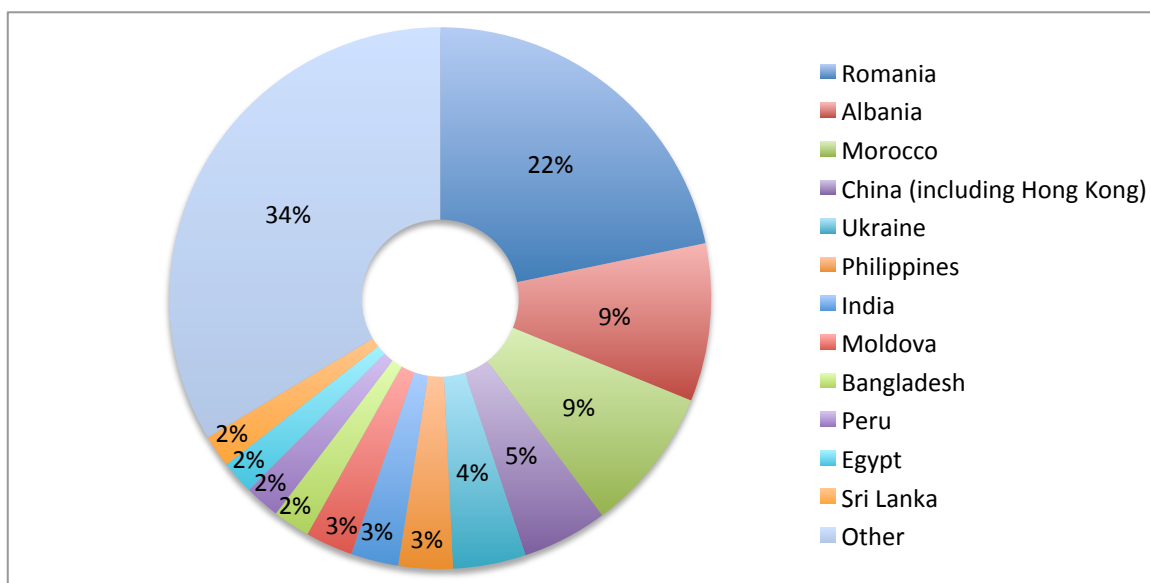
**Figure 12: Asylum applications and permissions**



Source: Eurostats

Romanians are the largest minority in Italy, accounting 22% of all immigrants (Figure 13). Experts point out that while Romanian are supposed to be treated the same way as foreigners from other European countries, in Italy they are not viewed equally, which leads to increased criminal activities among Romanian community.

**Figure 13: Immigrants' population in Italy by citizenship, 2015**



Source: Eurostats

### **Incentives for immigration**

Among push factors for immigration are political riots and economic crisis in countries of origins of immigrants, whereas pull factors comprise of favourable social, economic, cultural and political environment (Polednová, 2004) in Italy. Moreover, the geographic location with elongated shape pointing towards the African continent makes it convenient for African immigrants to take this route to Europe. Similarly, the proximity to southeast European countries attracts immigrants from politically and economically instable Balkan countries. Italy is under immigration pressure from the south and east and in addition, Italy has tradition of organised crime contributing to illegal immigrants business making border control more challenging.

### **3.1.2. Working opportunities for immigrants**

Each EU state has a yearly quota on number of work permissions that can be granted – however, it is insufficient to cover all applications resulting in creation of black labour market, which affects natives who can lose their job due to employers' favouring foreign workers due to their willingness to work for lower wage. If employers keep favouring immigrants, unemployment will rise among natives.

Due to poor conditions of work offered to immigrants, difficulties in finding a stable job and other reasons there is a growing number of immigrants establishing their own business. This inflow of new ideas and innovations make the market more dynamic, however foreigners are often met with great financial barriers – they cannot take a loan as banks require excessive interests – but by supporting business activities of immigrants the Italian economics could actually flourish thanks to increased job opportunities and overall productivity in the country (Chaloff, 2006).

## **3.2. Italian immigration policy**

Until 1985 the only requirement on foreigners was obligation to report their presence to a local authority and the right of police to examine foreigners at will (Al-Azar, 2006). The inception of Italian migration policy was in 1986, when the first immigration law was created and was concerned with the presence of foreign workers, their legal status and conditions for entering the country. The *decree no. 943/1986* defined a foreign workers legally residing in Italy as “a legal subject that has to be provided with access to healthcare, social services, education and housing as well as protection of the original culture and indigenous language”

(<http://www.stranieriinitalia.it/briguglio/immigrazione-e-asilo/1992/luglio/legge-943-86.html>).

In 1990 a legal adjustment in immigration has been established in order to improve control over the entrance and residence of immigrants in Italy and the government's approach towards immigrants. The so-called *Martellini law* was to raise awareness of other countries about the growing issue of immigration and get them involved in burden sharing of securing Italian borders. The law suggested increased controls to prevent inflow of immigrants, but also assigned additional right to immigrants and tackles legalising the status of immigrants and penalisation of illegal immigrants' employers (<http://www.asgi.it/wp-content/uploads/public/legge.28.febbraio.1990.n.39.pdf>). The law did not manage to define a functional procedure to ensure legal entrance of foreigners into Italy, which in following years resulted in further increase of illegal immigration as the Italian economic needed more workers and Italian.

In 1998 Italy was under pressure from the EU to solve illegal immigration before admission into the Schengen area. The *Turco Napolitano decree* is a complex document aiming to increase efficiency in admission of foreign labour, prevent illegal immigration and broaden spectrum of activities for integration. It enabled family unification and guaranteed civil and social rights to immigrants. On the other hand yearly quota was introduced to restrict number of immigrants admitted. The new measures aimed to harmonize Italian immigration policy with other countries in the Schengen area. As a result of many illegal immigrants were deported from the country. The Decree was the first to propose a naturalisation procedure and established the possibility for future employers to vouch for employees, hence helping them get a working visa. Lastly, the decree shortened time needed to obtain permanent residency permission for immigrants to five years (Legge N.40 Del 1998).

After 2002 the Italian immigration policy toughened further with authorization of the *Bossi-Fini decree* that aimed to lower immigration as much as possible. Expanding the decree from 1998 it established obligation to sign an employment contract prior to immigrant's arrival, sterner procedures regarding deportation of illegal migrants and created regional centres for immigrants' support and integration. It cancelled the possibility for employers to vouch for their employees, but introduced a document called "Residency and work permission" which blended residency and work

permit. The restrictive policies were created temporarily as a response to the terrible immigration situation in the country (Al-Azar, 2006).

Pegoraro, Malini and Picciau (2009) point out that the law introduced in 2009 brought even more drastic changes to Italian migration policy and was labelled by many as “violating fundamental human rights”. The most controversial articles were as follows (BBC News, 2009):

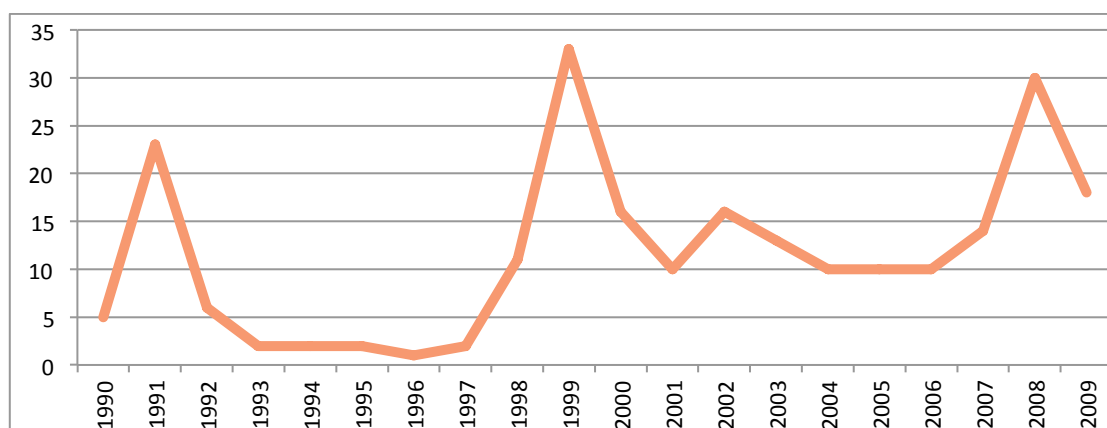
- I. Perception of illegal immigration as a criminal act with a penalty
- II. Sending back ships with immigrants
- III. Denial of rights for citizenship to newborns
- IV. Appointing informants among state-owned institutions leading to illegal immigrants refusing to seek healthcare out of fear of being reported
- V. Legalisation of municipal vigilante patrols

Foreigners can enter Italy for tourism, education, family unification or labour. Third country citizens need a visa in order to get into the country, however if an underage child gets into the country illegally, he will be get all right to his best interest. Other immigrants without valid residency permits are expelled.

### 3.2.1. Asylum policy

Although towards immigration the Italians are extremely tough, they have more tolerance towards refugees – officials can grant a special protection that allows refugees to get three years residency permission (Centro Astalli, 2013). Once under asylum protection immigrants are guaranteed the same rights as Italian citizens.

Figure 14: Asylum applications in Italy



Source: CBS StatLine

As shown in Figure , Italian restricting laws introduced earlier have a direct effect on the number of asylum applications the country receives the following year, as there was always a significant drop in asylum application following the years when particularly restrictive laws were established. With that said, the effects of restrictive policies seem to last only for a limited time before immigration rates pick up again.

### **3.3. Integration policy**

The goal of integration policy in Italy is creating an open and multicultural environment and building tolerance and mutual respect in order to create a cohesive society under clear boundaries set by legal regulations and common values.

Implementation of integration policies primarily means promoting information that helps foreigners integrate into the society and gain an equal social status. According to the Ministry of the Labour, Italian integration policy encourages cognition and understanding of Italian society and its mechanisms and strives to address Italians in order to prevent all type of discrimination.

The most important factor for a successful integration is mastering host country's language and for that purpose after 1990 Italian government created language-learning centres. The demand for courses was exceeding the supply and in 1997 a new was created: it had been split into three parts – language courses, requalification and specialisation courses (Chaloff, 2006).

#### **3.3.1. Integration contract**

One of the most important documents adjusting immigrants' integration in Italy is *Accordo di Integrazione*. This amendment to the law 94/2009 is based on a credit system. *Immigrazione Oggi* (2010) claims that by signing the contract an agreement is made between the government and immigrants. It states obligations of the immigrant in order to live in the country. This system is meant to guarantee better integration by leaving motivation on immigrants. If the foreigners do not follow the requirements, it means that they have no interest in integration and therefore has no right for residency permissions prolonging and will be expelled from the country.

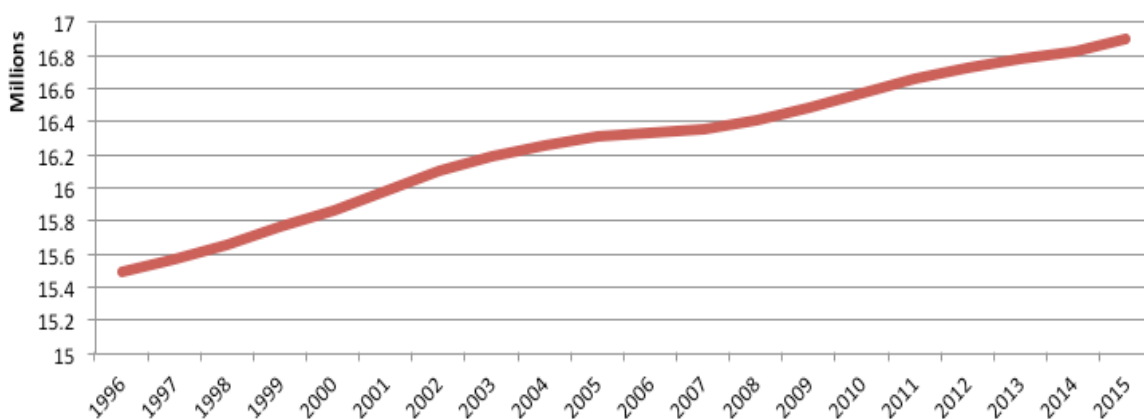
## 4. Netherlands

Historically the Netherlands had been considered one of the most immigration friendly countries. With colonial history, the Dutch society applies multicultural integration policy model and acknowledges cultural and social differences of ethnical minorities. Openness towards immigrants led to peaceful co-living of foreigners and natives. On top of the liberal approach towards foreigners the country is also popular for support of development of ethnic heritage of minorities. For a long time the country has been an example of successful integration politics and coexistence of different cultures. According to Baršová and Barša (2005), their integration model supported individual ethnical, cultural and lingual identities, but was later abandoned. Recently, the migration policies of the country toughened and the integration programmes have been complemented by the requirement on command of Dutch language as well as cultural and historical values of the nation.

### 4.1. Immigration in numbers

When dealing with population statistics of the Netherlands it is important to note that official terms do not mention foreigners. Kraus (2007) explains that instead Dutch official documents distinguish between *alochton* and *autochton* – the first describes foreigners born abroad and those whose at least one parent was born abroad. The later is used for natives whose both parents were born in the Netherlands (Ederveen, Dekker et col, 2005). Data from 2015 show that total population in the Netherlands comprises of 16,900,726 citizens. Among them 3,665,321 are *alochton* (Figures 15 and 16).

Figure 15: Total population in the Netherlands

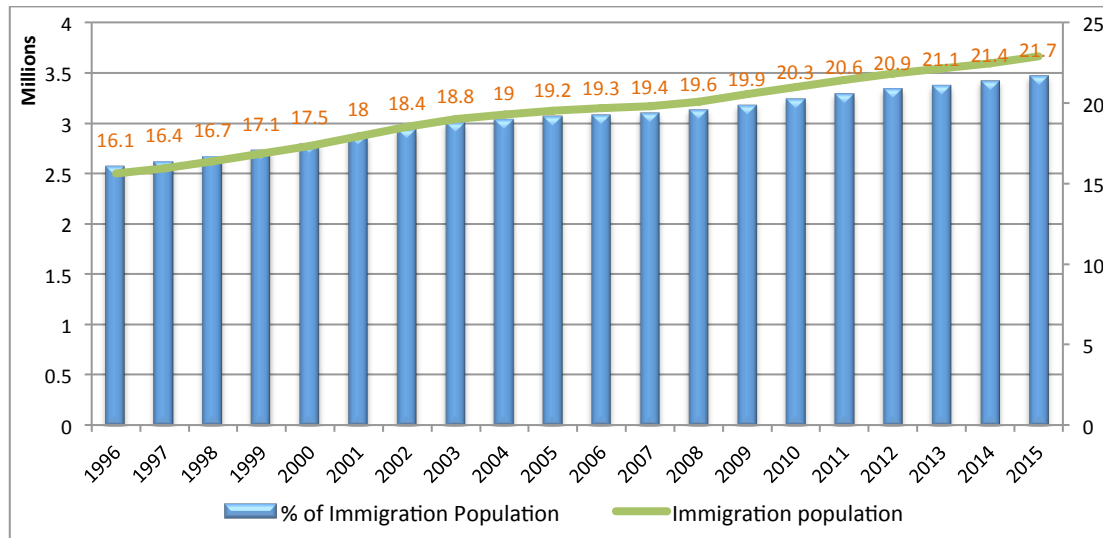


Source: CBS StatLine



According to Figure 16 the proportion of alochton on total population reached 21,7% in 2015. Both absolute number of alochton and its proportion on total population have been rising since mid-1990s contributing to total population growth of the country struggling with low birth rate, which accompanied by high mortality rate lowers overall native population growth.

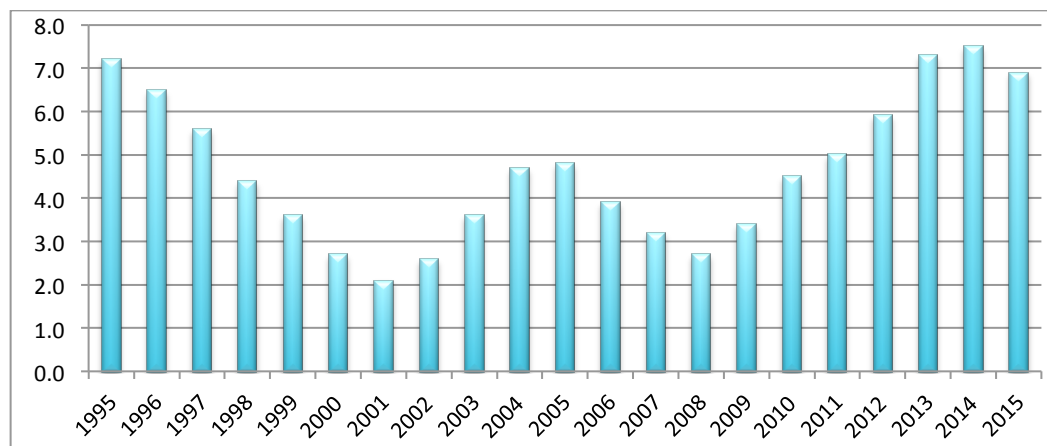
**Figure 16: Alochton in the Netherlands**



Source: CBS StatLine

Immigrants are therefore desirable in the country. It is reported that while “the Dutch population increased by almost 80 000 residents in the last year, majority of this increase was fuelled by immigrants intake of 56 000 people”. (CBS 2016, <https://www.cbs.nl/en-gb/news/2016/04/population-growth-fuelled-by-immigration>)

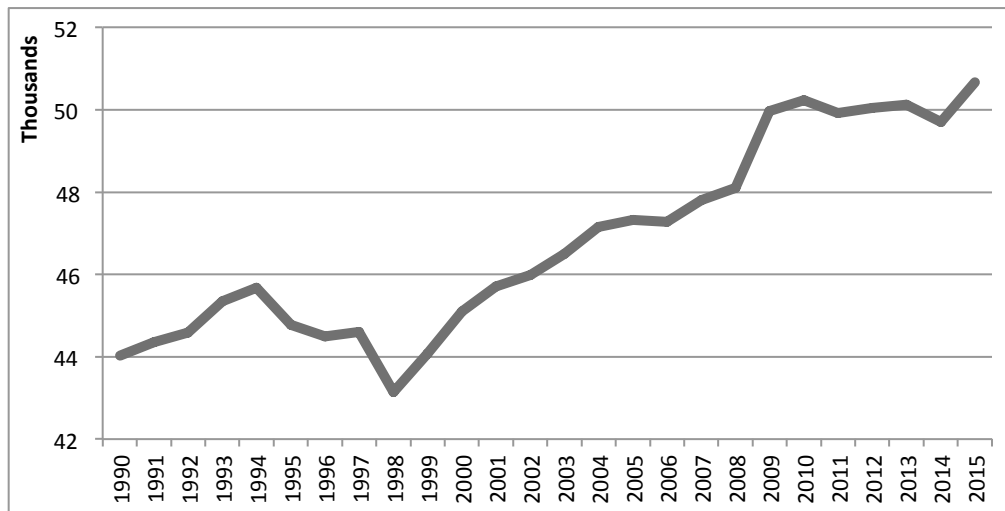
**Figure 2: Unemployment rates**



Source: Eurostat

Unemployment in latest years seem to have more to do with economic cycles and situation of the country rather than being influenced by growing immigration, whereas average wages grow alongside with numbers of immigrants in the country (Figures 17 and 18). In relation to academic literature the author assumes that the Netherlands are home to high skilled legal immigrants who contribute to the country's economy.

**Figure 18: Average wages in the Netherlands**



Source: OECD

## 4.2. Modern immigration milestones

Providing asylum to refugees is long rooted in the Netherlands' history and despite the change of reasons for immigration, the popularity of this country remains. Geddes (2003) identifies four waves of migration in the Netherlands modern history.

After the WW2 many immigrants started flowing in due to decolonisation. In the first phase the country accepts immigrants from former colonies seeking stable economic environment. The newcomers were granted Dutch citizenship and integrated into the society smoothly owing to knowledge of Dutch language, culture and history. This immigration wave that started after the WW2 and lasted till 1963, brought over 300,000 foreigners, but also many Dutch citizens residing in colonies and their families (Kabela, 2004). At the end of 1950s the economy flourished and demand for labour force started growing. To fill up unoccupied placements, the country opened its borders to mainly cheap, low-skilled workers (Ghorashi, 2005).

According to Zimmermann (2005), in 1960s migrants with Dutch passports started coming from Suriname, Antilles and Aruba. This inflow of immigrants was not

regulated either, as visas were only established in 1980s. The second wave of immigrants also integrated successfully.

The third wave of immigration to the Netherlands occurred between 1960 and 1973. Cohen (2006) explains that the rapid economic development in the Western Europe triggered the need for cheap and low skilled foreign workers to keep up with the trend. These immigrants were never expected to stay in the country long. Accordingly, there were no migration or integration policies to coordinate adaptation of immigrants. On contrary, keeping the cultural identity and traditions from home countries was encouraged and was considered essential for later re-integration into the home country. One of the characteristics of this era is introduction of mother tongues in education of children of immigrants (Bodemann and Yurdakul, 2006). The open doors policy to foreign workers was halted by the oil crisis that hit Europe in 1970s. Crul and Jeroen (2006) claim that “one of the main reasons why the third wave of immigrants did not integrate well, apart from lack of integration programmes was that majority of the first generation of them were of low social background and poorly educated. Together with limited resources and mechanisms for adaptation to the new society this posed a great barrier to their involvement in the country’s affairs”.

The last wave of immigration started in 1980s and lasted till the 21<sup>st</sup> century. This wave has been heavily impacted by the changes in migration regulations that were applied early in 1980s. The social tension and economic impact in 1970s lead to freezing the recruitment. This step posed a break in the Dutch immigration policy. In the period of high unemployment the restricted regime stated that a foreign worker could only be hired if there’s no suitable EU candidate for the position. However with lower unemployment at the end of 1990s and higher demand for labour this turned into a immigration supporting medium.

### **4.3. Asylum and immigration policy**

Immigration was not regulated until mid-1970s when officials realised and admitted that wagedworkers and their families are settled in the country permanently. In 1980s the first attempts to get immigration under control started, but was not successful as the inflow of foreigners kept rising due to family unification as well as refugees and asylum applicants from all over the world and also inhabitants of formal Dutch colonies. According to Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2007), one of the main characteristics of the first migration policy changing attempts was more focus on respecting the interests and

needs of immigrants communities rather than their integration into the society – a direct influence of the pillarisation<sup>5</sup>. This started changing in the next decade. The further transformation of immigration policies and toughening regulations helped lower numbers of foreigners; immigrants already residing in the country are obliged to integrate into the society.

### **4.3.1. Ethnic Minorities Policy**

Until the 1980s official activities towards foreigners only consisted of work and residency permissions and organisation of basic needs (Demant et al., 2007). No one needed immigration and integration policy. Zimmermann (2005) claims that due to oil crisis and declining economics by the end of 1970s, encouraging immigration policy changed into restrictive one including quotas on number of foreign workers. The government halted labour recruitment in 1974 due to high unemployment and a regulation was issued: work placement can only be given to a non-EU worker if there is no suitable native alternative. Although an outflow of foreigners seems natural, their numbers were further increasing despite quotas for immigrants and financial contribution to those returning back home (Wegs and Ladrech, 2002). After labour recruitment programmes ended, family unification became the main source of legal immigrants (Doomernik et al., 1997).

#### **Ethnic Minorities Policy**

The policy introduced at the beginning of 1980s considered immigrants a part of immigrants communities, not as individuals. In this Dutch approach was different from other European countries and strived to actively integrate immigrants into the majority society. Alongside with integration of minorities, which was the goal of the policy, the government supported development of their original cultures and identities (Jirková, 2006). According to Joppke and Morawska (2003), the foundation of this policy layed in emancipation and enforcing equal opportunities of immigrants to overcome social and economic deprivation. To support equality, the government introduced the Equal Treatment Act that was against discrimination of any kind (<http://www.errc.org/article/the-dutch-equal-treatment-act-in-theory-and-practice/1400>).

The Policy brought voting rights for immigrants legally residing in the country for at

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<sup>5</sup> “pillarisation” gives foundation to acceptance of separate identities and equality of people regardless of their personal beliefs, orientation or national identity. Despite its collapse the system still influences immigration and integration policies, especially the approach towards immigrants (Hagendoorn and Sniderman, 2009).

least 5 years and permitted immigrants to establish their own schools financed by the Dutch government. However majority of immigrants' schools were built in socially disadvantaged areas draining the country's resources and more importantly – teachers there often have neither qualifications for educational activities nor good command of Dutch language or suitable textbooks and do not pass on values and principles of the host country, but preach the rules and values from their home countries, which negatively impacts children's integration.

Despite being pointed out as an example of a successful integration policy, by the end of 1980s the seemingly functional Policy was disapproved (Jirková, 2006). One of the main flaws was that while it strived to integrate immigrants into the society there was almost no effort required by the foreigners. Moreover, the idea of multiculturalism encouraged immigrants to preserve and develop their ethnical and cultural heritage without considering the negative impact this could have on co-living with the majority society.

#### **4.3.2. Transitions to Policy of integration of immigrants**

The immigrants situation at the beginning of 1990s was further disturbed by the statement of Bolkestein who came with a revolutionary claim about islam being a threat to the democracy and the main barrier for integration of muslim immigrants (Penninx, 2005). Moreover the situation was weighed further by increasing numbers of asylum seekers, partially due to the shift of immigrants flow from neighbouring Germany that toughened their policy. With higher number of asylum seekers there were more rejected applicants turning into illegal residents, as there was no adequate mechanisms to expel them. Lastly, the growing numbers of foreigners was also caused by high birth rate among immigrants (Joppke and Morawska, 2003).

#### **Policy of integration of immigrants**

The change of the government was followed by a turn in immigration and integration policies. According to Bodemann&Yurdakul (2006) the new government turned its focus towards supporting complex integration of immigrants instead of overly respecting cultural differences of minorities. The new direction of migration policy and the Law of integration of immigrants were introduced in 1994 and stress that foreigners should *actively* participate in integration. Among the main goals was supporting social and economic participation of immigrants, providing assistance in education, job

seeking and other fields while ensuring mutual acceptance. The Netherlands became the first country to implement a policy of such kind and measure.

*Integration courses* were created to improve knowledge of language and the Dutch society, which were seen as main barriers to integration. Courses financed by the government were obligatory. Every foreigner had to sign up for an interview at the municipal office where it was decided if he had to undergo the integration courses (Baršová and Barša, 2005). Afterwards, participants had to pass a language and social orientation exam. According to Bodemann&Yurdakul (2006), after application of the new law foreigners' education and position on the labour market improved. Kabela (2002) says that the biggest problem was that high numbers of participants did not finish the course or did not pass the exams, making them not ready for integration.

#### **4.3.3. Asylum policy**

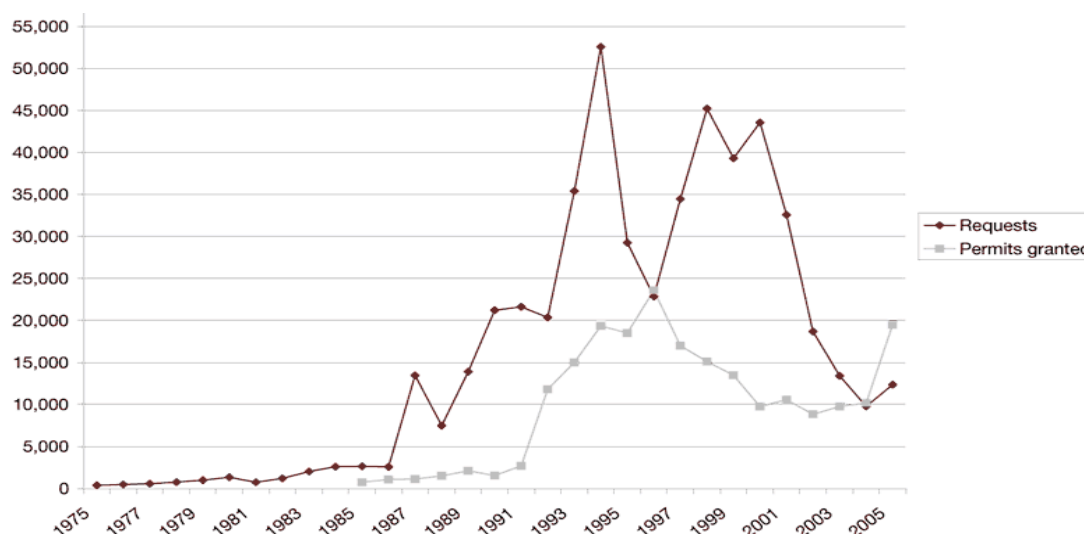
During 1990s the Netherlands received growing numbers of asylum applications. Due to the country's experience with the WW2 the refugees met understanding and sympathy. However later, the citizens realised that not everyone seeking asylum was facing persecution at home and many were economic migrants. The Dutch government responded by toughening conditions for legal residency of refugees. The stern Dutch asylum policy therefore resulted from increasing number of asylum seekers during 1980s and 1990s (Van Selm, 2005).

According to van Liempt (2007) originally "asylum seekers were sheltered in independent housing and were entitled to social benefits", however due to huge numbers of refugees, there was shortage of both housing and finances. In 1987 the Regulation on Reception of Asylum Seekers was established to lower costs of refugee support – they were put into central housing and only received money for necessities. Nonetheless even this measure proved to be insufficient, leading to introduction of the New Regulation and Reception Model in 1992 requiring asylum applications to be submitted in investing centres and permission to enter the country is decided at the spot. "If the application does not fulfil specific criteria, the refugee is held in these centres to await deportation home." (Meyers, 2004)

The numbers kept growing however and the government decided to prevent refugees from seeking support altogether. Conditional Temporary Residence Status was established in 1994 and was granted only citizens from warzones that could not be sent back. Among other restrictions of this residence status was "no access to the labour

market” (Meyers, 2004). Soon afterwards the Dublin convention was put in action and the number of asylum applicants finally started decreasing.

**Figure 19: Number of asylum applications vs. granted refugee permissions**



Source: Focus-Migration: The Netherlands

However, after 1996 asylum applications started rising again and another toughening laws had to be put in place. According to Main (2006) this led to the new Aliens Act (2000) replacing the one from 1965. The change included speeding up and specifying criteria for application evaluation, which resulted in lowering the number of asylum applications in the years to follow, as shows Figure 19. Another difference was that state supported accommodation, food and health care was provided to a declined applicant only for four weeks during which he is expected to leave the Netherlands. There is however no proof that rejected asylum seekers actually return to their homeland ([https://www.hrw.org/report/2003/04/08/fleeting-refuge/triumph-efficiency-over-protection-dutch-asylum-policy#page\\_](https://www.hrw.org/report/2003/04/08/fleeting-refuge/triumph-efficiency-over-protection-dutch-asylum-policy#page_)).

#### **4.4. Development of the last decades**

The terroristic attack September 11, 2001 brought up questions of national security among the Dutch citizens. According to Bodemann and Yurdakul (2006) fear for safety led to attacks against muslim community. The situation was more intense partially because islam became the second greatest religion in the country. The Dutch started calling upon a radical change in the approach towards immigrants.

#### **4.4.1. Pim Fortuyn**

According to Baukje and Schürová (2005) Fortuyn, until then known as an author of anti-immigration and anti-muslim articles made a debut in politics based on criticism of immigration and integration policies. Like his predecessors Bolkenstein and Scheffer he emphasised the threat islam poses to democracy and that in a few years muslims will become majority population of Dutch cities. As a solution he suggested closing borders to muslims. In order to reopen them the ones in the country would have to integrate well first (Baukje and Schürová, 2005). He remarked that the policy was not aimed against immigrants in general, but its goal was cultural assimilation of minorities and their adherence to the traditional liberal customs. In support of that Fortuyn declared his willingness to grant residency permits to all declined asylum applicants and even to illegal immigrants if they can speak Dutch fluently (Vogel, 2008). However, he did say that the country was overflowed with immigrants and his policy aimed to stabilize the situation again. Fortuyn's never accomplished his plan, as he had been murdered just a few days before the elections. Nonetheless his appearances left its mark on the political scene and provoked fierce discussions, which had a great impact on immigration policies in the Netherlands.

#### **4.4.2. Integration Policy New Style**

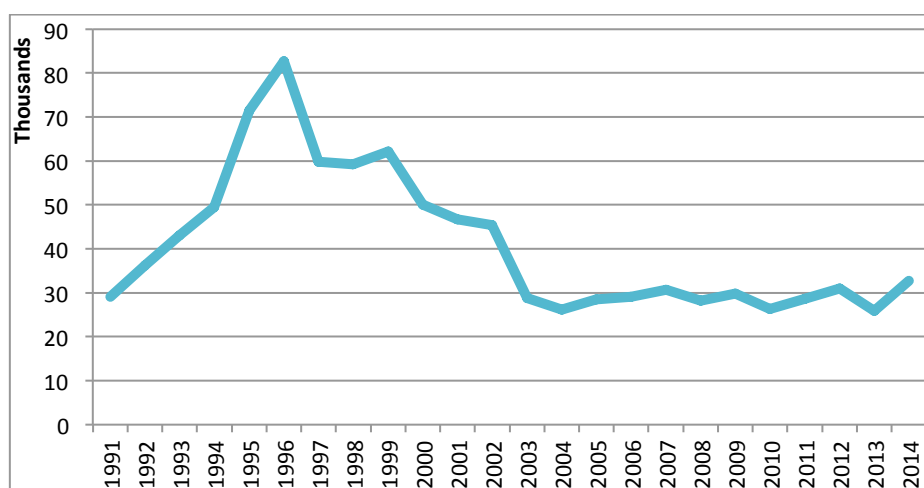
A new government was established in 2003 and toughened immigration policy with stress on thorough integration. According to Habán (2003) the policies aimed to improve integration of entire communities. It created stricter conditions for family unification – asylum policy became sterner and asylum applications more complicated and expensive. It promoted improving efficiency in refusal of asylum seekers with stress on improvement of living conditions in their homelands and reinforced immigration control. Regarding integration immigrants were believed to be responsible for the inefficient and slow process and should be more active. Therefore since 2007 integration courses were no longer free and it became immigrants' duty to seek and register for them, pay the course fee and pass the final exam within the first five years of residency in the country.



## 4.5. Naturalisation rules

Since 1953 the Netherlands enforces the *jus soli* principle automatically granting Dutch citizenship to all children born within borders of the country whose parents were also born there. Since 1984 this was extended onto children born in the country with parents born abroad. Prior to 2003 a foreigner applying for citizenship only had to have a clean criminal record and pass an oral Dutch exam. Naturalization was assumed to be essential for the integration process hence the low requirements. In 1980s and 1990s many campaigns were encouraging foreigners to apply for citizenship. However an important change arrived in 1992 with approval of dual citizenship that caused naturalisation rate to skyrocket. As shown in Figure 20 naturalisation peaked in 1996 with 82,690 citizenships obtained; the next year the number dropped significantly due to reinstalling one citizenship and since then returned to the pre 1990s levels.

Figure 20: Naturalisation rate in the Netherlands



Source: Eurostat

# CONCLUSION

For a long time Germany has been rejecting the status of immigration country and its legal system only regulated the immigration neglecting integration, which includes very complicated naturalisation system. Once the country admitted being a country of immigration, the policies turned out extremely naturalisation friendly expecting automatic application of the multicultural concept, which did not happen as large number of immigrants did not adopt the German culture or integrate.

Judging the course of the Dutch immigration and integration policy it appears more affected by actions of individuals (mainly Muslims) rather than by the overall presence of immigrants. Muslims were from the beginning considered problematic in terms of their impact on the society due to huge differences in social and cultural life.

Italy on the other hand only dealt with emigration for a long time. However since it transformed into a receiving country in 1990s, the country has been extremely harsh towards foreigners while struggling to secure their vast borders from illegal immigrants and fighting deep rooted organised crime.

All three countries have a lot in common as well as many differences. Firstly, Germany and Italy has been more of emigration countries in the past with no colonial history, while the Netherlands has been accepting immigrants for decades – even treated them with immense respect and support of their cultural heritage. Italy has never been fond of immigrants and since establishment of the first immigration policy has been trying to reduce their numbers. Also, Germany and the Netherlands had been recruiting foreign labourers and only stopped after the oil crisis and resulting economic crisis and Italy only started receiving immigrants after the break of political and economic instability in certain regions, but more importantly after western immigration countries closed their borders. The differences and similarities also apply to immigration policies: the Netherlands has always been understanding to differences of every kind and was generous to immigrants. Moreover, the country struggles with low birth rate and high mortality, so foreigners were valued as population growth source. Soon after, however, the word spread and vision of the inviting country attracted such high numbers of immigrants that the situation got out of controls and national resources for their support were falling short fast. The downside to growing community of immigrants was that the prospects showed that majority of Dutch population would soon be immigrants, particularly muslims. Germany struggles with the threats of islam too – via labour recruitment the country used to invite large numbers of workers and after restriction of

labour immigration both countries were flooded by family unification and asylum applications (many of them muslims) to the extent that both nations started restricting asylum so that only victims from warzones or facing persecutions were accepted and the situation only stabilized after establishment of the Dublin convention in 1997. Italy, on contrary never had this problem, mainly because the country became a receiving country much later, but also due to its harsh treatment of all immigrants. The country that is under immigration pressure from east and south set up regulations among immigrants that have been repeatedly criticised by the EU and even accused from violating human rights. All three countries have integration policies and courses, however timing of their application, conditions and also interest in these courses differ in each country. While Germany offers free consultations, the paid Dutch ones met with half-hearted approach and in Italy they became so popular that demand exceeds supply.

However the author thinks there is certain efficiency in the way Italy sets up its conditions for immigration and integration. While Germany, but particularly the Netherlands used to be highly considerate towards immigrants, granting them various rights and cultural support, in Italy immigrants have no such thing. Conditions for immigrants in Italy are extremely harsh with many of illegal immigrants hiding from the civilisation and health care afraid that they will be caught and deported. This as the author sees it can result in gratitude if the immigrants get a chance to integrate and gain legal residency that results in the better life they left their countries for in the first place. On the other hand, in overly caring or forgiving countries some immigrants do not seem to have “respect” for the local laws and traditions, which shows in low or no interest in integration despite having all the resources in each of the countries in question and also criminality that in author’s opinion stems from lack of strict penalties for immigrants’ negative behaviour. Also a big issue seems to be cultural identity of various groups in Germany and other major host countries. It calls upon social and cultural heritage, history, language and religion, needless to say that all European constitution guarantee freedom of religion which is often the main collision course especially with muslim religion that refuse this identity.

In relation to what is now called an “immigration crisis” this topic is extremely heated up and with the mass influx of refugees politics are struggling to find the thin line between humanity and protection of their own nation. Islam vs. democracy is discussed more than ever before and many experts have been calling for immigration approach similar to the Italian one, when the host country leaves the decision to integrate on

immigrants and expels those showing no interest in working for their inclusion into the host society.

Despite the fact that Europe needs immigrants to make up for the low birth rate resulting in low number of active population the author believes that, “a guest should comply to the rules of a host and should not be welcome if it is not so”. Long gone are the times of labour recruitment and the policies should adjust to the fact that Europe is a desired destination and nations can be a little more picky in who they let in their country. While respecting international agreement the author suggests stern integration requirements and restrictive measures towards immigrants that will make life and opportunities in the EU more valuable in the eyes of foreigners while providing all necessary support for integration should be the next step, as it seems like liberal ways have failed in the past, present and will likely have the same result in the years to come.

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