



The evaluation of integration policies across the OECD: a review

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INTRODUCTION

This report contains an overview of the evaluations of civic integration and integration instruments¹ that have been carried out in the OECD countries, to be used in the context of the evaluation of Flemish policies. Those evaluations are assessed in function of three main questions:

1. *Which integration instruments are evaluated?* We identify of the main features of the instruments that have been evaluated and compare them with the features of the instruments described in the existing inventories of best practices that have been compiled by the international literature.
2. *How are integration instruments evaluated?* This question refers primarily to the way in which evaluations are organized in terms of, among other, evaluation criteria, evaluation types (ex ante, ex post) and evaluation infrastructure.
3. *What are the results of integration instruments?* Here, we identify successful practices. In other words, we look at what works where and under which conditions.

The need to ask the questions above stems from a threefold gap in European integration policies' practice and research:

1. **There is no scientific or policy overview of existing evaluations of integration instruments.** In spite of the existence of a burgeoning literature on integration and integration policies, the scientific literature has paid so far little attention to the evaluation of concrete policy instruments, concentrating instead on the philosophy behind those policies (Goodman, 2010, 2011, 2012; Joppke, 2007). At the policy level, successful practices have been collected by several instances (European Commission. DG Home, 2011; Niessen & Huddleston, 2010; Niessen & Schibel, 2004, 2007). However, the existing inventories do not provide us with clear insights in the evaluation of policies. On the one hand, some studies focus on describing and comparing different policy models (*Integration systems compared 2010*, 2010; IOM, 2010a). On the other hand, those studies identifying successful practices (European Commission. DG Home, 2011) do not define what

¹ We define policy instruments as "techniques of governance that, one way or another, involve the utilization of state authority or its conscious limitation" (Howlett, 2005, p. 31) (i.e. policy interventions). Conversely, we conceive of the term "policy" as a generic term to designate governmental action in a given field. Here, we refer indistinctly to "instruments" and "policy instruments".

a successful policy is and which methodology is used to define whether a policy qualifies as a best or successful practice.

2. **The evaluation of civic integration and integration policies is a priority in the European context.** The importance of evaluation and evidence-based policy-making has been underlined several times by the EU institutions² as a key element to identify and transfer successful policy practice in the domain of integration.
3. **Increasing importance of evidence-based policy making in Flanders.** Evaluation has acquired importance in Flemish policy circles during the past years due to the fact that efficiency and effectiveness of integration policies have become the axis around which policy reform takes place. There is, however, no official definition of efficiency and effectiveness, what makes it necessary to look for inspiration abroad as to how to define and measure those criteria. Moreover, in the context of the current reform of the Flemish integration sector it becomes necessary to look at the lessons drawn abroad on the basis of concrete evidence.

Defining the scope of a review of integration policy instruments is by no means a straightforward task. In spite of the fact that integration policies have a strong international component (they focus on foreign nationals or on own nationals with a foreign background) and in spite of the fact that several inter- and transnational cooperation networks have been established, both at European and world scale³, integration policies are strongly influenced by national contexts, and there is no uniform terminology to designate them⁴. Therefore, we designed a methodological strategy inspired by Schibel, Fazel, Robb, & Garner's (2002) systematic review methodology in which we do not select evaluations on the basis of the policies' name but on the basis of the instruments' characteristics and their evaluative character. The strategy was composed of four steps: (1) an initial exploration of the different types of integration policy instruments, (2) the definition of strict criteria to incorporate evaluation studies to the review, (3) the definition of a search strategy for evaluation studies along the criteria and (4) the categorization and coding of the selected studies. The methodology resulted in the elaboration of a database with 47 entries, each of which summarizes an evaluation of a policy instrument. The database entries respond to the following criteria:

2 See for instance the Common Basic Principles on Integration: http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82745.pdf

3 See for instance the Intergovernmental Consultations on migration and integration (IGC).

4 In Canada, integration policies are referred to as "settlement and integration". In Flanders, they receive the label "integration" or "civic integration", whereas in France they are labeled "reception and integration".

1. Studies assessing integration policies in **the OECD countries**.
2. **The target group of the policy under study**. We only looked at those studies explicitly aiming at the integration of those persons of either foreign nationality or foreign origins who have recently arrived to OECD countries.
3. **Evaluative character**. The selected studies assessed the quality of policies, whether implicitly or explicitly, along several possible criteria: effectiveness, effectiveness, adequacy, relevance, etc.
4. **Language**. We only consulted those documents available in English, Dutch, Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese. When available, we used English summaries of documents drafted in other languages.

The remainder of this paper tackles the three questions posed above and the methodology used to answer them. The five chapters may be read separately depending.

1. Chapter One develops the methodological approach along which the research questions were answered. It sheds some light on the four steps that were followed and on the elaboration of the database. It provides insights on the concept "systematic review", which inspired our methodological strategy. This chapter is of interest to both academic and policy audience.
2. Chapter Two deals with the first research question: Which integration policies are evaluated? In doing so, it looks at the specific features of the database entries: do they refer to local or national policies? Which type of instruments do they deal with? What is the target group? The chapter compares the characteristics of the instruments described in the existing inventories of best practices in the domain of integration (cf. supra) and the characteristics of the evaluations collected for this review. It contains relevant information for evaluation practitioners both at the policy and academic level.
3. Chapter Three answers the second research question: how are integration instruments evaluated? This chapter discusses the type of publications containing evaluations, their infrastructure, the timing of the evaluations, the criteria they use in order to assess the policies, the way in which they measure integration and the methodology they use. In other words, the chapter deals with the *form* of the evaluations (the way in which evaluation studies define a successful policy. For instance: are integration policies successful when they improve newcomers'

chances of employment?). As the previous chapter, it is relevant for policy and academic evaluators.

4. Chapter Four focuses on the third research question (What are the results of evaluation policies?). Drawing on the entries of the database, it includes information about successful policy instruments. It looks at the instruments' modalities and their results. In other words, it addresses the *contents* of the evaluations (i.e. the way in which the policy instrument works). This chapter, which has a more pragmatic focus than the previous two, is particularly useful for policy makers looking for evidence on which approaches towards integration are successful .
5. The conclusion has two main functions. First, it bundles the policy lessons identified throughout the preceding chapters. This part is relevant to both researchers and the policy field. Second, it provides some reflections about Flemish civic integration policies on the basis of those lessons. These recommendations, written in Dutch, are mainly of interest to Flemish policy practitioners in the field of civic integration.

1. METHODOLOGY

The review was constructed following a fourfold methodological strategy consisting of a first exploration of integration policy instruments, the definition of the review's scope, the search and selection of sources within that scope and the categorization and assessment of those sources. The outcome of the process was a database containing 47 entries (the database can be consulted in Annex 1).

There is a crucial difference between the first and the second to fourth components of the strategy. The first step consisted of a non-exhaustive exploration of integration policies with the main aim of contextualizing the review. In other words, we did not aim at making an inventory of *all* integration and civic integration instruments, but rather at offering an illustration of the existing variety. That first step allowed us to situate those evaluations in the broader framework of the existing inventories of evaluations policies (cf. Chapter 2 on the types of instruments being evaluated). By contrast, the second to fourth phases aimed at providing a more exhaustive overview of the evaluations of those

policies. In this sense, the “core” or added value of the review is not the first step as such but rather the analysis of the evaluations.

1.1 Step 1: overview of integration policies

The illustrative overview had as main objective to contextualize the research by providing the researchers with some information on what integration policies are and how they are generally organized. It was conducted in a non-systematic way by consulting several existing inventories of integration policies. Up to date, international instances such as the European Union, the OECD and the International Organization for Migration (European Commission. DG Home, 2011; ICMPD, 2005; IOM, 2010a; Niessen & Huddleston, 2010; Niessen & Schibel, 2004, 2007; OECD, 2007, 2008, 2012), along with some national administrations (*Integration systems compared 2010*, 2010) and researchers (Goodman, 2010; Johnson et al., n.d.; Niessen & Huddleston, 2009; Rinne, 2012) have produced extensive compilations of integration policies carried out at the national and local scales. In order to delimit the range of policies to be taken into account, we made use of two criteria:

1. The definition of integration in EU policy documents. In spite of the variety of definitions at the national level, some common ground on the definition of integration has emerged at the EU level: the Common Basic Principles state that “integration is a *dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation* by all immigrants and residents of Member States”. That mutual accommodation may take place in several domains, such as housing, health, education, employment, community development, or political participation. Those policies need not be called integration as such⁵.
2. The policies’ target group. The identification of the target group of integration policies is at first sight fraught with the same type of problems as the definition of integration: different countries apply instruments to different groups of persons. Moreover, at the Flemish level it is difficult to define the target group of integration policies, as the policy’s goals state that integration policies are in principle focused on Flemish society as a whole⁶, and in particular on some “special target groups” (travelers and “new Flemings”), as well as undocumented migrants

5 For instance, in the Australian and Canadian terminology they are called settlement policies.

6 This reflects the conception of integration as a two-way process in which the host society learns to live in diversity and cope with the consequences of increasing migration.

3. In order to narrow down the definition, we take as a basis the smallest common denominator of OECD countries' integration policies: they are often linked to the phenomenon of immigration, whichever definition of immigrant they provide. In this context, we establish one necessary condition for the studies to be included in the review: they should **explicitly** aim at the integration of those persons of either foreign nationality of adult foreign origins who reside in the country applying the policy under any type of scheme (refugees and asylum-seekers, family migrants, labor migrants), or who have received the authorization to establish themselves in that country. They need not be the only target group: other groups such as second-generation immigrants or travelers may also be involved in the policies, as well as the receiving society (e.g. mentoring schemes). The crucial condition is that their explicit objective is to facilitate the integration of the newcomers.
4. This criterion excludes several policies: mainstream policies such as active labor market interventions, diversity-related policies targeting society as a whole, and information campaigns related to anti-discrimination. Even though those policies may be regarded as having integration as their main focus, they are not explicitly aimed at the newcomers themselves. In other words, the "participants" or "clients" are not only newcomers but society in general.

1.2 Steps 2-4: review of evaluations of integration policies

The second to fourth phases of the review process were loosely inspired by Schibel et al.(2002), who conducted a feasibility study for a systematic review within the field of refugee integration policies in the United Kingdom. A systematic review is defined as "a review of a clearly formulated question that uses systematic and explicit methods to identify, select and critically appraise relevant research, and to collect and analyze data from the studies that are included in the review". In other words, the systematic review applies the scientific method to literature studies in order to obtain solid evidence about the effects of certain interventions. Systematic reviews are often conducted within the medical discipline to evaluate the effectiveness of certain measures and are used to contribute to evidence-based policy-making⁷. The studies assessed are mostly quantitative studies. Petrosino et al (2001, in Van der Knaap, Leeuw, Bogaerts, & Nijssen, 2008, pp. 51–52) set out five steps to conduct a systematic review: the formulation of research questions, the determination of exclusion and inclusion criteria,

⁷ For an example see the Campbell Collaboration, which publishes systematic reviews on crime and justice, education and social welfare (<http://www.campbellcollaboration.org/>). Schibel et al's study was based on the Cochrane Collaboration, which focuses on healthcare interventions.

the (documented) search for potential studies, the screening of studies for eligibility and the analysis⁸ and presentation of the selected studies. In order to conduct the analysis of the studies, van der Knaap et al (2008) use the Maryland Scientific Methods Scale. The scale "enables researchers to draw conclusions on methodological quality of outcome evaluations in terms of the internal validity". In other words, the scale tells us which weights to assign to the findings of each study in order to come to conclusions about the results of a certain policy intervention. The scale only contemplates quantitative methods. It assigns the lowest score (level 1) to studies assessing the correlation between a policy and an outcome indicator, and the highest score (level 5) to evaluations based on experimental designs with units randomly assigned to experimental and control conditions. This implies, for instance, that a study showing that there is a correlation between language courses and employment would enjoy less validity than a study showing no influence of language courses on employment on the basis of an experiment.

Conducting a full-fledged systematic review for integration policies in the framework of this research does not seem either possible nor desirable. First, the available studies hardly fill the requirements of a systematic review, as most research does not include quantitative analysis. Hence, using the Maryland scale becomes impossible. Schibel et al's study investigated to which extent systematic reviews of refugee integration policies could be conducted; and outlined options for developing an evidence base for such policies in the UK. It noted several obstacles to conducting systematic reviews in the integration field, such as the lack of large-scale longitudinal cohort studies, the difficulty to access materials and the few studies meeting the inclusion criteria. Second, given the strict criteria for the selection of eligible studies to be analyzed, a systematic review would only serve one of the purposes of our research (knowing what works and what does not), and leave out the exploration of the variety of existing evaluations.

Hence, we decided to relax the methodological requirements of the systematic review and adopt a few of its tenets in order to provide a structured review of the evaluations. First, we built the review in function of clear research questions (cf. supra). Second, we formulated exclusion criteria. Third, we documented the search for materials. Fourth, we systematized the selected document along a coding scheme and constructed an own scale to weigh the findings of the evaluations. The strategy is explained in detail below.

⁸ In order to determine the methodological quality of studies existing scales are used in which experimental designs obtain the maximum score and correlation the minimum.

1.2.1 Step 2: Inclusion criteria

In the second step we established the parameters or inclusion criteria that the evaluations of the integration instruments identified in step 1 should fulfill to be included in the database. Those criteria, defined on the basis of a review of the evaluation literature in function of integration policies⁹ (Gonzalez Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013) were the extent to which the studies address integration policies in the OECD countries, the target group of the policy being studied, the policy domain to which the intervention belongs, the evaluative character of the study and its language.

1. **Integration policies in the OECD countries.** We included only those studies addressing integration policies as defined in the first step. It should be noted that the study covers all OECD countries, and the non-EU OECD Member states¹⁰ (Australia, Canada, Chile, Iceland, Israel, Japan, Korea, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, New Zealand, Mexico, Turkey, United States) have not endorsed that definition as such in their legislative or policy documents, as they do not belong to the EU. There is, however, no definition of integration adopted at the level of the OECD¹¹.
2. **Evaluative character.** As we are attempting to provide an evidence basis for policy-making, with a focus on best practices that can inspire Flemish policy practice-, all the studies being reviewed were related to the evaluation of policies. We interpret evaluation in this context as "the systematic application of social research procedures in assessing the conceptualization and design, implementation, and utility of social intervention programs" (Rossi & Friedman). In other words, the objective of evaluations is to assess whether a policy has worked or not along certain criteria. Those criteria may be defined either explicitly or implicitly by the evaluators. Plenty of evaluation criteria have been developed by several international and national instances¹².
3. In this context, we established a number of criteria that evaluation studies should fulfill in order to be selected for the review. For our review, the above meant

9 The review is part of a proposal for a new evaluation framework for Flemish integration policies.

10 It should be noted that Chile, Mexico and Turkey do not implement any integration policies directed at migrants at a national scale.

11 A series of OECD publications (OECD, 2007, 2008, 2012) focuses on labor market integration (i.e. whether new immigrants have a job or not).

12 For an overview of evaluation criteria in general see Fournier (2005), Rossi, Lipsey, & Freeman (2004), Shaw, Greene, & Mark (2006) and Swanborn (1999). For an overview of the evaluation criteria within the policy field of integration see Gonzalez Garibay & De Cuyper (2013).

concretely that the selected evaluations had to include at least one of the following criteria:

4. **Effectiveness** is the extent to which policy outputs, i.e. the direct results of a policy (such as the number of language courses being followed), lead to certain outcomes, i.e. behavioral change in the target population.
5. **Efficiency** is the ration between the outcomes of the policy (the behavioral change) and the inputs required to produce that action, or the means invested in the policy (money, human resources, etc).
6. **Relevance** is the extent to which policy goals meet policy needs. In other words, are integration policies responding to the specific needs of the newcomers and/or the receiving society?
7. **Coherence** is the internal cohesion of a policy initiative within a certain policy field.
8. **Consistency** is the extent to which the goals of integration and civic integration policies fit within over-arching policy goals and goals of other policy domains.
9. **Outputs or evaluation criteria.** The selected studies had to fulfill at least one of two conditions: they had to provide a thorough description of the policy's results, either in terms of outputs or outcomes, or they had to assess at least one of the criteria listed above. This did not imply, however, that the studies should explicitly label their criteria as "efficiency", "effectiveness", etc.
10. **Language.** Given the fact that evaluations of integration policies are in the first place produced for domestic audiences (for instance within the framework of parliamentary accountability), they also tend to be in the domestic language. In this sense, even though evaluations from all OECD member states were under consideration, we only consulted those documents available in English, Dutch, Spanish, French, Italian and Portuguese. When available, we used the English summaries of some studies (this was the case of Danish, Norwegian and German evaluations). This implies that some potentially relevant studies (for instance from Finland) were excluded from the review, and that those findings based on summaries may be somewhat incomplete¹³. The next update of the review will attempt to obtain information in English about the missing documents directly from the instances conducting the evaluation.

13 The studies were nevertheless inventoried.

1.2.2 Step 3: Search strategy

In the third step, a search strategy for evaluation studies was produced. The strategy involved two phases:

1. **Identification of a first pool of potential materials.** We scanned existing compilations of best practices produced by multilateral organizations and researchers: OECD, EU and IOM (European Commission. DG Home, 2011; IOM, 2010a; Niessen & Huddleston, 2010; Niessen & Schibel, 2004, 2007; Rinne, 2012). In addition, we scanned the EU website on integration for potentially relevant documents. From the compilations and the website, we extracted the documents fulfilling the inclusion criteria. Most of those documents were policy evaluations commanded by governments and conducted either by public instances or by universities and consulting firms.
2. **Identification of evaluations within the scientific literature.** Based on the terminology used by the studies selected in the first step, we looked for complementary evidence from the scientific literature in different databases (Google Scholar, EBSCOHost). We used different combinations of the terms "integration", "civic integration", "evaluations", "immigrants".

1.2.3 Step 4: Categorization and coding

In a fourth step, the instruments were categorized and coded on the basis of a number of criteria: the types of instrument involved, its target group, the criteria used to carry out the evaluation, the results of the evaluation and their methodological strategy¹⁴. In order to define the weight that the analysis of the results should give to a certain study, we constructed a scale that took into account the methods, quantitative and qualitative, mentioned by the database entries:

1. Qualitative methods. This category comprises those studies conducted by means of interviews (target group or experts), document analysis, literature studies and focus groups.
2. Descriptive data analysis. Studies receiving label "2" draw on descriptive data analysis, combined with qualitative methods. The descriptive data analysis is often based on the outputs (i.e. the number of civic integration contracts signed, the

¹⁴ For the resulting database see Annex 1. Given the fact that some of the studies (see for instance ICMPD, 2005; OECD, 2007) contained more than one case-study, and that sometimes two sources referred to the same study, the number of entries (47) does not equate the number of documents that were used in order to complete the report.

number of courses followed...). For instance, the evaluations of the Dutch civic integration legislation included analyses of the number of persons following the civic integration courses.

3. Descriptive data analysis on the basis of a survey. The third category comprises all those studies that make use of a survey to evaluate the results of a policy. That survey may relate for instance to a course participant's language proficiency (i.e. self-assessment), such as in the case of Germany and Canada.
4. Cross-sectional regressions. Cross-sectional regressions in the context of this review assess the causal relationship between a policy and its results *at a given moment in time*. There is, in other words, a single measurement of the outcomes. The data on which they are based may originate from a survey or administrative registers. Some studies conduct the regression by means of an experimental design.
5. Longitudinal data analysis. Longitudinal data analysis includes techniques such as duration models, in which several measurements of a variable in time occur. We look in other words at the causal relationship between a policy and its outcomes *throughout a certain period*.

The weight given to each database entry in the analysis depends on its score: entries receiving a higher score are given more weight than entries with a low score. This is related to the methodological quality linked to higher scores: whereas the first three categories do not make any assertions about the causal relations between a policy and its effects, the two last use statistical methods to explore that relationship. In other words, they display a higher internal validity (i.e. we can state with some certainty that the causal relationship found by the study is not a random one).

2. WHICH INTEGRATION POLICIES ARE EVALUATED?¹⁵

As the methodological considerations made clear, several inventories of integration practices have been collected to date. Those inventories are characterized by five main features. First, they encompass policy instruments and policy programs (i.e. combinations of different instruments) adopted at both the national and the local level, although the local initiatives generally outnumber the national ones. Second, given their frequently local character, they are adapted to the specificities of the context. Third, they cover several topics. Schibel et al. (2002) have classified them according to the functional domain they are related to: health, housing, employment, community development or education. (Johnson et al., n.d.) provides a similar classification. Citizenship and Integration Canada (CIC) has also classified its instruments along the lines of Information and Orientation, Language and Skills Development, Labour Market Participation, Community Connection, needs Assessments and Referrals and Support Services. Fourth, they include examples from most European countries, including the new member states (European Commission. DG Home, 2011). Fifth, even though some of those inventories have been focused on the identification of best practices, none of them focuses specifically on the methodological criteria along which best practices are selected¹⁶.

The studies that fulfilled the requirements set by this review (cf. supra) display different characteristics. First, most of the available evaluations refer not to local initiatives, but to large-scale or nation-wide policies of a comprehensive nature. This the case of the civic integration policies of Germany, the Netherlands (WIN), Belgium (Flanders) and Denmark, which are designed on a national or subnational basis. At the other end of the spectrum a few evaluations were found of specific pilot projects such as the Sesame

¹⁵ Most of the information regarding the modalities of the different instruments, both in this chapter and in chapter 4, were retrieved from the quoted inventories, in particular from either the European Union's Integration website and the national websites to which it refers (<http://ec.europa.eu/ewsi/en/>) or from the Dutch government's 2010 compilation of integration policies (*Integration systems compared 2010*, 2010).

¹⁶ It should be noted, however that the European Modules on Integration, the OECD's studies on immigrants' labor market integration, the IOM-EU LINET Project on Labour Migration (IOM, 2010a) and an ICMPD study from 2005 (ICMPD, 2005) pay attention to evaluation, albeit not as their main focus. The European Modules tracks down the existing evidence for the success of the policies it collects (but it does not focus on the way in which that evidence was obtained). The OECD studies provide some information on the (existence of) evaluations of the integration policies they analyze. However, not all policies listed in the overview have been evaluated. The ICMPD studies assess the existence of evaluations in its case countries (Austria, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland) and complements it with own research. The LINET project looks at the question how labor market integration policy measures can be assessed "in order to determine good practices", albeit from an exploratory perspective.

project in Sweden or ICI's Mentoring Program in Ireland, funded by the European Integration Fund¹⁷ and implemented at a smaller scale such as the city of Dublin.

There are two caveats to this affirmation. First, the fact that few evaluations of local programs were found in the framework of this study does not mean that no evaluations are conducted at that level at all, as in the case of the evaluation of local best practices set out by the INTI project. However, those studies often do not reach the international level due to, among others, language issues (see conclusions for suggestions on evaluation-sharing and language issues). Second, the fact that evaluations are carried out at the national level does not always imply that all of the interventions are implemented at the national level by national actors such as public administrations. Some of them, such as the Canadian Host program and the Multiculturalism program, are implemented at the local level by local service providers. The program is nevertheless designed and evaluated at the national level.

Second, most evaluations focus on concrete policy instruments rather than programs as a whole. We define policy instruments¹⁸ in this context as "techniques of governance that, one way or another, involve the utilization of state authority or its conscious limitation" (Howlett, 2005, p. 31). Policy programs, by contrast, are composed of several policy instruments. Even though most of the evaluations analyze policy instruments that belong to specific programs, only five evaluations (Denmark, Flanders, the Netherlands, Germany and Norway) deal with the programs as a whole and their effects. Conversely, the rest of the studies deals with individual instruments within those broader programs, such as language courses or labor market programs. In addition, several of the evaluations analyze other specific instruments that do not necessarily belong to a program. This is the case of mentoring schemes, settlement policies and one-stop shops.

Third, the instruments evaluated by the selected studies can be classified along two different axes: the functional domain to which they belong and the way in which they are organized. Some existing inventories of integration policies (Spencer, Schibel, cf. supra) use a similar classification. Along the functional domain, several main categories can be identified: civic integration programs, language courses in several modalities, including courses attached to social orientation courses and/or labor market training, settlement services, relocation policies, mentoring programs and subsidies' programs directed at communities as a whole. A summary of those instruments is provided in the table below.

17 It should be noted that the European Integration Fund requires the inclusion of evaluation results in its report templates. However, the findings reported in those templates often do not fulfill our methodological criteria.

18 The integration literature often refers to "policy interventions". In this context, we regard both terms as synonymous.

It should be noted, however, that assigning a functional domain to a particular instrument or program may be cumbersome, as instruments often mix domains: language courses often focus on labor market integration, or mentoring schemes may be used for the expansion of professional networks.

Instrument	Countries	Entries
Civic integration instruments	NL (3), DE (2), DK, NOR (2), FR, BE/VL (3)	12
Language instruments	DK (3), AUS, DE, SE, NOR (2), CA	9
Labor market instruments	SE (5), DK (3), IL, FIN, PT	11
Support services	AUS, PT(4), PT-GR-IT-SP-IE-DE	6
Mentoring	IE, DK, CA, UK	4
Settlement and dispersal instruments	DK(2), SE	3
Pre-departure orientation	AUS, CA	2
Total		47

Table 1. Overview of evaluated instruments

As it can be seen from the table above the bulk of the studies that met the requirements focused on either language courses or labor market measures, which are often part of the civic integration policies that emerged across Central and Northern Europe throughout the 2000s¹⁹. Fewer evaluations were found for civic integration policies, mentoring schemes, one-stop shops, settlement policies and pre-departure programs.

Fourth, the concrete implementation modalities of each of the evaluated instruments display a large variation as well. Some of the courses are compulsory, whereas for other courses participation remains voluntary. Similarly, the cost of the course is in some cases covered by the state and in others by the immigrants themselves. Implementing agencies can be governmental or non-governmental (i.e. non-profit sector). Some examples are provided in the table below.

¹⁹ Canada, where several types of programs with regard to immigrant evaluation have been evaluated, constitutes an exception. For an overview see <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/index.asp>

Criterion	Modalities and examples	
Compulsory nature	Compulsory FR, VL, DK, DE, AT	Not compulsory SE, AUS
Fees	No fees FL, DK	Fees NL, AT
Implementing agency	Governmental PT, FR, DK, SE, NOR	Non-governmental UK, IE, AUS, CA
Implementation level	National/regional SE, AUS	Local DK

Table 2. Implementation modalities of the evaluated instruments

It should be noted that the different modalities in which the instruments are implemented are likely to have different effects on the policies' results. For instance, a voluntary program for which newcomers have to pay themselves is likely to have different participation rates than a voluntary subsidized program. The evaluations we found included, however, no comparisons of the different program's modalities. Therefore, we do not elaborate further on their comparison across countries.

Fifth, it is difficult to categorize the target group of integration policies due to the fact that different countries use different classifications. For instance, most European countries target "newcomers" in their civic integration policies. Newcomers means in the practice third country nationals who have been granted residence in the host country or who are seeking permanent residence, often on the basis of family reunification, and separate them from refugees, EU-citizens and sometimes (as in the case of Denmark) from labor migrants who are in the country for the purposes of employment, or temporary migrants who reside in a country in the framework of the study (as in the case of Flanders). Other countries identify categories such as "skilled migrants" (Australia, Canada), who are selected to emigrate on the basis of certain criteria, such as labor market needs in the host country, education and language proficiency. Canada divides the category "labor migrants" in several categories: business migrants, federal skilled workers, business immigrants, provincial nominees, live-in caregivers ... Other countries define their target groups on a national-ethnic basis (Ethnic German Repatriates, Jewish immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Germany, see OECD, 2007, p. 204) or on a socio-economic or professional basis (spiritual counselors in the Netherlands and Flanders, persons with specific integration needs such as parents of adolescents of young children, and those receiving social benefits in Germany).

Here, it should also be noted that the target group of integration policies has been and is subjected to strong evolutions. The recent incorporation of new member states to the European Union (Romania, Bulgaria) and the subsequent migration from those countries

has shed some light on intra-European migration. In this sense, the Danish example is illustrative: labor migrants and their spouses have become the target group of language policies, and the Danish government has suggested to include all newcomers, including EU-citizens, in the target group of integration policies²⁰.

The specificity of most instruments regarding the context in which they are applied and their target group make it difficult, if not impossible, to compare the policies' results across countries.

For instance, most policies in Australia are directed to humanitarian entrants, whether refugees or asylum seekers (Australia is one of the countries receiving the most resettled refugees). This group differs a lot from the integration policies' target groups in Western Europe, who are mostly family migrants: as the IOM (2012, p. 52) suggests, "evidence from many countries of destination suggests that humanitarian migrants experience more difficulties in finding employment compared to other categories of migrants". Moreover, national contexts may also affect outcomes: regional unemployment may play a role in determining the ease with which a certain group integrates.

²⁰ See http://www.eukn.org/Denmark/EUKN_dk_english/Dossier/Integration_policy_in_Denmark

3. HOW ARE INTEGRATION POLICIES EVALUATED?

As we have previously stated, policy evaluation assesses the merits of a policy; an evaluation attempts essentially to answer the question whether a policy has been successful according to a certain standard. That aim, as well as the standards for the evaluation (cf. *infra*, evaluation criteria) can be defined either implicitly or explicitly.

In this section we provide an overview of the evaluations that were included in the review and elaborate on their characteristics to answer the question about the *how* of integration policies (i.e. how are integration policies evaluated?). More concretely, we focus on the type of publications that were found, the type of evaluations being conducted, whether they belong to a broader evaluation infrastructure or not, the timing, the use of evaluation criteria, their operationalization of the integration concept and the methodologies being used. Within the methodological discussion, special attention is paid to the way in which the causal relationship between policies and their outcomes is assessed.

3.1 Type of publications

Not all of the selected studies feature the “evaluation” label explicitly, nor were they conducted with the explicit purpose of measuring a policy’s quality. In this sense, we can identify three different types of studies assessing instruments for the integration of newcomers. First, there are evaluations explicitly commanded by governmental instances in order to fulfill functions of accountability and/or policy adjustment. Those evaluations have mostly taken place in those countries that have adopted compulsory civic integration policies (Germany, Austria, the Netherlands, Belgium – Flanders -, Denmark, Norway), and concern national-scale policies. They are conducted either by governmental instances themselves (Canada) or by external consultants or research institutes (Denmark, Australia).

A second category are studies conducted in the framework of large cross-national projects destined at comparing integration policies across countries. Two such projects were identified: the International Centre for Migration Policy Development’s (ICMPD) “Integration Agreements and Voluntary Measures” (INTI) project and the Integration and Naturalisation Tests (INTEC) project, led by the University of Nijmegen²¹. The INTEC project provides an overview of integration policies in five countries – Austria, Germany, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland – and pays special attention to the distinction

²¹ See <http://www.ru.nl/law/cmr/projects/intec/>

between voluntary and compulsory measures. In the overview, information was collected on the policies' results, both by means of existing evaluations and own research. The INTEC project focused on the integration effects of (compulsory) integration and naturalization tests in nine countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Hungary, Latvia, the Netherlands, and the United Kingdom. Contrary to the INTI project, it does not explicitly refer to the evaluation of integration policies.

A third category are scientific articles which attempt to discern the effects of integration courses. Some of those articles are based on the data collected for either evaluations commanded by governments (Clausen, Heinesen, Hummelgaard, Husted, & Rosholm, 2009) or on data obtained through the projects (such as Böcker & Strik 2011 on the basis of INTEC).

3.2 Type of evaluations

Several classifications of evaluations have been formulated by the scientific literature (De Peuter, De Smedt, & Bouckaert, 2007). Here we distinguish three rough types according to Swanborn's (1999) classification: plan evaluations (conducted after policy goals have been established), process-evaluations (which aim at adjusting policies during the implementation phase) and product evaluations, in which the results of the policy are assessed. The same evaluations have been respectively termed *ex ante* evaluations, interim evaluations and *ex-post* evaluations. *Ex-ante* evaluations take place when a policy is being designed; interim evaluations are conducted when a policy is being implemented, and *ex-post* evaluations are carried out when the policy cycle has already been ended, i.e. after the policy implementation phase.

All of the evaluations of integration policies but one (cf. *infra*, European project on one-stop-shop) were *ex-post* evaluations, i.e. they looked at the results of policy programs and instruments that had already been implemented. There were, however, variations in their timing: one of the Danish evaluations was conducted three years after the introduction of the policy (Clausen, Hummelgaard, Husted, Jensen, & Rosholm, 2006a), and a Norwegian one also three years after. The timing seems especially important in the case of evaluations assessing the effectiveness of policies (cf. *infra*): some authors warn about the fact that conducting evaluations in the short term may lead to underestimating the effects of policies, as they often have an impact in the long run. Moreover, the measurement of long-term effects is cumbersome from a methodological perspective.

3.3 Evaluation infrastructure

When looking at the frameworks or “infrastructure” on which the evaluations are based, we can identify a large degree of variation, ranging from strict evaluation frameworks, embedded in large evaluation policies (Canada, Denmark) to ad hoc studies in which evaluation questions are tackled only implicitly²². As it has already been said before, not all of the studies are actually labeled “evaluations” and, hence, they do not always explicitly set out their evaluation criteria. We can identify in this sense two extremes. On the one hand, Canada and Denmark have instituted systems in which policies are evaluated periodically along strict frameworks and criteria. On the other hand, at the other extreme we can locate one-off studies in which no concrete evaluation framework is used, such as Yanasmayan & Foblets (2012) in the framework of the INTEC project. Those studies often refer to the “effects” of social orientation courses without clearly specifying any evaluation objectives. In the midst there are one-off evaluations which are not periodically conducted or embedded in a clear framework, such as the Dutch or the Australian evaluations. Below, we discuss each of the categories.

Both Canada’s and Denmark’s evaluations are part of more general evaluation systems. In the case of Canada, evaluations are implemented by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC²³, cf. infra). The evaluation of the Canadian pre-departure orientation programs is rooted in CIC’s evaluation policy, which is designed to support accountability, decisions on resource allocation, managing for results and policy and program improvements. In addition, the policy provides guidelines to the contents of evaluations, as it defines terms such as efficiency, effectiveness and relevance. In this context, the evaluation of pre-departure orientation programs follows the guidelines proposed by the evaluation policy. After an evaluation has been conducted, CIC responds to each finding of the evaluation. In Denmark, social orientation courses are evaluated along the lines of performance management. Within this approach, a theory of change sets out the exact processes by which policy instruments should lead to a number of pre-established goals. For each of those goals indicators are foreseen. The evaluation of the social orientation courses takes place along those indicators and that model.

22 For an extended description of evaluation frameworks see González Garibay & De Cuyper (Gonzalez Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013).

23 CIC is the agency in charge of integration and immigration policies in Canada. See <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/evaluation/>

The INTI Project

The INTI project described above (ICMPD, 2005) meets characteristics from both the second and the third categories, as it applies different frameworks to its general analysis of countries' integration policies and to the identification of best practices at the local level. On the one hand, it defined several criteria in order to assess best practices, mainly at the local level: effectiveness, efficiency, sustainability (which refers to adaptability, flexibility and funding), innovative project design, perception, involving migrants in the preparation and implementation of the programs, acceptance and image by the general public and experts, repeatability, transferability to another setting and special characteristics. In addition, it acknowledged the role of three types of quality in defining the success of a policy intervention: structural quality (which refers to the available means), process quality (implementation processes) and results quality. However, those criteria were not applied to the analyzed projects themselves. There was some attention devoted to the "methods of evaluation" of each best practice, but in most cases evaluations were informal, or interpreted in terms of results' monitoring. In addition, in some cases the word "evaluation" referred to the evaluation of participants' performance rather than the instruments' performance²⁴.

At the other extreme we can situate studies such as Yanasmayan and Foblets (2012). Even though they evaluate the effects of compulsory vs. non-compulsory civic integration policies in Flanders, their study took place in the framework of a project, and it is of a one-off, ad hoc nature, nor does it formulate an evaluation framework with clear standards.

3.4 Evaluation criteria

The methodological section identified five evaluation criteria: effectiveness, efficiency, relevance, coherence and consistency. The majority of the studies focused on effectiveness, although their definitions of the criterion display large variations. For the Dutch and Flemish studies, effectiveness meant exclusively a description of the policy's outputs (i.e. how many integration courses did immigrants follow? How many of them passed? What was the take-up rate?) as opposed to their outcomes (i.e. the broader influence of the policies on the behavior of newcomers). In other words, they did not look at the causal connection between the policy and the immigrants' integration. Hence, there is little that we can infer from such information with regard to the actual behavioral change produced by a certain policy measure. Conversely, the Danish studies looked at

24 It should be noted that, for most of the Austrian projects, formal evaluations were conducted.

effectiveness, i.e. the causal connection between policies and immigrants' integration in terms of employment. Only a few studies address efficiency (Denmark, Flanders) and relevance/coherence/consistency (Canada).

It should also be noted that there is, in general, a lack of attention for policy processes: as it has been said above, most of the studies devote attention to the policies' results, either in terms of outputs or outcomes. However, only a few (Denmark, Flanders, the Netherlands) explore the actual policy processes by which policies are implemented and outputs produced. Those process analysis display on their turn several differences: whereas Dutch studies focus among how budgets are used, Danish studies look at the role of street-level bureaucracy in bringing about migrant integration. The Flemish evaluations focus on the way in which organizational processes maximize the output of civic integration policies.

3.5 Operationalization of the integration concept

Most of the studies do not say explicitly what they understand as "integration", or how the concept should be translated into measurable features (i.e. operationalized). However, we can make some inferences about the dimension of integration that each study prioritizes (economic, cultural, educational) by looking at the way in which they measure the outcomes of integration policies. For instance, if the outcomes of a language course are measured in terms of the extent to which it helps immigrants to find employment, we may conclude that the study operationalizes integration in terms of labor market integration.

Most of the database entries assessing the outcomes of integration policies (20 out of the total - 47) use employment or employment-related indicators (such as income) as a criterion to judge whether those policies have been successful or not. The concrete measurement of employment often differs across the different studies: Danish publications look for instance at the rate at which the immigrant finds employment, whereas some of the Swedish studies look at whether the immigrant is employed or not at a certain moment in time. Six studies (Australia, the Netherlands, Canada, Denmark, Norway) look at language proficiency as an outcome of integration policies, two at transitions to education (Norway). Three of them (Flanders, Germany, Denmark) also look at contacts with local populations. In other words, the studies look mostly at the *structural* components of integration (i.e. participation of the target group in certain domains such as work or education) as opposed to the *cultural* components of integration

(the acquisition of acceptance of the host society’s values by the target group) (Verweij, 2012).

3.6 Evaluation methodology

There is a large variety in the methods used for the evaluation of integration policies: both quantitative and qualitative approaches have been applied to administrative, survey and interview data. Document analysis is also a recurrent technique. An overview of the methods used by the different studies is provided in the table below

Method	Score	Entries
Longitudinal data analysis (e.g. duration models)	6	13
Cross-sectional regressions	5	6
Descriptive analysis on the basis of a survey	4	5
Descriptive data analysis	3	13
Qualitative methods (focus groups, interviews)	2	8
Quantitative (unknown)	1	3
Total		48

Table 3. Overview of the methodologies used by the evaluations

Studies from Scandinavian countries (Norway, Denmark, Sweden) mostly use quantitative methodologies. Based on either survey or administrative data regarding the socio-demographic characteristics of immigrants and their participation in integration policies, they conduct econometric studies using duration models. Those models calculate what the immigrants’ individual probability is of the occurrence of an event (mostly employment) across time in function of a number of variables such as socio-economic characteristics, unemployment or participation in integration policies. It should be noted, however, that such large-scale studies are only made possible by the existence of elaborate monitoring tools in which data regarding immigrants are periodically collected. Surveys of street-level bureaucrats (i.e. counselors or case-workers dealing with the clients of integration policies on an individual and daily basis) have also been applied (Denmark, Norway). Administrative data is also used by studies assessing policy outputs (Netherlands, Flanders), although they are limited to descriptive data analysis rather than using econometric models.

Canadian evaluations use a multi-method approach in which analysis of administrative data is matched with document analysis, interviews and standardized surveys of both service providers and the target group. The evaluation of German integration policies is also conducted on the basis of a target group survey, as well as the Australian AMEP

study. Other evaluations collect participants' and experts' opinions exclusively by means of open or semi-open interviews, such as the INTI project and the study of Yanasmayan & Foblets use interviews in order to assess those opinions.

3.7 Lessons

A first glimpse at the evaluations collected in the database makes their common features clear: they occur after policies have taken place, they refer to national, large-scale policies, they are mostly of an ad hoc nature, they mostly look either at the outputs or the effects of policies as opposed to policy processes, and when assessing effects they operationalize integration mostly in terms of employment. Moreover, large-scale quantitative analysis are most popular in Scandinavia, whereas the rest of the countries often makes use of surveys or descriptive data analysis. Based on those characteristics we conclude that:

1. There is a need for more **international visibility of local evaluations**. On the one hand, most of the database entries are related to large-scale, national policies. On the other hand, we know from the policy inventories that several initiatives regarding integration take place at the local level. Hence, in order to explore the local contexts, solid evaluations of local initiatives are needed. The fact that several local initiatives are financed by the European Integration Fund, which includes some integration requirements, may facilitate the transmission of best practices.
2. Most evaluations are of an **ad-hoc nature**. Even though there are a lot of studies which directly and indirectly tackle the evaluation of integration and civic integration policies, the evaluation practice has not become mainstream across Europe as opposed to Canada, where a settled evaluation tradition with a clear framework and criteria exists. In this sense European countries may profit from the Canadian and Danish examples, as they ensure continuity in the evaluation and monitoring of policies, and create a common ground for dialogue.
3. **There is no common evaluation discourse**. Different standards or criteria are applied to different studies. Even though several of the database entries look at the effectiveness of integration policies, they do not use the same terminology to refer to it. The same applies to the distinction between outputs and outcomes or effects, which is seldom explicitly made.

4. **There is little focus on policy processes.** Most of the evaluations focus on the policies' results without disentangling the implementation process and its relationship with policy goals and results. It is, however, this link between implementation processes and results that is crucial in order to improve policy-making.
5. **Potential usefulness of an overview or database of existing evaluations.** Such an overview could represent an added value in order to overcome existing barriers in the construction of an evidence base for integration policies: the lack of a common discourse, the variety of approaches and the lack of visibility of local evaluations. Moreover, the language barrier should also be considered: as most of the evaluations are produced for local audiences, they tend to be in the national language. A centralized overview in a common language might help overcome these obstacles²⁵.

25 The compilation of evaluations provided by the EU Integration Website includes, in addition to evaluations (as defined by this review) several documents which rather describe integration policies, what makes it little useful when looking at concrete evidence regarding policies' success, as we cannot distinguish one type of document from the other.

4. WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THE EVALUATIONS?

The previous chapter explored the *form* of the evaluations included in the database. This chapter zooms into the *contents* of those evaluations, classified along the types of instruments identified above: civic integration policies, language courses, labor market instruments, mentoring schemes, support services, dispersal policy instruments and pre-departure orientation programs. Each of the following subsection addresses one type of instrument, and provides first a general definition of the instrument and its modalities in general, followed by a discussion of the results of the policies in which each evaluation is discussed. As the features of the evaluations differ strongly across the types of instruments, the way in which the results of policies are presented is adapted to the characteristics of each instrument: For civic integration policies, we look at the evaluations per country. For language courses we make a distinction among the effects assessed by the evaluations, whereas the evaluations of labor market instruments are assessed in terms of the type of instrument.

4.1 Civic integration policies

4.1.1 Modalities

Civic integration policies are the main instrument through which Western European countries have attempted to cope with the consequences of immigration since the 1990s. Civic integration policies “express the idea that successful incorporation into a host society rests not only on employment (economic integration) and civic engagement (political integration), but also on individual commitments to characteristics typifying national citizenship, specifically country knowledge, language proficiency and liberal and social values” (Goodman, 2010, p. 754). First introduced by the Netherlands, they were subsequently adopted by several other European countries such as Austria, Belgium (Flanders), Denmark, Germany, Sweden and Norway during the past decade.

The term “civic integration policies” encompasses in practice, in most cases, a combination of several instruments, which Goodman (2009) terms “citizenship hardware”. They may include “courses, orientations, tests, interviews, ceremonies, oaths and contracts”. In Western Europe, most policies include language courses, labor market-related policies and social or cultural, civic or social orientation courses, which introduce the newcomer to the values and customs of the host society.

Even though the components of civic integration policies have been previously used in other national contexts, we deem it necessary to treat them as a separate category due

to two reasons. First, the introduction of “civic integration” policies as a “package”, marked by the Dutch Newcomers Integration Act (*Wet Inburgering*) in 1998, points at a change in the Western European conception of citizenship and immigration, in which the previous emphasis on multiculturalism²⁶ has been replaced by a focus on individual commitment and the acceptance of the host country’s values. It seems therefore relevant to know which changes that mindset has brought about in terms of newcomers’ integration²⁷. Second, several of the evaluations of civic integration policies that have been conducted assess their different components – social orientation courses, vocational training, language tuition – together, what makes difficult to disentangle the effects of each of the measures separately²⁸. In other words, we can only speak of the effects of the policies as a whole. Hence, this section focuses on the effects of civic integration policies as such, and those studies dealing with specific components of the policies such as labor market-related measures or language tuition²⁹ are dealt with in sections 4.2 and 4.3 below.

The modalities of civic integration policies can be described in terms of ten criteria, summarized in the table below.

Criterion	Modalities
Target group	Adult non-western newcomers Family reunited migrants Humanitarian migrants Youth, parents, women Oldcomers
Goals	Transmission of liberal and social values Integration and inclusion Self-sufficiency Employment
Contents	Social orientation courses Language courses Labor market instruments
Duration	Social orientation: 1 day (FR), 30 hours (GER), 75 hours (AT) Language courses: 200 hours (LUX), 120 hours (VL), 2000 hours (DK) Civic integration program (whole): 1 year (FL), 2 years (SE)

26 For the Dutch example see for instance Verweij (2012). See also Michalowski (2011).

²⁷ It should be noted that the types of changes a policy change can bring about go well beyond the integration of newcomers as defined in this report: changes in the policy discourse may namely lead to a different perception of newcomers in the media and by society in general. For instance, depending on a policy’s discourse asylum seekers may be regarded as potential criminals or as victims (of human trafficking, for instance). A discussion of such dynamics falls however outside the scope of this review, which focuses on the effects of policies on the target group.

²⁸ See for instance Svantesson & Aranki (2006), who mainly analyze labor market measures in the context of integration policies, but who point at the fact that cultural orientation may take place as a part of the policies being analyzed.

²⁹ No separate evaluations of social orientation courses were found.

Obligatory nature	Compulsory for every newcomer Compulsory for target group (unemployed, benefit recipients) Voluntary
Conditionality	Participation/passing an exam linked to residence permits Participation/passing an exam linked to financial benefits Participation/passing an exam linked to fines
Funding	Government Immigrants Government and immigrants
Location	Host country Country of origin
Level of organization	National Regional Local
Transversality	Horizontal policy Categorical policy

Table 4. Modalities of civic integration instruments

The concrete target group of the policies varies across countries, although there is in general a prevalence of “adult non-western newcomers” as a target group (Pons Rotger, 2011). Some specific target groups include family reunited migrants, humanitarian migrants, youth, parents or women. The goals of the policy can be abstract, aiming at the transmission of “liberal and social values” (Goodman, 2009), or at integration and inclusion of the newcomers in the host society, or concrete, e.g. self-sufficiency and employment. Based on those goals, the courses may include several components such as social orientation courses about the host society; which may focus on the country’s history, values and identity or on practical issues such as using medical services or accessing the education system.

Regarding the courses’ duration there is a large variation depending on the course’s components. In France, social orientation courses last one day, in Germany 30 hours, in Flanders 60 hours and in Austria 75 hours. The duration of language courses fluctuates between 200 hours in Luxemburg, 120 in Flanders³⁰ and 2000 in Denmark. In Austria and Norway, language courses last 300 hours, and in Germany they take 600 hours. Sometimes, the short duration orientation programs take place as soon as the immigrant arrives to the country, in the framework of other measures. This is the case of France, where orientation courses are provided in the course of one day within a system of reception platforms. The total duration of the integration may vary as well: in Flanders it is one year, whereas in Sweden it takes a maximum of two years.

³⁰ This is the duration of an average course; special programs are foreseen for low-educated and high-educated students.

Civic integration policies may contain obligatory components, either for all legal newcomers (Austria, Germany) or for certain target groups such as unemployed immigrants (Finland), those immigrants seeking naturalization (Luxemburg) or benefit recipients (Sweden). Moreover, the completion of the courses or passing an exam may be a requirement to obtain a residence permit³¹, and failure may lead to the withdrawal of benefits or monetary fines. Sometimes, the obligatory components are set out in a contract signed by the government and the immigrant.

The funding of civic integration policies may be either the responsibility of the government (Flanders), that subsidizes service providers, or of the individual immigrant or newcomer (Netherlands). A combination is also possible (Austria). The implementation of the policies may be the responsibility of national governments (Germany), regional authorities (Belgium) or local authorities (Denmark). A further distinction can be made with regard to the transversal nature of the policy. In some countries, integration is regarded as a "horizontal" issue for which all ministries are responsible within their sphere of competence. For instance, the Work Ministry is responsible for ensuring the integration of newcomers in the labor market. In other countries, a specific Ministry of Integration may be responsible for all issues (across domains) related to the topic (categorical policy).

A further distinction may be drawn regarding the location of the policies: whereas most civic integration policies take place once the immigrant has either arrived in the country or obtained a permanent residence permit, some countries (Netherlands and Belgium/Flanders) have implemented civic integration abroad programs, either consisting of courses or dissemination of information at the country of origin, before the immigrant travels to the host country.

4.1.2 Results

In total, 11 entries of the database refer to the evaluation of civic integration policies as a whole. They correspond largely to Northern and West-European countries: Belgium (Flanders), Denmark, France, Germany, the Netherlands and Norway. It should be noted, however, that not all of those entries correspond to extensive evaluation studies as such (cf. supra, inclusion criteria): one of them is part of an ICMPD project on Integration Agreements and Voluntary Measures, which does not evaluate the policies as such but

31 Böcker and Strik (Böcker & Strik, 2011) state that the following countries use examinations to grant residence permits: Austria, the Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, France, Germany, Greece, Latvia, Malta, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom.

documents the way in which the policies are organized and reports summarily whether evaluations have been conducted

Country	Source	Focus of the evaluation	Methodological quality	Relevant findings
Belgium/Flanders	(De Cuyper & Wets, 2007)	Outputs Process Effects	4	Satisfaction with policies Conclusion of program faster for respondents from cities
Belgium/Flanders	(De Cuyper, Lamberts, & Pauwels, 2010)	Outputs Process Effects	3	Impact of policies especially related to socio-economic aspects of integration
Belgium/Flanders	(Yanasmayan & Foblets, 2012)	Effects	2	Civic integration leads to integration
Denmark	(Hansen & Kolodziejczyk, 2009)	Outputs Effects	4	Employment does not lead to integration in other areas
France	(Guibentif, 2004)	Outputs	3	Importance of timing of courses
Germany	(GIB in OECD, 2007)	Effects	1	Positive effect of civic integration on employment
Germany	(Schuller, Lochner, & Rother, 2011)	Outputs Effects	4	Importance of contacts with autochthonous populations for language learning
The Netherlands	(ICMPD, 2005)	Outputs Process	3	Perverse effects of funding system Limited usefulness for oldcomers
The Netherlands	(Significant, 2010)	Outputs Process	3	Complaints about new entrants during the course
The Netherlands	(Wilkinson, Goedvolk, & Van Dieten, 2008)	Outputs Process	3	Effects of abroad integration on target group
Norway	(Kavli, Hagelund, & Bråthen, 2007)	Process Effects	4	Importance of close follow-up
Norway	(OECD, 2012)	Effects	1	Possibility of lock-in effects

Table 5. Results of civic integration instruments

As we can infer from the table above, most of the evaluations are of a qualitative character, and quantitative research on their effects *as a whole* has not taken place³²: most of the entries in the table score 3 or 4 on their methodological quality, what implies that they do not assess the causal relationships between policies and their effects by means of quantitative techniques such as regression. Moreover, it is relevant to note that several of the evaluations focus on documenting policy processes and outputs.

The following paragraphs look at the evaluation of civic integration policies by country. We decide not to group the evaluations along the lines of types (effect, output or process evaluation) nor instrument, given the specificity of each country's policy that has been highlighted above.

[4.1.2.1. The Netherlands](#)

[4.1.2.1.1 Modalities](#)

The Netherlands, where a full-fledged civic integration abroad program was developed and rolled out from 2006, is the precursor of civic integration policies. Those policies take place both in the Netherlands and abroad.

Policies taking place in the Netherlands consist of language courses and courses on knowledge of the Dutch society, as well as specific courses on issues such as child upbringing, working in the Netherlands, entrepreneurship or social participation. The target group includes both newcomers and "oldcomers" (individuals residing in the Netherlands permanently since before 1 January 2007). The obligations of the participants with regard to civic integration are set out by means of contracts, and integration requirements are only fulfilled after newcomers pass a language examination for (at least) level A2 and an exam on civic integration. Passing the exam is obligatory for those immigrants from outside the EEA applying for permanent residence and for the Dutch nationality. Moreover, monetary fines may be imposed if immigrants fail to attend a certain percentage of the courses.

Individuals are responsible for their own funding, although a loan system with low interest (0,6%) has been set up for refugees. The 2007 reform of civic integration policies introduced personal budgets for civic integration (*Persoonsgebonden Inburgeringsbudget*), which allows certain categories of newcomers to choose their own courses without having to pay for them in advance or borrowing money. The measure was introduced as a way of promoting tailored policies.

³² Conversely, research about effects has taken place for particular components out of those policies (such as labor market instruments or language courses, see below).

Civic integration abroad policies were introduced by the Netherlands in 2006 in order to fight the disadvantaged situation of newcomers and to increase the immigrants' personal responsibility in the process of integration. Certain categories of immigrants – those seeking to obtain a temporary residence permit for family reunion, family formation or as a religious minister – are obliged to pass a test regarding Dutch language (level lower than A1 of the CEFR, cf. infra) and Dutch society. The tests are oral, they are conducted by means of a voice recognition system, and the results are valid for one year. Even though the Dutch government makes some material available, the responsibility for preparing for the exam remains the immigrants'.

4.1.2.1.1 Evaluations

The implementation and outputs of on-shore Dutch civic integration policies have been evaluated twice, and the Civic Integration Abroad program has been evaluated once. The three evaluations pay attention to outputs and processes, but do not look at the effects of the policies.

The first evaluation of on-shore policies (ICMPD, 2005) came to the conclusion that scant attention was paid to the quality of the courses because service providers were subsidized on the basis of the number of newcomers passing the final test, irrespective of whether they actually learned Dutch or not. Moreover, it identified difficulties for women with children to attend the course due to the lack of childcare.

With regard to sanctions, the evaluation points at the fact that, in the case of non-compliance with the obligation to follow the courses, most municipalities applied lower fines than the maximum amount dictated by the legislation, since they thought it might be counterproductive (it deters newcomers for whom the course is non-obligatory from participating). The evaluation also questions the policy's target group: newcomers do not see the usefulness of the civic integration courses, and would have liked to follow it earlier. It also points at the difficulties of working newcomers to follow the course.

The second evaluation (Significant, 2010) looks at the way in which civic integration policies work (i.e. processes), its outputs and its inputs (i.e. costs of implementation and of courses). The evaluation includes a very detailed description of the implementation process of the (at the time changed) civic integration legislation and pays attention to the policy's organization as a whole, as well as to budgetary issues. It benchmarks the provision of civic integration facilities by municipalities against the targets that had been agreed with the Ministry of the Interior (the targets were met). As opposed to the previous evaluation, most municipalities (70%) found the quality of courses sufficient,

and a large percentage of the participants who did the exam passed it as well (74%, above the target of 55%). There were, however, several criticisms by newcomers themselves: they found the level of the course either too high or too low, and complained about new entrants during the course.

In addition to the above, a preliminary evaluation of the Dutch Civic Integration Abroad policy was conducted in 2010 (Wilkinson et al., 2008). Even though it was too early to look at the policy's impact on actual immigrant integration, the evaluation pointed at some interesting effects of the policy. The study applied several methodological techniques, such as telephone interviews, visits to the Dutch missions abroad, and a written survey and interviews of the target group. First of all, it found that the implementation of the policy at the Dutch missions had been largely problem-free. 91% of the examination candidates passed the examination in the first sitting. Second, there were no serious complaints from the target group, except for the fact that they found the spoken Dutch test much more difficult than the Dutch Society test. The preparation package they used for the Dutch Society test, *Naar Nederland*, was found to be satisfactory. Third, the study evaluated the program's costs, both for the state (implementation) and for the participants (preparation, cf. supra), which were found to remain within the pre-established limits.

In general, the Mission staff found the policy's main benefit to be an increased awareness of Dutch society, which made immigrants more "vocal and assertive", and the level of Dutch proficiency "insufficient to hold a conversation". There was, however, a slight positive correlation between the score obtained in the Dutch test abroad and the score noted at the intake interview for the "mainstream" civic integration policies in the Netherlands: those immigrants subjected to the civic integration abroad policy are better at Dutch comprehension (though not at reading) than other immigrants. It should be noted that, in order to profit from the program's gains in terms of increased knowledge, experts recommended a fast transition from the civic integration broad to the civic integration program in the Netherlands. Moreover, the study found a side effect of the policy: at the time of the evaluation, the policy measure seemed to be affecting the partner choice of those seeking family reunion or formation in the Netherlands, as applicants abroad (and thus subjected to the civic integration abroad policy) were younger and had higher qualifications than before the policy was introduced.

4.1.2.2 France

The French *Contrat d'Accueil et d'Intégration* (CAI) is applied to Third-Country Nationals (countries from outside the EEA) who want to settle permanently in France, and is linked to the extension of temporary residence permits. The CAI includes the obligation of the newcomers to participate in the integration program which includes language tuition (A1.1 level, a workshop on values and institutions of France and a workshop on job opportunities).

In spite of being a comprehensive measure, the CAI has not been evaluated extensively. Guibentif (2004), based on Bisson (2004) finds that that 90.5% of the notified newcomers between July 2003 and June 2004 attended the reception platforms that provide immigrants with information³³. More than 87% signed a CAI, and 63.3% attended the civic education course. Moreover, the attendance rate of language courses increased from 57.4% in the period July-December 2003 to 75% in January-June 2004. However, an ICMPD publication concluded, on the basis of interviews, that the time elapsed between the arrival and the start of the course may affect the newcomers' motivation to start the courses. No evaluations of the effects of the policy on the newcomers' integration were found.

4.1.2.3 Denmark

Danish civic integration policies are focused on immigrants and start with the signature of a contract between the newcomer and the integration services in which the individual integration program is set out. The program includes language tuition and labor market training. Language courses are obligatory for refugees and family migrants, and its cost is covered by local councils, which may nevertheless choose to collect a fee from immigrants to finance part of the courses. Non-participation may lead to the withdrawal of social benefits³⁴, and passing a language exam is necessary to obtain a permanent residence permit together with other conditions, such as having worked for a minimum of 2.5 years without government subsidies³⁵.

Hansen & Kolodziejczyk (2009) evaluated the performance of Danish integration policies in function of newcomers' self-assessed language skills and employment. The evaluation, conducted by means of a survey, found that new Danes ascribed their progresses with

³³ This is comparable to the "aanmeldingen" in the Flemish evaluation.

³⁴ For more extensive descriptions of the language and labor market components of the integration program see below.

³⁵ Recognized refugees are not subject to this requirement, but nevertheless need to show a "willingness to integrate", which is assessed on a case-by-case basis and may include participation in activities organized by municipalities, employment or education, participation in activities aimed at finding a job, participation in language courses or activities aimed at improving employability such as internships. For more information see http://www.nyidanmark.dk/en-us/coming_to_dk/permanent-residence-permit/refugees_lived_in_denmark_longer_eight+years.htm.

regard to integration to their improved language proficiency, employment, the fact that they made more friends and their better understanding of Danish society. However, the authors conclude that employment did not lead to integration in other areas based on the argument that, whereas a majority of the respondents did have work, only one out of three had a high overall level of integration in terms of language, employment and friends.

4.1.2.4 Germany

German civic integration policies are focused on newcomers, divided into several groups that include German ethnic migrants, youth, parents or women. Some categories of the target group (people in special need of integration³⁶ and people receiving social benefits) are obliged to follow the integration program, and there is a language test (level B1) for obtaining permanent residence. The program is composed of integration courses focusing on cultural orientation and language tuition, and non-participation may lead to the withdrawal of social benefits. The costs of civic integration policies are partially covered by the government; immigrants are asked on a standard basis to pay 1 euro per language lesson and half of the paid tuition is refunded. For participants on social benefits participation is free.

The German Integration Panel (Schuller, Lochner, & Rother, 2012) evaluated the effectiveness of civic integration courses (language, cultural orientation) in terms of "achievements in integration process (especially German language proficiency) of participants vs. non-participants". Nevertheless, it also looked at other aspects of integration which are seldom assessed in other studies, such as feelings of attachment to Germany or contacts with autochthonous Germans.

In order to compare both groups a quasi-experimental panel design was set up in which participants and non-participants were surveyed at different points in time (when starting the course, by the end of the course, one year after having completed the course and three years after having completed the course). The panel's results found (on the basis of self-assessments by the participants) that language courses improved their proficiency in listening, reading, writing, spoken production and spoken interaction. However, the effect did not seem sustainable: language proficiency deteriorated for a large part of the participants (42%) one year after having concluded the course. This was due, among other, to a lack of contacts with Germans.

³⁶ Defined as immigrants "(...) who have been obliged by the immigration office because of a specific integration need (i.e. parents of adolescents or young children whose level of German language proficiency is insufficient) (*Integration systems compared 2010*, 2010)

The panel did not only look at language proficiency, but also at contacts with Germans (contacts with Germans were more numerous at the end of the course than at the beginning and the frequency of contacts remained stable one year after the course), and at the feeling of attachment to Germany. In this sense, it found that the feeling of attachment to Germany had intensified by the end of the integration courses, and increased one year later. The study also points on the basis of the courses' effects at the fact that "better language skills and more contact with Germans have a positive effect on the emotional ties to Germany". The study also looked at whether participants planned to remain in Germany, whether they were naturalized and whether they planned to become German.

The civic integration courses were found by the participants to be especially helpful for learning language and managing daily life in Germany.

In a second study, the evaluation of model projects striving to formalize integration measures and to implement individual plans found a reduction of welfare dependence (55% of participants, as opposed to 68% among non-participants), and an increase in employment (29% vs. 12% among non-participants) (GIB in OECD, 2007).

4.1.2.5 Belgium-Flanders

In Belgium, civic integration is organized at the sub-national level: the Dutch-speaking community (Flanders) and the French-speaking community (Wallonia) have separate policies. To date, Flemish policies are the most elaborate and consolidated. In Flanders, civic integration policies have as main goal to improve the target group's self-sufficiency. The target group are mainly third-country nationals, for whom participation in the program is often obligatory. As in the case of the Netherlands, "oldcomers" are also part of the target group (although they are mostly not subjected to obligatory participation unless they receive social assistance). The program, financed by the government, consists of three elements: language courses (for level A1), social orientation courses focus on both practical issues and societal values, and career orientation activities. An essential part of the program is program counseling: each newcomer's pathway towards integration is followed up by a counselor or case administrator, who acts as his main contact point.

Three studies have evaluated the impact of civic integration policies in Flanders so far. First, the study conducted by Yanasmanayan & Foblets (2012) aimed at measuring the perceived effects of civic integration courses on the life of immigrants by means of interviews. Those effects were assessed in function of the policy's goals: self-sufficiency

and shared citizenship. In addition, the authors looked at the concepts "belonging to society" and "self-development". On the basis of the relatively limited evidence (document analysis and 34 interviews) they concluded that the courses led indeed to a heightened degree of self-sufficiency and integration. Second, the first official evaluation of civic integration policies (De Cuyper & Wets, 2007; Geets, van den Eede, Wets, Lamberts, & Timmerman, 2007) consisted of a double focus. On the one hand policies were approached from an institutional perspective: policy processes were analyzed, and the effectiveness of the policy was quantified in terms of the output produced: it looked at the number of civic integration courses that were completed in function of the civic integration contracts signed and the number of intake interviews. Moreover, it also took into account the number of newcomers that received labor market training as a part of the civic integration program, and concluded that 46% percent of the persons receiving training moved into a job. On the other hand, it assessed the policies from the perspective of the target group by looking at the extent to which the policy was tailored to individual needs, and by the extent to which the participants were satisfied with the policy. It concluded on the basis of a survey that most participants were satisfied, and that there was a relationship between the frequency and the experienced quality of contacts with counselors. In addition, respondents from large cities concluded their civic integration pathways faster than respondents from smaller municipalities.

The 2010 evaluation (De Cuyper, Lamberts, Pauwels, & Vets, 2010; De Cuyper, Lamberts, & Pauwels, 2010; De Cuyper, 2010; Pauwels & Lamberts, 2010) had a double focus as well. On the one hand the policy processes were reconstructed, and the effectiveness of civic integration policies was assessed in terms of the number of participants from the target group who completed the integration courses, and it also searched for explanations for non-participation. It found newcomers' participation to be limited. Moreover, it also looked on the basis of interviews at the extent to which civic integration policies contributed to language proficiency, labor market integration, education, income, inter-ethnic contacts, cultural orientation, societal participation, health and housing. It concluded that the impact of civic integration policies was especially related to socio-economic aspects such as labor market performance, education and language proficiency. It found that the language proficiency of the participants remained at a "survival level" three to four years after having finished the course, and that social orientation courses are especially useful for adapting to daily life in Belgium during the first year, with participants being better informed than non-participants. Even though the knowledge of participants and non-participants becomes equal after one year, participants remain better informed about topics such as legal

issues, applying for a job or health services. It found that participants to civic integration policies who complete the program are in general more often employed than those who do not complete it. The difference was statistically significant. However, it also found out that those newcomers who did not start the program who are employed have higher wages and are more often fulltime employed than those who did complete it.

4.1.2.6 Norway

In Norway, civic integration policies are mainly oriented towards newly arrived non-European Economic Area (EEA) citizens. Participation is compulsory for asylum seekers, refugees, persons with residence on humanitarian grounds, persons under collective protection, as well as the family members of all categories. The program includes Norwegian language courses (minimum 250 hours), directed at achieving basic language knowledge, and social studies (50 hours), as well as preparation for studies or working life. Since 2005 course completion is necessary for the granting of a settlement permit. During the participation in the civic integration program, which lasts up to two years, newcomers receive social benefits.

The Norwegian civic integration policies were extensively evaluated by Kavli et al. (2007). The evaluation consisted of both an "implementation study" and an "effect study". Whereas the implementation study looked at the way in which the integration legislation was followed by the municipalities that implemented it, the effects study looked into the immigrants' transitions to education and employment after having followed the courses, at the different pathways they followed towards employment (part-time, full-time, registration as jobseeker, reception of social benefits...) and at the effectiveness of the policy, defined as the extent to which participants' employment differed from those who did not participate in the introductory program. The evaluations were conducted by means of a websurvey of municipalities, qualitative interviews and administrative data. Moreover, the evaluation found that there are three implementation features of civic integration policies that have an impact on participants' transitions to work and education: the breadth of the municipalities' repertoire of training measures, close follow-up of participants and user involvement.

The implementation study benchmarked the municipalities' implementation of civic integration policies against the legislation on the matter. It found that only a minority of program coordinators think that most participants have a sense of ownership to their plans. Moreover, it pointed at the need of training staff: 70% of the interviewed program coordinators felt they lacked skills for conducting their job. Collaboration with other

entities, especially health services providers, were also mentioned. The study came to the conclusion that those municipalities that formulate specific performance measures also established a broader and more mixed repertoire of training measures such as language apprenticeships. The participants of the program in municipalities where coordinators had only a “general responsibility” for the participants’ introduction to Norwegian society as opposed to a close follow-up had a lower statistical probability of being employed than participants from other municipalities, and a higher probability of not having received work-oriented training measures³⁷.

The effect evaluation displays several interesting findings. A majority of the participants who left the program during the compulsory period (two years) did so because of a transition towards work or education, or because they finished the number of hours allocated to program participation³⁸. Exits were more widespread in regions with a high labor demand³⁹. After completion, only half of the former participants who found wage work had a full-time position, but that proportion increases over time (although the proportion at work does not crease). The factors affecting entry into work of education are gender (the effect of participation in the program has a positive effect on men’s probability to enter work), children under 7 (negative effect, only for women), age (positive effect for women). Family migrants have a lower probability of being at work or education than refugees.

The OECD (2012), based on Kavli et al (2007) and another study that comes to the conclusion that the total benefit level assigned to newcomers may exceed entry wages for the low-skilled (Djuve, 2003 in OECD 2012), suggests the possibility of lock-in effects, which are reinforced by the full time nature of the program. (i.e. participants do not have enough time to look for a job⁴⁰).

4.1.3 Policy lessons

When we look at the *ensemble* of the evaluations described above, we can derive several policy lessons that may inspire Flemish policy practice and enhance the evidence basis for integration policies in general:

37 See comparable findings for Germany (cf. supra).

38 The authors do not mention the proportion of participants who find work at all, but the OECD mentions, on the basis of IMDi (2008) that 53% of the participants who completed or ended the program in 2008 subsequently obtained regular employment or education, and that an additional 20% received labor market training.

39 According to IMDi (2008 in OECD, 2012), immigrants in more remote municipalities had a higher probability to find employment, what points at the fact that “labor needs in the remote areas tend to be more pressing than in the more central parts of the country”.

⁴⁰ Lock-in effects

1. **Civic integration programs work.** As the German and Flemish studies show, civic integration programs may facilitate adaptation to the host society and daily life. However, given the fact that some of their effects fade out after one year (cf. Flemish evaluation), encouraging participation soon after arrival to the host society may enhance the policies' effectiveness.
2. **Civic integration programs do not always work for oldcomers.** The finding that the effectiveness of civic integration programs diminishes after one year, coupled to the fact that oldcomers are a less-participating group (Flanders) who find the usefulness of the program limited (the Netherlands) rises the question whether it might not be more effective to concentrate the policies on newcomers and to channel oldcomers to special initiatives that tackle their specific needs per policy domain (work, education, etc).
3. **Lock-in effects.** One of the most interesting questions arising from the evaluation of integration policies is related to its lock-in effects: as one of the Danish publications shows, participation in civic integration instruments may delay job search and thus have a negative impact on the labor market integration of newcomers, even though on the long term it may have positive consequences for job search. The opposite problem is also present: the impossibility for members of the target group who are already working to follow the courses (mentioned by the Netherlands and Norway). In this sense, tailor-made policies are extremely important.
4. **Language learning does not end after a course.** The findings of the German study about the deterioration of language skills and of the Flemish evaluation about the stagnation of the linguistic level point at the importance of complementing language courses with other types of activities in order to increase intercultural contacts and favor informal language learning. In other words, the different components of civic integration policies (language, cultural orientation courses) may influence each other strongly. In this sense it might be interesting to look at the potential indirect impact of cultural orientation courses on language learning. If those courses have positive effects on contacts with autochthonous populations, they may be useful in enhancing language learning.
5. **Evaluations should take possible perverse effects of funding mechanisms into account.** This is clearly shown by the Dutch evaluation, in which the funding mechanism affected the quality of the courses.

6. **Unforeseen effects of civic integration abroad.** Integration abroad policies with a “test” component may have as a consequence that some groups, such as the highly educated, are in a better position to enter the country. This was the case on the Netherlands. In order to foresee those effects and to adapt the instruments to specific target groups, *ex ante* evaluations of civic integration abroad programs may be a relevant instrument.
7. **Little attention to effects.** Those evaluations looking at civic integration courses pay attention to the production of outputs and, to a lesser extent, to policy processes. Those studies assessing the effects of the policies do so by qualitative means, without actually illuminating the causal relationship between the policy intervention and its effects. There is, however, a need to explore further the effects of civic integration instruments and to link them to the study of policy processes: by knowing what the effects are of a certain process we may adapt that process in order to improve the policy instrument’s quality.
8. **Little gap between social benefits during civic integration programs and entry wages may discourage labor market integration.** The Norwegian example, in which a possible explanation of the reduced labor market participation of immigrants is the little gap between social benefits and entry wages, points out at the need to look at the coherence or compatibility between civic integration programs and other policies such as social welfare and labor in order to prevent or correct undesired effects.
9. **The implementation of civic integration policies at the local level requires the equipment of the local level with the adequate resources to perform their activities.** From the Norwegian evaluation, in which 70% of the interviewed program coordinators felt they lacked the skills for conducting their job, we know that the implementation of civic integration programs requires certain resources such as expertise.

4.2 Language courses

4.2.1 Modalities

Language instruction is considered an important pillar of integration⁴¹. Within the scientific literature the positive impact of language proficiency on labor market

41 For instance, language instruction is referred to by a Norwegian document as “the single most important policy measure that is directly targeted at immigrants” in the country.

integration in terms of employment has been widely demonstrated (Chiswick & Miller, 1995, 2003). As in this study we only look at *evaluations* of particular policy instruments, we do not assess the link between language proficiency and employment as such, but only between *participation in language courses* and integration, whether within the labor market or in other spheres (social interactions, income, employment). We discuss studies evaluating the effects of formal language courses on language proficiency (language as a goal of integration), income, employment and social interactions (language as a means to structural integration, cf. supra). The difference between the scientific literature on human capital and the evaluations discussed in this section is illustrated by the figure below.

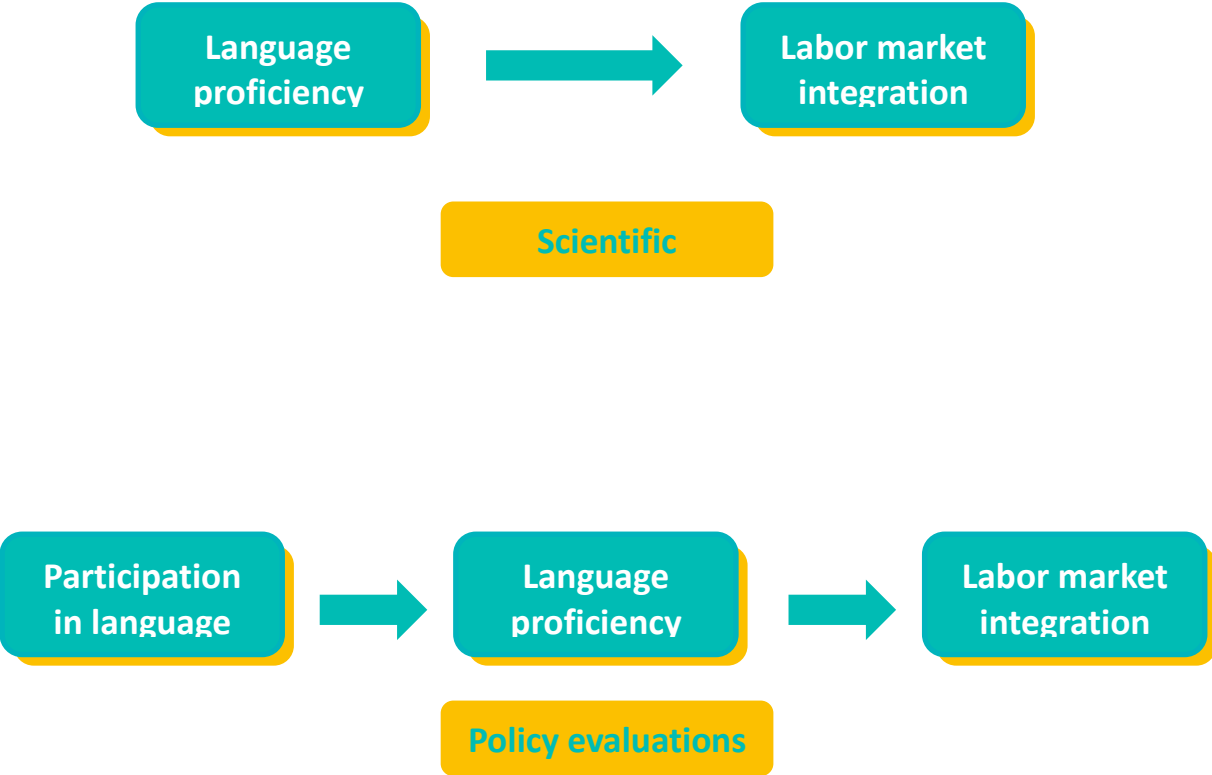


Figure 1. The causal link between language and integration

Language instruction in the context of migration has been implemented in all sorts of contexts. In Western Europe, they constitute an important element of civic integration courses (cf. supra). They are also organized in and by countries with an established tradition of immigration and integration such as Canada and Australia, countries with a relatively recent history of immigration, such South Korea and countries that have been reluctant to integrate foreigners in the past, such as Japan (Tsuda, 2006).

It is impossible to fully catch the variety of modalities in which language courses are organized across the countries implementing them. Without aiming at being exhaustive,

this review attempts to illustrate that variety. It should be noted, as with other measures (cf. supra), that not all of the modalities mentioned in this section have been evaluated. We distinguish eight relevant dimensions: the target group, the compulsory or voluntary nature of the courses, the nature of the requirement, the instance providing the courses, the contents of the course, the setting of the course, its duration and the number of course hours.

Criterion	Modalities
Target group	Refugees Family migrants Labor migrants Foreign nationals
Obligation	Compulsory courses Voluntary courses
Nature of obligation	Attending the course Passing the exam
Service provider	Government Private service providers
Contents	General Content-based (work, cultural orientation).
Setting	Formal Informal
Funding	Paying fees Free courses
Duration	90 (BE/VL) 510 (AUS) 850 (NOR) 389 (CA)

Table 6. Modalities of language courses

The target group of language courses varies strongly across countries, and may include refugees, family migrants or labor migrants. Sometimes, the courses are only accessible to citizens with a foreign nationality, as in the case of Canada and Australia. Conversely, in Western Europe the target group also includes citizens with the nationality of the host country (Belgium-Flanders, Netherlands). The courses may be of a compulsory or a voluntary nature (compulsory courses are mainly implemented in Western Europe), and in the case of a compulsory course the language requirements vary strongly: the requirement can refer to either attendance or to passing the course's exam, and the required level of proficiency may vary as well: whereas some regions or countries (Flanders, Luxemburg) require a relatively low level of language (i.e. the beginners' level – A1 – of the Common European Framework) other countries may require a higher proficiency, or differentiate across target groups. For instance, Denmark requires a

different proficiency level from the low-educated (beginner's level or A2) and from the highly educated (advanced level or C1). The contents of the courses may be general, or focused on a certain subject such as work, or civics and cultural orientation about the host country. Moreover, they can take place in different settings: a classroom (a regular school environment), at work or in loosely structured settings such as conversation clubs. Service provision and the design of curricula may be organized by government itself, for instance, through the Department or Ministry of Education, or be outsourced to private service providers. The cost of the courses may be covered by subsidies or be paid partially or totally by pupils themselves, and the number of hours a course lasts can go from 90 hours in Flanders (short course for fast-learning students) to 850 hours in Norway and 2000 hours in Denmark, depending on the profile of the learner and the language requirements.

4.2.2 Results

There are few studies that evaluate language instruction as a separate element from other parts of civic integration programs (cf. supra). Within the studies selected for this review, only nine pieces from Australia (1), Canada (1), Denmark (3), Sweden⁴² (1), Germany (1) and Norway (2) qualified. The studies use diverse methodological techniques: econometric techniques such as regression discontinuity or duration analysis (most Scandinavian studies), descriptive data analysis (Australia, Canada), and qualitative techniques such as interviews. The only measures that have been evaluated are regular (formal) language courses, with varying durations, as opposed to other modalities mentioned above such as informal language coaching or tutorship by peers.

The evaluations selected for this review display some common features, summarized in the table below.

⁴² It should be noted that it is not entirely clear from the OECD's publication whether other elements of the program (cultural orientation, workplace-based training...) were tested as well in this case.

Country	Source	Focus of the evaluation	Methodological quality	Effects			
				Social interactions	Language proficiency	Income	Employment
Australia	(Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship., n.d.)	Outputs Effects	2	+	/	/	/
Canada	(Evaluation Division, 2010a)	Outputs Process Effect	5	No effect	/	/	/
Denmark	(Clausen et al., 2009)	Effects	6	/	+	/	- (locking-in)
Denmark	(Pons Rotger, 2011)	Effects	6	/	/	+	No effect
Denmark	(Clausen & Husted, 2005)	Effects	6	/	+	/	/
Germany	(OECD, 2007)	Effects	3	/	/	/	+ (for ethnic Germans)
Sweden	(OECD, 2007)	Effects	5	/	/	/	+ (long-term)
Norway	(Hayfron, 2001)	Effects	5	/	+	No effect	/
Norway	(Norberg, 2002)	Outputs	3	/	/	/	/

Table 7. Results of language courses

First, they concentrate on evaluating organized language courses for adults as opposed to other initiatives such as conversation clubs and grassroots initiatives. Second, not all of the studies focus on evaluating the causal link between language policy measures and integration: two out of them provide only a *description* of the policy's results in terms of direct outputs without elaborating on the way in which those outputs relate to the policy's outcomes (effectiveness). Third, as in the case of other measures (cf. supra, civic integration courses), the evaluations that do assess the impact of language courses focus often on the labor market effects of those courses, whether in terms of actual employment or income, rather than on other aspects of integration. Fourth, there is no consensus as to what exactly are the effects of language courses on the integration of immigrants. The remainder of this section focuses further on the selected studies.

4.2.2.1 *Outputs of language courses*

The studies that use mainly descriptive approaches (Australia and Norway) look at the extent to which immigrants take language courses, and are able to finish them. In other words, they describe the *outputs of policies* (cf. supra, inclusion criteria). The Norwegian study found that the average number of lessons attended by the members of the target group was 368 out of a maximum of 3000 they could have attended. The passing rate for the language exam was less than half.

The Australian evaluation (Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship., n.d.) assesses the performance of the Adult Migrant English Program (AMEP). The program consists of voluntary English courses available for permanent residents. The duration of the courses is variable: they may last up to 510 hours or until the student reaches functional English. Looked at the performance of the English courses taught in the framework of the program, whichever occurs first. Although they are not content-based, they may be complemented by a Settlement Language Pathways to Employment and Training (SLPET) program, in which 200 extra hours of vocation-specific language training and 80 hours of work experience placements are provided. Moreover, AMEP includes, along traditional classes, the option for trained volunteers to go to people's homes when they are not able to attend courses due to working hours, young children, lack of confidence or isolation. Tuition is provided by trained volunteers.

The AMEP evaluation, which only covered the regular courses, had as main criteria reach (take-up of the English language courses by those entitled), retention (the extent to which the entitlement is actually used) and results (the English language proficiency after

the course⁴³). The evaluation finds high registration rates (75.2% of those deemed to need the program). Moreover, it states that 58.3% of the clients have a functional knowledge of English, but it does not provide information about the causal link between the policy and the clients' language proficiency.

[4.2.2.2 Effects of language courses](#)

The evaluations which do assess the effects or impact of language courses focus on the effectiveness of those courses in terms of four domains: language proficiency, income, employment (i.e. whether or not immigrants have a job) and social integration.

[4.2.2.2.1 Language proficiency](#)

One of the Danish evaluations (Clausen & Husted, 2005) looks at the efficiency of voluntary language courses in Denmark in terms of language proficiency. Efficiency is defined as the rate of progression from one language level to the following (higher) one, and concludes on the basis of duration analysis that the progression rates are higher for immigrants younger than 30, long-schooled in their countries of origin, who take evening classes and who do not display absenteeism. Conversely, recipients of social benefits are the slowest to progress. This implies that employment and language-learning may display mutually reinforcing effects, as progression in Danish language courses is faster for participants who are employed or take evening courses. The Canadian evaluation, by means of experimental methods, that after 1000 hours of courses "the gains attributable to [the language courses in terms of reading and writing English] rise markedly"⁴⁴ (Evaluation Division, 2010, p. vii). An ICMPD study (ICMPD, 2005) suggests that 600 hours is too little for newcomers to learn a language in the Netherlands.

[4.2.2.2.2 Employment and income](#)

Regarding the impact of language courses on the labor market participation of the target group there is not a clear consensus

One of the Danish studies (Pons Rotger, 2011) evaluates the employments and income effects of the *enforcement* of language courses⁴⁵. Those courses were part of three-year long introduction programs aimed at family reunited migrants, and contained a conditional component, as participation in the program was necessary to obtain future

43 The concrete results of the assessment of language proficiency are not mentioned in the document.

45 Hence, the author does not look at the language courses as such, but rather at the influence of their obligatory nature on the employment of newcomers.

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residence permits, and non-participation meant a 20% reduction of welfare benefits. The courses were tailored to the learners by means of an individual plan by which the language level (A2, B2 or C1) was chosen according to, among other, the client's schooling.

The study finds no effects of the enforcement on the employment of family reunited migrants, but it does conclude that it affects positively the income of those migrants: the average annual taxable income of those who learned Danish obligatorily was on average DKK 12000-19000 (EUR 1607-2545) higher than the income of those who learned it voluntarily.

In another Danish study, Clausen, Hummelgaard, Husted, Jensen, & Rosholm (2006b) come to the conclusion that Danish language training has both locking-in and positive effects on self-sufficiency. On the one hand, following a course delays the process of becoming self-sufficient, i.e. finding a job (presumably due to the fact that following the course necessitates time that might have been employed for job search) but at the same time the language skills acquired at the course increase the chances of becoming self-sufficient. Those skills only outweigh the locking-in effect in the long term (ten years).

A Norwegian study (Hayfron, 2001) finds that immigrants attending a government-sponsored language training program are more likely to acquire speaking and reading proficiency in Norwegian than those who do not attend it. However, language proficiency did not have an effect on immigrants' earnings (i.e. Norway-proficient individuals who work do not earn significantly more than non-proficient individuals who work), and explains the finding by the fact that language proficiency may be crucial at the hiring moment, but not for wage determination. The modalities of the training are not discussed.

For Germany, the OECD (2007) concluded on the basis of descriptive data analysis that the number of participants to a 900 hour-German course that found a job six months after was rather reduced (for the analyzed period, 2001-2004, the highest percentage was 29%) and that, moreover, it had declined over the period under analysis⁴⁶. The course seemed more successful for ethnic Germans than for refugees in terms of employment.

⁴⁶ The study also mentions the declining economic situation of the country as a factor probably influencing the employment of immigrants.

Language Instruction for Newcomers in Canada (LINC)

In Canada, language instruction is organized by CIC on the basis of curricula designed by the Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (Evaluation Division, 2010a). The provision of the courses is then contracted to Service Providing Organizations (SPOs): schools, colleges, universities, libraries and community agencies. The courses are voluntary and comprehend five literacy levels. Their contents may be general or focus on civics (i.e. cultural orientation, cf. supra), depending on the SPO organizing them.

In addition to regular courses, an informal program run by volunteers has been set up in Ottawa: the English Language Tutoring for the Ottawa Community (ELTOC) is a non-profit organization focusing on those newcomers who cannot participate in regular English classes due for instance care duties, limited mobility, work schedule, health, little prior education or not being able to keep up in classes)⁴⁷.

Among the evaluation studies selected for this review in the field of language policies, the most comprehensive one is the LINC evaluation. It assesses both the inputs and processes and the outputs and outcomes related to language sources. The evaluation was organized along four criteria:

a) **Program relevance and design.** The program was found to fit within the priorities of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), the department dealing with integration policies, and to respond to the needs of newcomers, as 86% of permanent residents in Canada do not have English or French as their mother tongue. Moreover, classes were made flexible by providing continuous intake.

b) **Program management and delivery.** The program was found to meet member needs by means of a flexible program. Moreover, the service providers have adequate tools and information for service delivery, and sometimes they offer child care and transportation assistance for students.

c) **Program impacts.** On average, students completed one level (out of six). Sixty percent passed at least one level, and 26% of the students completed more than one⁴⁸. LINC was found to have an impact on the students' reading and writing abilities, but not in listening and speaking. Gains from the program in terms of language proficiency

⁴⁷ For more information see <http://www.eltoc.ca>. In the context of ELTOC it should be noted that the line demarcating informal language courses from other programs such as mentorship (cf. infra) is blurry, as mentoring programs also serve to improve language proficiency, albeit implicitly. We decided to mention the ELTOC example as language courses due to the fact that their main policy focus lies on language learning for members of the target group who would otherwise not participate in regular courses. Moreover, the dichotomy between informal and formal learning should not be seen as an absolute one.

⁴⁸ It is nevertheless unclear from the evaluation whether this finding refers to all course participants, those participants who finished the course or those who took part in the exam, and whether the finding is based on survey or administrative data.

“raised markedly” after 100 hours of instruction. However, no difference was found between LINC participants and non-participants in terms of some activities such as going to the doctor or using public transportation.

d) **Cost-effectiveness.** The evaluations points at the fact that the cost of the language courses per student has risen in recent years, and explores the reasons for the rise (a rise in child minding and transportation costs a.o.).

The results of the evaluation were the result of a combination of methodological techniques, among which document and desk research, surveys of instructors, service providers’ administrators, current and former students and non-students. Regression techniques were applied to some of the data and, in addition, administrative data were also analyzed.

The OECD (2007, pp. 272-274, 228-230) conducted an analysis on the basis of Swedish data and found that, in the long term (7 years), taking 300 to 500 hours of language courses increased the likelihood of refugees’ employment. It should be noted, however, that early employment outweighs the impact of language courses: for those immigrants having arrived to Sweden in 1997, the chances of being employed in 2004 were larger if they had been employed in 1998 than if they followed a Swedish language course in 1997 or 1998.

[4.2.2.2.3 Social integration](#)

In addition to the employment and income effects, the Canadian and the Australian evaluations refer briefly to the effects of language courses on the social dimension of integration (Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship., n.d.; Evaluation Division, 2010a). The Australian evaluation argues that the courses facilitate social interaction. In addition, they make immigrants comfortable about living in Australia⁴⁹. Conversely, the Canadian study found that, even though English classes often focus on teaching English for daily life and settlement⁵⁰, the integration outcomes of participants and a control group which did not follow any courses were similar in terms of certain integration activities such as making new friends, having a bank account, being comfortable using public transportation, having a social insurance number, having or applying for a health card, and feeling comfortable going alone for health services.

49 In this sense, it might be said that they fulfill in a certain way the function of the cultural orientation courses of European continental countries.

50 The word “settlement” is used in the Canadian context as synonymous for the West-European “integration” (cf. supra).

4.2.2.2.4 The policy processes in language courses

The main findings regarding the policy processes by which language courses are delivered concern the adaptation of the courses to the target group. Even though several countries differentiate their language courses according to the immigrants' degree of schooling at the country of origin, there still seem to be obstacles with regard to the need to tailor policies to a heterogeneous target group. For instance, the evaluation of the Norwegian integration policies (Norberg, 2002) points at the fact that small municipalities often provide "poorly tailored" introduction programs to illiterates, academics and persons without primary school, and only 40% of the municipalities offer courses for highly educated immigrants. At the same time, in spite of the fact that 80% of the municipalities offer Norwegian language classes for participants with little prior schooling, appropriate work placement for this category is still lacking. The ICMPD 2005 study states that immigrants who already know German before coming to Austria are disadvantaged vis-à-vis those who don't, as advanced courses are not covered by the state whereas basic courses are. The first Dutch evaluation (cf. supra) pointed as well at an insufficient diversification of the courses, and the second one pointed at the fact that participants were dissatisfied over the fact that small municipalities group fast and slow learners in a single course due to a small number of newcomers.

In addition to the above, the Australian study refers to the fact that English courses serve as a means to invite members of mainstream services (health, employment, education, housing...) to provide information to newcomers about their services.

4.2.3 Policy lessons

Given the fact that the different measures and studies discussed in this section refer to extremely different socio-economic contexts, target groups and evaluating methodologies, it is impossible to make comparisons across the different measures and identify "the most successful approach" towards language policies for newcomers. Moreover, the fact that little evaluation research has been conducted on the effects of language courses does not allow us to draw extensive lessons from the existing materials. However, this does not imply that no conclusions or lessons may be drawn from the assessment at all:

1. **Why labor market integration?** First, it is clear that most of the evaluations of language policies assess either the policies' outputs or use as main evaluation criterion the effectiveness of those measures in terms of integration of newcomers vis-à-vis the labor market. There is in other words little research

about the impact of policies on other types of integration such as social participation, or the extent to which the target group uses the language in their daily interactions. Canada seems to be the exception in this regard, albeit to a limited extent. We may ask ourselves the question whether that emphasis responds to certain policy priorities, or simply due to the fact that data availability on both policy outputs and labor market integration of immigrants is readily available in most countries.

2. **Language courses or fast employment?** As the OECD analysis of Swedish data shows, language courses may have a smaller effect than fast employment. In this sense, we may ask ourselves whether foreseeing a language course, which often takes several months or sometimes even one or two years (cf. Norway) is the most effective way of ensuring labor market integration.
3. **Research gap about the effects of different modalities of language courses.** To date, no evaluations have provided a comparison of the way in which certain course modalities have differential impacts on the integration of immigrants. We do not know, for instance, whether “informal” language courses at the workplace, such as those provided in one of the Swedish examples, lead migrants faster to employment than “traditional” courses, or whether content-based learning has a larger impact on the contacts of the target group with the local population than other types of learning.
4. **More is not always better.** As it has become clear from the description of both the policies and the evaluations, there is a large spread across the number of hours of language tuition provided in each country. In the case of Sweden or Canada there are nevertheless indications of a possible “cutoff point” or “optimal” number of instruction hours. We should note, however, that that “optimal” number differs depending on the aims of the policy: the Swedish example refers to an optimal number of hours (300-500) in function of labor market integration, the Canadian one relates to language proficiency (1000 hours). The implication of the above is that goals need to be clearly prioritized and policies shaped according to that priority list. It should be noted that both cutoff points are situated above the number of hours of language instruction that is currently foreseen in the Flemish civic integration program.
5. **Should we focus on all aspects of learning a language?** Even though the German study found out that language courses were effective for learning all

dimensions of the language, the Canadian example shows that courses may be more effective for certain aspects of language learning (reading and writing) than for other (speaking and listening). Therefore, it may be convenient, in certain contexts, to focus regular courses more on those components and to encourage alternative forms of learning as a complement. A differentiated approach in function of the students' degree of schooling or their main motivation to learn the language (communicate on the street, find a job, interact at school...) may also be an option.

6. **Language courses do not automatically lead to more integration.** As the studies discussed above show, there does not seem to be a univocal effect of language courses on the integration of newcomers, at least in terms of structural integration in the domain of labor (employment and income).
7. **Different levels needed for different groups?** As the Danish example shows, language requirements may be differentiated per target group. This raises however a number of issues. First, sound mechanisms needs to be put into place in order to assign members of the target group to a course level. Second, when evaluating the effects of language instruments in terms of employment, the evaluations should take into account the target group differentiation. In order to take it into account, a good monitoring system is required.

4.3 Labor market instruments

4.3.1 Modalities

Employment is one of the main dimensions along which integration policies are designed and implemented in the OECD countries. It should be noted that policies *within* mainstream services aiming at the integration of newcomers or foreigners, or policies for which newcomers are not the main target group, are excluded from the review⁵¹. The main modalities of the instruments we discuss here are listed in the table below.

Criterion	Modalities
Target group	Refugees Newcomers Unemployed immigrants Migrant company owners
Goals	Quick employment

⁵¹ This is the case of the Second Chance Program in Norway, which is aimed at the whole population, but whose clients are mainly immigrant women.

Contents of the instrument	Employment as one option
	Subsidized jobs (private employers)
	Subsidized jobs (public sector)
	Internships
	Visits to workplaces
	Vocational training
	Mentoring
	Guidance and counseling by PES
	Voluntary work
	Information provision
Interaction with language courses	Job-oriented language training
	Combination of labor market instruments with language courses

Table 8. Modalities of labor market instruments

The target population of employment-related schemes may comprise several categories: newcomers as a whole, difficult to place or unemployed immigrants (loose from whether they are newcomers or not), or migrant company owners. Are often non-EEA newcomers, such as in the case of Denmark's integration policies. Their goals may also differ strongly: whereas some countries (such as Denmark and Sweden) aim at quick employment other countries (Belgium-Flanders) do not aim at the employment of all newcomers, but rather contemplate employment as one possible outcome along education and other types of social participation (such as volunteer work).

The concrete shape the labor market instruments take depend largely on the country at stake. They may include both generic measures such as the provision of information, and measures specifically tailored to the needs of individual jobseekers, such as subsidized employment in the public or the private sector, internships, visits to workplaces, mentoring (cf. *infra*), guidance and counseling by Public Employment Services (PES) and placement in voluntary work.

Employment instruments are often applied in conjunction with language courses (cf. *supra*). In this regard we can identify two main modalities. On the one hand, content-based learning can be used in which language courses have as main subject language learning for a specific job. On the other hand, "generic" language courses can be combined with labor market instruments such as placement. Moreover, the inclusion of work-related components in language courses may be done either from the beginning of language training or as a further step after the newcomer has reached a minimum level.

4.3.2 Results

References to labor market measures were found in ten entries of the database. Six out of those eight studies, most of which were conducted in Sweden and Denmark, are quantitative, and use either timing of events duration models or logistic regressions in order to evaluate the measures under observation. The Portuguese evaluation consists of quantitative data analysis. As all of the studies focus on the effects of the policies as opposed to their outputs (cf. supra), we present a separate analysis for each instrument category: provision of information, counseling, training and active labor market policy instruments such as subsidized employment⁵².

⁵² It should be noted that in the last category some instruments may include training components.

Country	Instrument	Focus	Methods	Effects	
				Training	Employment
Portugal	(IOM, 2010b)	Information provision Support in job search	Outputs Effects	3	+ (enrolment in training) + (limited)
Israel	(Cohen-Goldner & Eckstein, 2010)	Training	Effects	6	+ (job offers)
Finland	(Särvimäki & Hämäläinen, 2010)	Individualized integration plans that may include language courses, preparatory and/or vocational training, career counseling, rehabilitation and work practice	Effects	6	+ (enrolment in training) +
Sweden	(Aslund & Johannson, 2011)	Intensive counseling	Effects	6	+ (indirect through work experience)
Sweden	(Jona & Nekby, 2012)	Intensive counseling and coaching	Effects	5	+ (enrolment in training) +
Sweden	(Svantesson & Aranki, 2006)	Labor market practice, language practice at work Contacts with the labor market (study visits to workplaces)	Effects	5	+ (labor market practice)
Sweden	(Delander, Hammarstedt, Månsson, & Nyberg, 2005)	Work-oriented language training combined with practical workplace training	Effects	6	+
Denmark	(Heinesen, Winter, Bøge, & Husted, 2004; OECD, 2007)	Private sector employment Public sector employment Enterprise-based training Counseling Public job training Casework	Effects	5	+ (subsidized employment in private sector, enterprise-based training) - (public sector employment) No effect (public job training)
Denmark	(Heinesen, 2011)	Employment with a wage subsidy (private sector employment) Direct employment (public sector) Other measures (training, education, counseling).	Effects	6	+ (largest effect from subsidized employment in private sector)
Denmark	(Clausen et al., 2009)	Employment with a wage subsidy Direct employment programs. Education and training. Mixed special programs. Counseling and upgrading Special employment in private sector firms	Effects	6	+ (private employment with a wage subsidy, special employment in the private sector) - (direct employment, education and training, mixed special programs, counseling and upgrading,).

Table 9. Results of labor market instruments

4.3.2.1 Information provision

One database entry refers to the provision of information regarding employment, focused on the target group of immigrants without the provision of targeted individual counseling or coaching. In Portugal, a partnership was set up between the integration services, the Institute for Employment and Professional Training and other institutions (municipalities, institutions of social solidarity, immigrant associations, trade unions, schools of professional education, et cetera) in order to create a Network *GIP Migrante* aimed at providing support to unemployed migrants through the provision of information, support in the search for employment, the collection and dissemination of job offers and other measures. The Portuguese Network *GIP Migrante* was evaluated on the basis of the opinions of counselors, and its most relevant advantages were found to be the complementarity with other services, access to information and training, cooperation with job centers and the reinforcement of the relations with local entities, among others. The services are mostly used by low-skilled clients (according to 2010 data, 60.4% of the clients had pre-primary or lower secondary education). It is those less-skilled migrants who, according to the counselors, are helped the most by the program in terms of integration. However, the effectiveness of the network in terms of employment remains limited, as only 20% of referrals resulted in effective employment in 2010. However, 72% of the training referrals resulted in enrolment in training programs.

4.3.2.1 Counseling

One of the database entries assessing labor market policy instruments focuses on the effects of counseling measures on the employment of immigrants (Joonas & Nekby, 2012). In Sweden, where the focus of integration policies has increasingly come to lay on labor market integration⁵³, an experiment was conducted in 2006 in which intensive coaching and counseling by the Public Employment Services were implemented. The “coaching aimed to help immigrants find, apply for, and secure unsubsidized employment and/or to facilitate better matches”. That coaching included offering active labor market instruments to unemployed immigrants. Those instruments include “job search activities, validation of foreign credentials, courses on interview

53 The Swedish reform of the integration system in 2010 transferred the coordination of integration policies as a whole from the municipal authorities to the PES and put fast employment at the core of its integration policies: an introduction plan is to be drawn for every newcomer, and that plan must contain at least language courses, civic orientation courses and vocational training. In addition, several other measures relating to labor market integration have been adopted, such as step-in jobs in which immigrants’ employment is subsidized, subsidies for language or training at work, supplementary education for overqualified immigrants, mentoring schemes and information provision on the needed skills in a certain region.

techniques and how to write job applications, PES labor-market training (usually some form of occupational education), and wage subsidized employment programs”.

The policy intervention was set up as an experiment: on the one hand, a control group was set up in which active labor market instruments were offered, without intensive coaching. On the other hand, an experimental group was set up in which the same instruments were offered, but where caseworkers had a reduced caseload (35-40 cases per caseworker per month).

The study evaluating the policy defined the effectiveness of the program as the non-subsidized employment of participants. On the basis of a multinomial regression they concluded that there was a significant positive effect of the policy measure on the employment and labor market-training probabilities for the participants, as they had better access to work experience programs, trial employment, guidance or job search activities, validation and preparatory training than the participants of the control group; participants were 43% more likely to be employed than non-participants. In addition, younger participants were more likely to be treated in the evaluated program than older participants. The effects were only significant for male newcomers.

A second Swedish study (Aslund & Johannson, 2011) evaluates the Special Introduction (SIN) program that was rolled out between 2003 and 2005, which had been previously applied for disabled workers and which was transferred to a target group of migrants in 20 municipalities in the metropolitan areas of Sweden. The program’s target group were immigrants or refugees aged 20 and above who were on the one hand “job ready” (i.e. capable of taking a job immediately), but also at risk of becoming long-term unemployed. “Job ready” meant in this context that the immigrants had sufficient Swedish language skills, that they were not in need of any type of rehabilitation, and that they were willing to commute or relocate⁵⁴. The program was only used after having tested other alternatives such as standard job search assistance or other labor market programs.

SIN consisted of six phases. First, the case worker conducted a job search analysis by interviewing the individual and assessing his merits, potentials and wishes. Secondly, a job gathering by the case worker took place in which he looked for suitable jobs, and informed the potential employers about the fact that the final goal of the program is

54 The study does not mention the criteria to define whether an immigrant was facing the risk of being unemployed. However, it points at the fact that in practices the eligibility rules were loose, as some participants were admitted if they were at risk of being unemployed and if they had completed a local introduction program any period of time ago.

employment. Employers could offer participants a traineeship position in the beginning, but there had to be a promise of future employment. In a third step, work analysis, the individual was matched to the job, by making clear whether any tasks should be changed, and which type of support the officer would give to the participant during the workplace introduction (such as helping to overcome language barriers or making sure the participant became a part of the workplace community). The fourth step was the workplace introduction, in which several actors (the participant, the case worker, the employer, colleagues and the union representatives) cooperated. The work experience (or introduction) period lasted mostly 6 months, after which a follow-up by the case worker took place in order to make sure the participant was hired. The sixth and final phase is the actual hiring of the individual (employment). Each case worker had 15 to 30 clients (a tenth of the normal caseload).

The evaluation found out that SIN increased the probability of transitions from unemployment into work experience schemes, and that participation in work experience as a result of SIN increased the probability of employment. In other words, those participating in work experience after SIN had larger chances of being employed than those participating in work experience without SIN. The authors underline that the impact of SIN on employment was not a direct one, but rather an indirect one (through fostering participation in work experience). Success factors were, according to the evaluators, better counseling and understanding of each applicant, intensified efforts in finding work for clients, and careful matching between participants and employers. In addition, Aslund and Johansson quote a previous qualitative evaluation in which it was found out that one of the success factors of the program was the fact that the officers spent more time with each client than in other programs, what increased the chances of a successful match.

The Swedish findings are confirmed for Norway by Djuve (2003 in OECD, 2012), who finds indications of the fact that close follow-ups and budget autonomy for the participants improve labor market outcomes.

4.3.2.3 Training

The effects of training are assessed in three entries of the database that refer to Israel, Finland and Sweden.

Cohen-Goldner & Eckstein (2010) investigated the impact of training measures on highly-skilled female immigrants from the former Soviet Union. The policy instrument consists of voluntary, government-sponsored vocational classroom training, which is part of the

“absorption package” to which every newcomer to Israel has right and which also includes Hebrew courses. The training lasts on average six months, with 26 hours of study per week regarding the theoretical background of a specific profession (sales, cosmetics, diamond cutting, computers) and its practical aspects. It also includes visit to potential workplaces and training centers, to speak about skill requirements and job conditions. Participants are not allowed to work while attending. According to the study, the drop-out rate of the program was very low (5%). In order to have access to training, the participants were required to speak Hebrew. Most of the participants included in the analysis (94%) had attended language courses short after their arrival, and were eligible to participate in the training program after two quarters (thus they started participation during their third quarter in Israel).

The analysis came to several conclusions. First, the likelihood of participation decreased with the number of children, marital status (being married) and age at arrival. Conversely, it increased with education and previous experience with white-collar jobs (i.e. highly educated women were more likely to participate in training). Second, it found a positive impact of training on job offers both for white collar and blue collar occupations, especially for those women who did not have any previous working experience in Israel. Third, it concluded that training increased wages for those working in white collar occupations (for blue collar the wage-return to training was not statistically different from zero). Fourth, the authors emphasize the importance of the job-search skills (enhanced for instance by the provision of information about the Israeli labor market) within the training program in addition to the occupational skills. Fifth, they conclude that training is especially valuable in terms of job offers for older and less-skilled workers “since it provides them with the option to leave unemployment for a potentially better job”.

The study of Sarvimäki and Hämäläinen (2010) encompasses the Finnish integration policies that were introduced in Finland by the Act on the Integration of Immigrants and Reception of Asylum Seekers in 1999. That act transfers some responsibility for immigrant integration to the local administrations (by establishing the requirement of foreseeing integration plans), and introduces the obligation to draw individualized integration plans for recently arrived non-working migrants. Those plans include “a sequence of language courses, other preparatory and/or vocational training, career counseling, rehabilitation, work practice and so forth”. It should be noted that the plans cover training that is offered outside the Labor Administration, for instance by adult education institutions and universities. This means that a participant may follow courses at those institutions (“comparable labor market measures”) and still be eligible for social

benefits during participation. The plans are drawn up in a joint meeting between the immigrant, a representative of a local employment office and, if needed, an interpreter. It includes a sequence of training measures, and agreed dates for monitoring visits.

The plans are targeted at recently arrived immigrants (three years prior to starting the program) who are registered as unemployed jobseekers or who live in a household receiving social assistance, and they end when the participant makes a transition to permanent, full-time employment or becomes a full-time student. Participation is obligatory, and refusal to participate or failure to follow the plan is sanctioned with a reduction of social benefits of 20-40% from a baseline of "roughly" 500 Euros per month.

On the basis of a comparison between participants in the plans and immigrants who arrived before the plans were introduced, the authors conclude that the integration plans had a positive impact on employment and income: the introduction of the integration plans increased the duration of employment by 1.5 months, and decreased the social benefits received per year by 1,323 Euros. The results hold after controlling for demographic characteristics, region of origin, residence permit, local unemployment rate, type of municipality, residence in Helsinki and moment when the participant entered the population registry.

In Sweden, Svantesson & Aranki (2006) evaluated the effects of labor market practice, which involves learning about the Swedish labor market and a specific workplace, as well as the possibility to match the participants' previous experience with a workplace in Sweden; language practice, which provides immigrants with the opportunity to learn Swedish at work without adapting the work to the migrants' previous work experience; and other labor market contact, such as study visits at workplaces.

They define effectiveness implicitly as "the impact of heterogeneous introduction activities on immigrants' employment probability, with respect to a short-run perspective". From their analysis (a binomial logistic model) they conclude that there is a significant positive effect of labor market practice and other labor market contacts on the probability of finding employment. Contrary to Joonas & Nekby, they find a negative significant effect of contacts with counselors: the more an immigrant has contact with a counselor, the least likely he is to find employment in the short term. The authors explain this by pointing at the fact that counselors often guide clients to other directions than employment. As for Swedish language, its effect on the probability of finding employment turns out to be not statistically significant.

In a second Swedish study, Delander et al (2005) looked at the effects of the Sesame project, which combined work-oriented language training at the workplace (thus informal) with practical workplace training for difficult to place immigrant jobseekers⁵⁵. Work-oriented language training focused on interaction and conversation rather than on teaching *about* the Swedish language, i.e. it offered to acquire knowledge of Swedish by natural means. Practical workplace training took place through a workplace mentor, picked with the help of the Trade Union Confederation Stockholm County: The workplace training focused on increasing employability both by improving Swedish proficiency and by giving the participants “practical experience of Swedish working life, the Swedish labor market, and specific work tasks”.

The evaluation assessed the impact of the experiment on the length of unemployment of participants, and did so through a quasi-experiment in which participants to the project (the Sesame project), chosen on the basis of the fact that they were difficult to place due to a lack of knowledge of Swedish, were compared to participants registered as unemployed by the employment offices in the country of Stockholm. The impact was tested for two categories of unemployed immigrants. Category A comprised those individuals who were removed from the jobseekers register because they were placed in a job, education, or in a labor market program (mainstream services). Category B only comprised those participants who were removed from the jobseekers register because they found a job.

The results they obtain “point out that dominant-language ability is an important factor for the labor market integration of immigrants” for Category A: participation in the project was found to significantly reduce the unemployment spells of difficult to place immigrants: the probability to leave unemployment at a certain moment in time was 40% higher among participants than among members of the comparison group. However, if the analysis is limited to Category B, which includes only those workers who actually found a job (as opposed to workers who were removed from the unemployment registry either because they found a job or for other reasons) across the experimental and control groups, the effect disappears.

The Sesame findings are confirmed for Norway by Djuve (2003 in OECD 2012), who points at the importance of work praxis (labor market practice): 80 hours or more of work praxis (internship) increase the probability of having a job, as opposed to program

⁵⁵ After their participation in the project, the immigrants were referred back to the mainstream employment services.

participation as a whole. In that case, the number of hours did not have an impact on the probability to have a job.

Effectiveness and efficiency in the evaluation of labor market instruments

The evaluations considered above focus essentially on the assessment of policy instruments' effectiveness as opposed to their efficiency. However, they make some suggestions as to how to measure the efficiency of the measures they analyze, and one of them offers concrete calculations. Clausen et al (2009) suggest a possible definition of efficiency for employment in the private sector with a wage subsidy, which boils down to weighing the social benefits of inclusion in the labor force derived from employment against the costs for employers to hire and train a worker who will potentially leave his firm. For Delander et al (2005), the efficiency of the Sesame project can be measured by a cost- benefit analysis of the project's benefits in terms of unemployment duration (i.e. participating helps to reduce unemployment) and the project's financial costs. Joonas & Nekby (2012) define efficiency as the added value of the project in terms of production (wages, employer taxes, social contributions) minus the financial cost of the program divided by the number of participants who produced that added value. The conclusion was that costs exceeded benefits.

4.3.2.4 Active labor market policy measures

All four database entries evaluating the effects of active labor market policy instruments on newcomers refer to Denmark, where one of the objectives of the Integration Act is "that newly arrived foreigners should enter permanent employment and self-sufficiency more quickly". This emphasis on quick employment is translated into a monitoring and evaluation system in which municipalities (in charge of the implementation of integration policies) are benchmarked according to how fast a foreigner obtains a job. Through an assessment, each municipality determines the type of job training the newcomer should undertake in order to foster his integration: education, workfare, subsidized employment, et cetera

Denmark implements a vast amount of actions as part of labor-market oriented integration policies. The OECD (2007, pp. 143-144) mentions for instance the "step model", targeted both at new arrivals and "oldcomers" who have been in Denmark for some years. It is composed of two steps. The first one consists of intensive language training and introduction to the labor market, followed by a workplace introduction, possibly combined with language training in function of the workplace (step 2). No wage is paid to the trainee, but he or she may receive regular social benefits. In the third step,

if the immigrant is still not “in a position to be fully functional in the workplace” and still needs language or skills training, local authorities can subsidize part of his salary for max. 12 months. The project applying the model is the product of a collaboration between Danish employers’ and workers’ association and 13 municipalities. However, no evaluations of this specific program were found in the context of this review.

Heinesen et al (2004), discussed in OECD (2007) conducted a comparison of Danish municipalities’ integration policies for Non-EEA nationals. They defined effectiveness as the average duration until newly arrived immigrants become self-supporting or go into education in each municipality, in comparison with the expected duration. They report that an increase of 1% in the number of enterprise-based training days is associated with a five-day reduction of the period until the immigrant becomes employed, and there are positive significant effects from short training programs, as well as counseling and upgrading in the long term (OECD, 2007). The expected duration filters municipal differences regarding contextual factors, such as unemployment rates, which may also influence the rate at which immigrants find employment. The study finds out that the most successful municipalities in helping immigrants towards employment are those using private employment programs in which unemployed workers are placed in the private sector and their employment is subsidized. By contrast, public sector employment programs in which a work in the public sector is subsidized, including language training, seem to have negative effects, as they delay the actual process of finding a job (lock-in effects). Moreover, they find that successful municipalities “work out individual action plans for immigrants on time and of high quality”, and counselors behave in a flexible way rather than formalistically.

The study of Clausen et al (2009) echoes Heinesen et al’s (2004) findings. They evaluated the relative effectiveness of six instruments: employment in private sector firms with wage subsidies, direct employment in the public sector, education and training, mixed programs designed to improve personal and vocational skills through combinations of measures, counseling and upgrading (introduction programs, education, voluntary unpaid work, adult education, supplementary training) and special employment programs (subsidized private-sector employment) (Clausen et al, 2009). The evaluation took place by means of a timing of events duration model, in which they also included language training (cf. *infra*). Effectiveness was defined as the rate at which newly arrived immigrants find regular reemployment. They conclude from their analysis that most labor-market programs have a negative impact on the hazard rate to regular employment of newly arrived immigrants (i.e. lock-in effects). In other words, for those immigrants participating in the programs will take longer than average to find a job. Only

employment in the private sector with a wage subsidy has a positive effect on the hazard rate: it will take them almost 14 weeks less than average to find a job. For immigrants receiving social assistance the duration is 24 weeks less than average. For language training, it was found that the lock-in effects were even larger if the participant attended language courses simultaneously.

It should be noted that policy measures are not the only factor playing a role in the process of finding a job: Clausen et al point at the fact that the foreigners who find employment more swiftly generally have the following features: men without children, young, married to a Dane, coming from the ex-Yugoslavia and Turkey, with as status family reunification with a non-refugee, residing in a municipality with many foreigners and low unemployment, living outside a ghetto and in good health.

In a more recent evaluation of Danish policy instruments, Heinesen et al (2011) look at the effects of labor market instruments (employment with a wage subsidy, mainly in the private sector, direct employment in the public sector and other measures such as training, education and counseling) on the employment of non-EEA nationals receiving social assistance benefits. They did so by means of a duration model. The results are summarized in the table below.

	Females			Males		
	Restricted mean duration	Marginal effect	SE	Restricted mean duration	Marginal effect	SE
No ALMP	55.0			42.4		
Employment with wage subsidy	45.1	-9.9	1.3	27.3	-15.1	1.0
Direct employment programme	51.4	-3.7	0.5	37.8	-4.6	0.6
Other ALMPs	53.5	-1.5	0.2	39.8	-2.6	0.4

Table 10. Marginal effects of labor market programs
Source: Heinesen (2011).

The table displays the marginal effects of the different programs as the change in the mean duration of social assistance spells over a five-year period (measured in months). For instance, if we focus on the female category “no program is used” social assistance for a participant will last on average 55 months over a period of 5 years. If employment with wage subsidy is used, the average duration of social assistance will be reduced by 9.9 months for females and 15.1 for males. The program shows thus positive effects, the largest for subsidized employment in the private sector. Large and significant effects were also found for employment in the public sector (“direct employment program” in the table above), what contradicts the findings of the evaluations above. Moreover, the study found out that the effects of programs were larger if they started after six months of unemployment, and that the effects were different for men than for women

4.3.3 Policy lessons

Within the domain of labor market instruments, several common trends can be distinguished across the evaluations discussed above. Based on those trends we formulate the following policy lessons:

1. **Subsidized private sector employment, work praxis and intensive counseling are the most successful instruments to integrate newcomers in the labor market.** Most of the studies assessing the effects of active labor market policy instruments on the employment of immigrants point at the fact that subsidized private sector employment is the most effective measure, although it is also an expensive one. In addition, work praxis (cf. number 2 below) and intensive counseling with a reduced caseload have delivered good results as well.
2. **Early contact with the labor market works**, whether in the form of private employment or internships/apprenticeships or, as the Israeli example shows, by conducting visits to potential employers, is in most cases a key element in order to avoid lock-in effects. There is, however, not enough clarity about the concrete shape that early contact should adopt. On the one hand, the role of language instruction in labor market measures is not fully clear: should labor market measures include language instruction at work, or be combined with regular courses? On the other hand, we do not know whether policy instruments should be oriented towards obtaining fast employment or rather to find a good match between the newcomer and the job. The evaluations based on the Danish Monitoring and Evaluation System suggests that immigrants should find a job as soon as possible, but the match between the job and the immigrant him or herself seems to be of secondary importance and the quality of the job does not seem to be taken into account either. An alternative approach would rather aim at optimizing the match between the immigrant and his or her first job according to his competences and desires, even if that means a longer unemployment period. What the best approach is may depend on the context: in countries with rigid labor markets, such as Belgium, in which the chances of switching from sector to sector or from position to position are limited, it may be prudent to sacrifice some time out of the labor market for a good match, but at the same time taken into account the probability of lock-in effects. In countries where mobility is high, such as Denmark⁵⁶, a quick entry may be more adequate.

56 Denmark has a flexible labor market, characterized by frequent job changes.

3. **Participation of trade unions.** As the Swedish example shows, the social partners may be enlisted in the implementation of labor market-related instruments, including language instructions.
4. **Attention to processes.** The evaluations of labor market instruments display the opposite shortcoming than civic integration programs: whereas the latter are not evaluated in terms of their effects, we barely know something about the processes by which those policies are implemented and the impact of those modalities on the employment. For instance, we know from Heinesen et al and from the Swedish experiment with intensive guidance that the behavior of local officials can play an important role in the integration process. Similar elements can play a role in other policies.
5. **Attention to mechanisms.** In spite of the fact that the evaluations show when policies work, there is little knowledge about the causal mechanisms of *how* policies work. For instance, it is not clear, in the case of the success of private sector employment, whether the effect is only due to the financial incentive for the employer, or whether it is due to the knowledge that workers acquire in the private sector.
6. **Heterogeneity of the target group.** Some studies point at the fact that different measures have different effects for different segments of the target group. For instance, one of the Swedish evaluations points at the fact that the evaluated intervention only worked for males. In other words, socio-economic characteristics should be taken into account, both during the design and the evaluation of policies. This underlines once more the importance of tailor-made policies.
7. **Language training may be useful in combination with labor market training, but the need of long language courses needs to be questioned.** The effects of language training on employment may be positive in some cases, as shown by some of the Swedish studies (Delander et al., 2005). However, we should take into account a few critical remarks. First, the possibility of the lock-in effects of a long language training should be taken into account, especially in flexible labor markets. In this sense, the combination of practical language training at the workplace may offer an interesting alternative. Second, the minimum language requirements for newcomers will change from job to job. Policies need to take this "cutoff-point" into account.

4.4 Mentoring schemes

4.4.1 Modalities

Aside from the more formal measures that have been described, such as language courses or civic integration programs, several countries (Canada, Ireland, United Kingdom, Denmark, Iceland) have started mentoring schemes. Most mentoring schemes display the same basic feature: they consist of a one-to-one matching between members of the local community (volunteers) and newcomers. The program generally consists of repeated informal contacts between mentors and mentees, which may vary in their frequency, duration and nature. However, the way in which the programs are concretely organized shows several differences in terms of target groups, goals, the participating actors and the scale at which they are organized. The instruments’ modalities are summarized in the table below.

Criterion	Modalities
Target group	Women Immigrants in general Newcomers with specific professions (engineers, linguists...) Refugees Unemployed newcomers
Goals	Self-sufficiency Personal networks Labor market integration Language proficiency
Type of contact	Formal Informal
Funding	European Integration Fund Private charities

Table 11. Modalities of mentoring

The target group are mostly immigrants in general, as in the case of Canada’s Host program, which is targeted at newcomers in general. There are, nevertheless, some exceptions such as refugees (Ireland, UK), or women (Denmark).

The ends pursued by mentorship schemes vary widely across programs: they can include self-sufficiency, language proficiency, sense of belonging, broadening social networks or finding a job. In some cases, mentoring programs even target concrete occupations:

such as “engineers, linguists, journalist, biomedical analyst, economists, secretaries, administrators, project manager, sociologist, agriculturist, and teachers” (MiA mentorship program, Norway).

Aside from the goals of the program, programs can be differentiated according to the criterion they use to match mentors and mentees (education or employment aspirations, interests, demographic profile), the frequency of the contact between mentors and mentees (twice a month, once a month), and the funding sources (private charities, local authorities).

4.4.2 Results

The number of studies assessing the results of mentoring programs is limited. Only three database entries refer to evaluations of mentoring schemes: the ICI Mentoring Program (Ireland), the Time Together program (UK) and the Host program (Canada). In addition, a fourth entry makes some references to the KVINFO Mentoring Network (Denmark). The evaluations look at the impact of the measures on labor market integration, language proficiency and the construction of personal networks⁵⁷. It should be noted that the evaluations do not always adopt the goals of the program as a criterion to evaluate it. For instance, the ICI evaluation looked at integration in terms of the EU’s Common Basic Principles, and the evaluation of Time Together used the Home Office’s indicators for integration: confidence, English language, employment, re-qualification and further education, combating isolation, understanding UK culture, knowing the local area, volunteering and access to public services.

The evidence about the effects of mentoring schemes is in general not strong from a methodological point of view: the Irish and British studies are of a qualitative nature (score 1 according to the methodological scale), whereas the Canadian one combines qualitative information with a survey of participants and policy actors (score 3). That evidence relates on the one hand to the labor market integration of the target group, and on the other hand to improvements in their language proficiency. The effects of the evaluations are summarized in the table below.

⁵⁷ Compare with the evaluation of language courses, which mostly concentrate on the impact of policies on labor market integration.

Evaluation	Methodological quality	Type of effect		
		Employment	Social networking	Language proficiency
Canada (Evaluation Division, 2010b)	4		+	+
Ireland (Healy, 2010)	2		+	+
UK (Esterhuizen & Murphy, 2007)	2		+	+
Denmark (OECD, 2007)	1	+		

Table 12. Results of mentoring

An OECD publication from 2007 (OECD, 2007) refers briefly to the labor market integration impacts of a Danish mentoring scheme, the KVINFO Mentoring Network. The network focused originally on women, although a network for men has also been launched in the meantime. This instrument, which has been often quoted as a best practice in the international literature, focuses the mentorship relationships on labor market integration through strengthening the personal networks of the mentees, and relies on a formalized contract lasting from six months to one year.

The OECD publication points out that out of 900 female mentees, 160 previously unemployed women and women whose jobs did not match their education level gained employment through the network activities in the first three years of the program. A presentation from 2009 about KVINFO's male mentor network⁵⁸ states that, out of 10 participating mentees, 4 moved to an ordinary job, 2 to a subsidized job and 2 started an education. We do not know, however, whether employment is a direct effect of the network or whether there are other factors which possibly play a role as well.

Besides labor market integration, the evaluations point at effects from mentoring schemes in terms of language proficiency and social networking. This was the case of the British Time Together Program and the Canadian Host program. Time Together is a mentoring scheme directed at refugees and organized by a British charity. Its evaluation (Esterhuizen & Murphy, 2007) was carried out for 30 couples from 24 mentoring projects over the UK by means of interviews during and after the mentoring. It assessed the effectiveness of mentoring as the impact the policy initiative had on the integration of refugees. The evaluation concluded that the mentoring relationships had a positive impact on the mentee's integration, especially in terms of improving English language proficiency, advice regarding everyday life and confidence building. For a quarter of the

⁵⁸ See <http://mnw.kvinfo.dk/sites/default/files/Memet%20Ahmed%20final%20version.pdf>

couples, it had had life-changing effects⁵⁹. Even though the program recommended meetings to take place outside the participants' home, it found out that home visits and the incorporation of the mentee's into the mentors' network has positive effects on the integration of the mentee.

The evaluation of the Irish ICI Mentoring Initiative (Healy, 2010), which is modeled on the basis of Time Together (organization by a private charity), finds positive effects of mentoring in terms of supported access to labor market, education, social and cultural life in Ireland.

The evaluation of the Canadian Host program (Evaluation Division, 2010b) mentions the effects of mentoring on language proficiency and social networks too. The Host program is directed at adult newcomers in general, and includes both individual activities (one-to-one matching) and collective activities involving at least one volunteer and several newcomers. The program is monitored through iCAMS, the Canadian follow-up infrastructure for integration policies⁶⁰. The program was found to be relevant and unique in creating networks between newcomers and Canadians. Regarding its design, specific services were requested for clients with disabilities, youth, women and newcomer professionals. Regarding program implementation, participants were satisfied, and the most popular activities were those providing opportunities for conversation, whether individual or in group. As for the program's results in terms of settlement and adaptation, the most important effect was found in language improvement. It also helped participants to expand their social (more than their professional) network, increase the knowledge of Canadian culture and newcomers' cultures, and to develop clients' social skills, identity, leadership and lasting personal connections.

In addition to the impacts on labor market integration and language proficiency mentioned above, the evaluation of mentoring programs offers the opportunity to assess the two-way nature of integration policies, as it involves both members of the target group (mentees) and the receiving society (mentors). The evaluation of Time Together assessed the two-way nature of integration by pointing at the benefits that mentors obtained from participating, such as cultural exchange, increased confidence or personal reward from providing practical help, and it found out that satisfaction with the support was high, both what regards individual as group support (for a group of mentors).

59 However, it also found for a quarter of the couples that the relationship ended before it could have any lasting effect on integration.

60 Comparable to the Flemish "Matrix".

4.4.3 Policy lessons

Several lessons may be drawn from the evaluations of mentoring schemes:

1. The three evaluations coincide on the **positive impact** mentoring has had on participants on language, social participation and labor market integration. We should take however two important features of the schemes into account. First, the success on each of the aforementioned domains seems to be strongly contingent upon the modalities of the scheme: the Danish networks is for instance focused on employment. In other words, mentoring schemes seem to need a clear focus to succeed. Second, it should be noted that the process of recruiting, matching and training participants is an intensive and costly one. Moreover, the methodological strength of the studies is limited as they do not provide any insights into the causal mechanisms leading to outcomes. We do not know, for instance, how mentoring exactly helps to improve language proficiency: do they practice the language with their mentors? Do mentors motivate them to participate in language courses?
2. **Mentoring programs constitute a special opportunity to evaluate the two-way nature of integration.** Integration is regarded by both policy makers and experts as a two-way process in which both the receiving society and the newcomers adapt to each other. Mentoring programs constitute the archetypical example of that mindset⁶¹. Hence, evaluations should not only look at the integration of newcomers, but also at the impacts of the program on the receiving society.
3. **Take advantage of the multiplier effect.** The positive experiences of British mentors in terms of gaining experience about other cultures may be used as a lever in order to dispel stereotypes and preconceptions among members of the receiving society. In this sense, it might be useful to couple mentoring schemes to other measures regarding awareness-making among the local population.
4. **Inclusion of client information in monitoring systems.** In order to improve the quality of the evaluation of monitoring programs, information on the clients may be linked to monitoring systems for other policies. This is the case of Canada, where information on Host clients is linked to the general monitoring

⁶¹ For instance, the choice for the name "*Samen Inburgeren*" ("Integrating together") in Flanders denotes the policy's emphasis on the two-way dimension of integration.

system for newcomers (iCAMs). In Flanders, this could be replicated for the Matrix client follow-up system.

5. **Matching mentoring schemes to learning initiatives** may contribute to enhance the effects of language courses. This is especially true when we look at the fact that, in Germany, language proficiency deteriorated for those who did not practice German after they completed their civic integration courses.

4.5 Pre-departure orientation programs

4.5.1 Modalities

Pre-departure orientation programs are provided by several OECD countries⁶² (Australia, Canada, Germany, Hungary, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, the United Kingdom and the United States), and they are generally focused on providing immigrants with information about the receiving country. Contrary to other types of measures, they display several common features across countries in terms of their target group, their contents and the way in which they are delivered.

Dimension	Modalities
Target group	Refugees Labor migrants
Type of service	Orientation in the framework of broader service package (transportation, housing, etc). Information sessions
Duration	1-2 days 1-2 hours
Goals	Facilitate self-sufficiency Dispel false expectations about the host country Avoiding labor exploitation
Service provider	IOM (most often) Subcontractors (CA)

Table 13. Modalities of pre-departure orientation programs

Programs consist of short orientation sessions or courses aimed mainly at refugees or labor migrants. They are often implemented at the multilateral level, by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), in cooperation with national authorities and other stakeholders.

⁶² It should be noted that, outside the OECD, several pre-departure orientation programs have been set up by Asian countries such as Bangladesh, the Philippines or Sri Lanka, from where several immigrants depart to the Gulf states.

The courses display two variants. On the one hand, migrant training and pre-integration programs are directed at resettled refugees⁶³ and humanitarian entrants. Those countries receiving large numbers of refugees organize special sessions for those refugees through the IOM as part of broader programs that include case-processing, transportation, health screening and travel assistance. Courses take from one to five days or more, and have as main goal to “facilitate self-sufficiency and promote integration, while reducing culture shock” (IOM 2012). On the other hand, pre-departure orientation and information dissemination is directed at labor migrants. That orientation has employment as main focus, and aims at avoiding exploitation and promoting the workers’ rights abroad. In Canada, cultural orientation abroad is covered by three distinct programs, mainly implemented in Asia by different organizations, and it focuses on several target groups: Federal Skilled Workers and Provincial Nominees (i.e. labor migrants), family migrants, business migrants, etc. Rather than a course, the programs may consist of information sessions (of 2 hours or one day) about the destination country, one-to-one interviews, and referrals to services in Canada. The programs’ goal is to favor labor market integration.

4.5.2 Results

Two evaluations of pre-departure programs were found in the framework of this study, one for Australia and one for Canada. They are summarized in the table below.

Country	Focus of the evaluation	Methodological quality	Conclusions
Australia (Humanitarian Branch DIAC, 2009)	Process Effects	3	Service improves skills of clients
Canada (Evaluation Division, 2012)	Process Effects Outputs	3	Problems with peaks and troughs in demand

Table 14. Results of pre-departure orientation programs

AUSCO, the Australian Cultural Orientation program, is an offshore five-day orientation course directed at humanitarian entrants over five years of age, contracted out to IOM by

63 Resettled refugees are those refugees who cannot go back to their home countries or are unwilling to do so because they will face prosecution, and who are relocated to a third country (<http://www.unhcr.org/pages/4a16b1676.html>). In this context, refugee is defined as a legal category of persons by Article 1 of the 1967 Protocol to the Geneva Convention (“a person who owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.”).

means of tendering processes. Its goals are to provide accurate information on departure proceedings, the facts of settlement, a realistic picture of life in Australia, practical information, encouragement in self-sufficiency and the necessary tools to deal with settlement concerns and the stages of adaptation". The service is delivered before the target group's departure to Australia, and includes information on topics such as "the system of government, geography and climate, cultural adjustment, settling in, health care, education, finding a job, money management, housing, transport, Australian values and laws and the role of the police". Four main groups are distinguished: adults, children, youth and pre-literate entrants.

AUSCO was evaluated in 2009 (Humanitarian Branch DIAC, 2009). There was broad agreement that the program meets its objectives and that it even goes beyond them, as it improves participants' skills on timeliness, their health and nutrition, their confidence and self-awareness. Out of the three Key Performance Indicators (client uptake, satisfaction and competences) only client uptake was measured: the evaluation found out that 70% of the eligible clients attended the course. Regarding the manner of delivery, clients expressed a preference for the use of audio-visual means, such as DVDs, above teacher presentations and role-plays, which are unfamiliar to many of them, whereas the IOM trainers themselves considered role-playing an effective technique.

The evaluation concluded that AUSCO should stress the need to learn English and the importance of the AMEP program (cf. supra). This echoes the IOM's statement that inter-policy coordination between pre-departure orientation programs and onshore integration policies should be prioritized (IOM, 2012, p. 30).

The second entry refers to an evaluation study of the Canadian Overseas Orientation Initiatives. One of those initiatives (Canadian Orientation Abroad) is delivered by IOM in 40 locations across the world. It consists of courses of 1, 3 or 5 days, mainly oriented to refugees, with as objectives providing information about Canada and the participants' rights, freedoms, responsibilities and obligations, determine participants' perceptions and dispel rumors and unrealistic expectations, and enhancing the sense of control and self-confidence of participants (among other goals).

The second program, the Active Engagement and Integration Project (AEIP), is delivered by a different organization (S.U.C.C.E.S.S) in Seoul and Taipei, and is aimed at supporting the newcomers' "settlement, adaptation and integration" to Canada by providing guidance that will facilitate adjustment and promote community and labor market engagement. It consists of two-group orientation sessions, topic-specific

workshops on issues such as labour market employment information, foreign credential recognition, health and medical services, and education and training to upgrade employment skills. It provides individualized case management, and it is rather oriented at labor migrants.

The third program, the Canadian Immigrant Integration Program (CIIP) is delivered by the Association of Canadian Community Colleges in China, India, the Philippines and the UK, as well as on-line. It aims at enabling prospective economic migrants to prepare their credential requirements and achieve faster labor market integration. It consists of 1-day group orientation and individualized counseling that includes the development of personal action plans as well as referrals to other services.

Contrary to the Australian evaluation, the Canadian evaluation (Evaluation Division, 2012) found out that pre-departure orientation programs' relevance varies across immigrant categories: they are less useful for labor migrants than for refugees, as the former category's needs are related to specific employment issues that the courses do not assess (how to get a job, recognition of foreign certifications). Satisfaction with the service was high in general, but not all of the workshops and referrals were useful to all participants, and the program helped to manage newcomers' expectations. In addition, the evaluation made clear that the biggest challenges for participants were employment-related.

4.5.3 Policy lessons

From the above evaluations, we retain two main policy lessons:

- 1. Pre-departure orientation policies should take into account the heterogeneity of the target group.** As the Canadian evaluation demonstrates, the pre-departure information of needs of different target groups cannot need to be covered by differentiated approaches, tailored to the needs of specific groups such as labor or family-reunited migrants.
- 2. Coordination to use pre-departure orientation as a need to other services.** The Australian evaluation shows that pre-departure orientation offers a possibility to act as a "one-stop-shop", by referring immigrants to the relevant services once they arrive to the host country. Therefore, coordination is needed in order to ensure effective referrals.

4.6 Support services

4.6.1 Modalities

In addition to the measures described so far, there are several initiatives that aim at facilitating immigrants’ integration in their host country, such as information centers, translation services and one-stop shops. The remainder of this section discusses a few examples of those services, of which the modalities are summarized in the table below.

Criterion	Modalities
Target group	Immigrants (legal and illegal) Organizations providing services to immigrants
Type of service	Provision of information and advice Translation and interpretation
Service provider	Contractors National authorities Independent charities

Table 15. Modalities of support services

Support services may be focused on all types of immigrants, both legal and illegal. They may consist of several modalities, such as the provision of information and advice, but also translation and interpretation services. Moreover, they may be provided by contractors, such as in the case of Australia, by national authorities or by independent charities, as is the case in the UK.

4.6.2 Results

Seven database entries refer to support services: two of them refer to Australian services (IHSS, Migrant Resource Centers) and four to Portuguese services (CNAI, translation services, SOS immigrant telephone, and CNAI’s field teams) and one to a cross-country European project (One-Stop-Shop Project), directed at the establishment of one-stop shops in six countries (Portugal, Greece, Italy, Spain, Ireland and Germany). They are summarized in the table below.

Country	Type of service	Focus of the evaluation	Methodological quality	Conclusions
Australia (Urbis, 2002)	Migrant community services	Process	2	Useful for community development Need of standards
Australia (Urbis, 2003)	Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy	Process	2	Problems with peaks and troughs in demand
Portugal (IOM, 2010b)	National Migrant Support Centres	Outputs Effects	3	Positive perspective of immigrants Cultural mediation helps
Portugal (IOM, 2010b)	Field teams	Process	2	Services more useful for technicians
Portugal (IOM, 2010b)	Migrant telephone line	Outputs Effects	3	Service helped migrants to overcome their obstacles
Portugal (IOM, 2010b)	Translation services	Outputs Effects	3	Satisfaction with services
Multi-country (Penninx, 2009)	One-stop-shop	Necessary conditions	2	Need of political, practical and structural feasibility

Table 16. Results of support services

All of the evaluations were conducted mainly by means of qualitative techniques (some of them include descriptive data analysis), and focus on distinct aspects of the policy instruments. They share a focus on outputs and processes. In other words, they do not look at how the services under study had an effect on the target group's behavior in terms of, for instance, labor market integration, but look rather at the quality of the service delivery in terms of number of clients or quality of the service offered.

In Australia, information to immigrants is provided by several types of "migrant community services": Migrant Resource Centers, Migrant Service Agencies, the Community Settlement Service Scheme and Social welfare services. One of their most important roles is "to provide information to recently arrived immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds on life in Australia and the services available to them"; they may also provide referral, case-work and outreach services. Moreover, the Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS), focused on humanitarian migrants, consists of support for initial accommodation, health and initial information. It is organized by means of a contracting system in which government funds sub-contractors to deliver the service to immigrants.

The evaluation of the migrant community services (Urbis, 2002) looked at how the support services helped immigrants to find accommodation, find a job or learn English by means of focus groups. Migrants found the services useful, but were dissatisfied about referrals to other systems. There was a need to articulate standards and setting protocols for issues such as domestic violence. In addition, the evaluation identified community development as a side effect of the policy.

The IHSS evaluation (Urbis, 2003) operationalized effectiveness looked as users' satisfaction and the extent and features of service delivery. It found out that services were provided in time and met basic support needs, and that clients were highly satisfied. It also pointed out at some problems of the policy with regard to coordination and the management of peaks and troughs in the inflow of clients. This was solved by a system of Guaranteed Business Levels, by which the organizations provided the service were guaranteed a certain amount of business, which was prepaid by the Australian authorities (Urbis, 2003).

In Portugal, immigrant services are integrated in the National Immigrant Support Services (*Serviços Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante*), which cover one-stop shops for immigrants in which they may obtain information about mainstream services, a telephone line for information provision and a telephone translation service. The one-stop shops (*Centros Nacionais de Apoio ao Imigrante*, CNAI) include representatives from the Foreigners and Borders Department, Social Security, the Authority for Labor Conditions, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health (IOM, 2010b).

The evaluation of the Portuguese CNAI looked at the service in function of mainly two criteria: goal attainment (i.e. number of clients treated) and effectiveness (are the migrants' obstacles removed?). Effectiveness was measured from the clients' perspective: clients were asked about the information they obtained, the timing for the information and their intention to use the centers in the future. In addition, the study also looked at the obstacle or needs for which new policy answers might be necessary, as well as at the coherence and efficacy of the services offered. The evaluation found out that mediators help to increase the efficacy of the CNAI's responses, that long waiting times are an obstacle to the policy; that cooperation among services and organizational features are positively evaluated (satisfaction, leadership, autonomy, etc), and that the immigrants' perspective is positive, both with regard to the CNAI's functioning and the quality of the treatment. The role of socio-cultural mediators is perceived positively as well. A second evaluation looked specifically at the CNAI's field Teams, which are deployed to help institutions and service providers at the neighborhood level. On the

basis of the number of visits carried out by the teams it concluded that the services are rather helpful for technicians than for immigrants themselves, as they allow institutions to disseminate information about services to immigrants.

The evaluation of the telephone services for immigrants (*Linha SOS migrante*) looked particularly at goal attainment (number of clients) and the satisfaction of the target group, and concluded that the level of global satisfaction was high (88,7%). The telephone translation services' evaluation included in addition to goal attainment other criteria such as satisfaction with waiting times, opening hours, etcetera, and looked at the perception of the extent to which the services solved communication obstacles. The conclusion was that the services help to overcome immigrants' obstacles.

The One-Stop-Shop Project, developed in six different European countries (Portugal, Greece, Italy, Spain Ireland, Germany) aimed at exploring the feasibility of the concentration of all services for immigrants in a single location in the same way as the Portuguese CNAI, which concentrate all services for immigrants at a single location, including language assistance. Its evaluation (Penninx, 2009) identified a number of assumptions that need to be fulfilled in order to establish a one-stop-shop: political feasibility (policies should be mobilizing and trust-building), structural feasibility (there should be coherent organizational structures, as well as cooperation between state agencies and civil society) and practical feasibility (this relates to the physical location, opening hours, internal communications and a welcoming atmosphere).

4. 7 Settlement and dispersal policies: modalities, results and lessons

Here, we briefly discuss those measures referred to as "spatial dispersal policies" (Denmark) and "settlement policies" (Australia). Those policies, of which the modalities are summarized in the table below, involve the assignment of arriving immigrants (often refugees or humanitarian migrants) to a certain geographic area. Several countries implement mandatory policies (UK, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway and Denmark). Voluntary policies are used in Sweden⁶⁴ (Damm & Rosholm, 2010). They can be either coordinated by the municipalities, such as in Denmark, or at the national level, such as in the UK. Damm & Rosholm (2010) quote three goals of the policies: to distribute the costs of reception between local authorities, to avoid increasing pressure on housing and "to increase the speed of acquisition of host-country-specific human capital" such as

⁶⁴ Freedom of choice is the baseline principle, but the Swedish government attempts to facilitate "re-settlement from municipalities receiving many immigrants to municipalities receiving fewer immigrants and where there is access to a good labour market" (Government Offices of Sweden, 2009).

language and increased interaction with the local population⁶⁵. However, they have received widespread criticism in the UK, as refugees may be placed in socially deprived locations, only selected because of the availability of housing, and face “hostility and prejudice” (Stewart, 2012). In addition, Damm & Rosholm argue that mandatory dispersal may encourage secondary migration and delay the employment of immigrants.

Dimension	Modalities
Target group	Resettled refugees
Obligation	Compulsory Voluntary
Level of coordination	National Local
Goals	Economic (cost of reception). Housing-related Integration (contacts with local population).

Table 17. Modalities of settlement policies

The three entries that we found in our database regarding the evaluation of dispersal policies focus on effects as opposed to outcome. However, they find no positive influence of dispersal policies on immigrants’ labor market integration, as the table below shows.

Country	Focus of the evaluation	Methodological quality	Effects	
			Income	Employment
Denmark (Damm & Rosholm, 2010)	Effects	6		- (removal of dispersal quickens integration)
Denmark (Nielsen & Jensen, 2006)	Effects	6		- (movers are more successful)
Sweden (Edin, Fredriksson, & Aslund, 2004)	Effects	6	- (worse effects of dispersal policies)	

Table 18. Results of settlement policies

Damm and Rosholm (2010) point at the fact that the tendency to (voluntarily) relocate of those individuals assigned to areas with a low immigrant concentration in Denmark influenced their transition employment positively. The authors argue that the removal of dispersal policies may have quickened labor market integration. In other words, the fact

65 We excluded from our review those studies assessing the effects of dispersal policy from a migration rationale (i.e. “do resettled refugees remain in the place which they are assigned?”), as they do not meet our definition of integration.

that individuals became free to choose where to settle increased their chances to find a job. Another Danish study by Nielsen & Jensen pointed at the fact that the individuals who move during the introduction period are more successful at being employed than those who don't or who move after that period. A Swedish study (Edin et al., 2004) looked at the reform of settlement policies. Those policies, that were introduced in the mid-eighties and lasted until 1994 consisted of assigning refugees a place to settle and a requirement to stay in that place during an introductory period (18 months), unless the individual was able to relocate on his own⁶⁶. After a reform in 1988 the law was applied more strictly and the focus of the policies moved, according to the authors, away from promoting refugees' labor market integration towards providing them with income support.

The study found out that immigrants moved away from the locations they were originally assigned, and that the increased emphasis on income support led to an increase in welfare recipients and a decrease in earnings. The decrease in earnings would have been worse, however, if immigrants had not moved from the municipalities where they had initially been assigned. In other words, the evidence was against dispersal policies. The fact that two of the three entries (Damm & Rosholm, 2010; Nielsen & Jensen, 2006) refer to longitudinal studies enhances the credibility of the findings.

It is clear, from the paragraphs above, that the most relevant policy lesson that can be obtained from the evaluation of dispersal policies that their effectiveness in fostering the employment of newcomers is limited.

⁶⁶ The authors do not specify what relocation consisted of (i.e. finding an apartment?).

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This review has addressed three questions related to the evaluation of integration policies in OECD countries: their what (which instruments are evaluated?), their how (how are evaluations conducted?) and their results, with the aim of fostering evidence-based policy-making in the field of integration, with special attention for the Flemish regional context. Comparing the success of policies across countries and distilling the most successful practices among those policies is difficult if not impossible due to both the contents of the policies (i.e. diverging approaches and target groups, objectives and contents) and national specificities (characteristics of newcomers, economic conjuncture, characteristics of the receiving society). However, it is possible to draw both general lessons that may be taken into account by evaluators and the policy field general, and to expose some reflections from a Flemish perspective, which may be taken into account when designing and implementing integration policies in Flanders.

5.1 General policy lessons

5.1.1 Findings regarding the what of evaluation policies

1. **More evaluations of local practices.** There is a need to evaluate more local initiatives, or to make existing evaluations available at an international scale, as several initiatives take place at the local level.
2. **Wider diversity of instruments.** There is a need to evaluate other instruments than language policies, civic integration policies and labor market measures. For instance, mentoring schemes have not been extensively evaluated across all of the countries surveyed. Moreover, the different components of civic integration policy should ideally be evaluated separately, so that we do not only that a certain policy works, but also which aspect of the policy does work.
3. **Need to share evaluations internationally.** As many evaluations are primarily aimed at domestic audiences, their international visibility is low; this is especially the case if they are published in the domestic language, as is the case with several Scandinavian studies. In this sense, a sharing system for evaluations would enhance the chances of establishing scientific dialogue and cooperating to improve the methodological quality of evaluations. .
4. **Need to compare the effects of the modalities of integration instruments.** As we noted throughout the overview, the different modalities in which integration

instruments are implemented are likely to have different effects on the policies' results. Those modalities include the compulsory nature of integration measures, the subsidized character of language courses, or the level at which measures are organized (local or national, by private or public service providers). There has been, however, no comparison of those effects so far, neither at EU nor at OECD level. In this sense, both the scientific and policy communities might benefit from setting up a large-scale research project that systematically compares the effects of the different modalities of integration policies on the actual integration of immigrants. Existing work on the categorization of integration measures, such as the Migrant Policy Index (MIPEX) (Niessen & Huddleston, 2009), provides a solid basis to set up such a program⁶⁷.

5.1.2 Findings regarding the how of evaluation policies

- 1. Need of a common discourse.** The terminology used in the evaluations of integration policies differs strongly: terms such as "results", "outcomes", "effects", "impact" and "output" are often used interchangeably, and there is little conceptual reflection about the nature of evaluations themselves. Existing research may benefit from the evaluation frameworks that have been or are being developed by some countries such as Canada (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2012) and Denmark (Moller Hansen, 2012) and Belgium-Flanders (González Garibay & De Cuyper, 2013).
- 2. Need of analysis of effects and processes.** The focus of the evaluations differ across types of instruments and countries. Civic integration programs have been assessed mostly in terms of outputs and processes, but less so in terms of effects. Conversely, studies assessing the impact of labor market instruments often focus on the effects of measures leaving aside the processes: we may know that a policy is working, but we do not know exactly why it is working⁶⁸. In this sense, it would be interesting to look at actual implementation processes in order to unravel the causal mechanisms which are at work. The evaluation literature from other domains, such as development cooperation (cf. theories of change), may serve as an inspiration to this end.

67 It should be noted that MIPEX provides the most complete overview of integration measures so far. However, its indicators do not measure the actual effects of the measures on the integration of migrants, but rather the "openness" of a certain regime or, in other words, extent to which a certain policy regime is favorable to that integration.

68 This echoes van der Knaap et al's (2008) findings in the field of crime prevention about the fact that mechanisms underlying the effectiveness of programs are often not assessed in evaluations.

3. **Need to know *why* policies work.** The evaluation criteria which are most often used refer to the production of outputs and effectiveness, either implicitly or explicitly. The only exception are Canadian evaluations, which assess several criteria. In order to enhance the quality of policies it might also be necessary to look at other criteria such as coherence, adequacy and relevance: this helps to avoid overlaps with other programs, or to identify conflicting goals. For instance, reaching perfect language proficiency will probably have lock-in effects in terms of job search, so a balance must be reached between the two goals. In this sense it is important to keep in mind that integration is a multidimensional process in which all the components seem to influence each other: this is both in terms of structural outcomes such as work, language or access to public services and of cultural outcomes such as personal confidence or contacts with the autochthonous population.
4. **Need of monitoring systems.** The quality of data is essential to conduct good evaluations: hence monitoring systems are extremely important, as both qualitative and quantitative research may benefit from them. For instance, Canadian and Danish evaluations are built on large administrative databases that allow to follow-up individual clients and the effects of policies on them.
5. **Need of methodological specifications in qualitative studies.** Focus groups and interviews are widespread used in the evaluation of projects. However, there is often no clarity regarding the selection of respondents. Moreover, findings in qualitative studies are mostly context-dependent. In this sense, qualitative evaluations could benefit from the development of common methodologies rather than aim at replicable nature of their findings.
6. **What is a successful policy?** The principles along which evaluations are conducted are seldom made clear, evaluators do not always specify the requirements of a successful policy. There is in this sense no common evaluation discourse along the studies that were included in this overview.
7. **Need to evaluate social orientation separately.** The distinct components of civic integration courses (language courses, labor market integration, cultural orientation) need to be evaluated separately, in order to know which element is the most successful (language, social orientation), and what the interactions between the different components are. Qualitative studies that follow policy

processes closely (cf. supra) may prove a good instrument to conduct such evaluations.

8. **Focus on employment – structural integration.** So far, most studies focusing on outcomes use as main criterion for integration the employment situation of newcomers. Even though the importance of employment is beyond doubt, there are other dimensions of integration that might also be addressed, such as the ones taken into account in the Canadian evaluations: contacts with the local population, use of language in daily life situation and at work, informal learning. Integration is in other words a multidimensional process. In this sense, we may ask the question whether cultural integration should be monitored and evaluated along the structural side of integration (i.e. labor market participation).
9. **Gap in research: need to take quality of employment into account.** The studies that operationalize integration as employment do not take into account the quality of the employment that immigrants obtain (cf. Svantesson & Aranki, Danish studies), translated as the number of hours worked, the match between the employee and the job and the temporary nature of the employment. This might be however important, as several studies have pointed out at the fact that immigrants are often overrepresented in precarious jobs. In this sense, the existing literature on transitional labor markets, within which analysis of the position of immigrants have been conducted may offer complementary insights to the evaluation of civic integration policies.
10. **Gap in research agenda: the impact of informal language learning on integration.** All of the evaluations of language policies found in the context of this review focused on the effects or outputs of “regular” or “formal” language courses. There are, however, several other initiatives such as learning at the workplace, volunteer tutoring initiatives, or the adaptation of language in enterprises and public services (*taalbeleid*), of which the impact on integration has not been assessed. Similarly, no studies were found in which the effects of translation services are assessed.

5.1.3 Findings regarding the results of evaluation policies

1. **How many hours should a language course last?** There is little research about the minimal duration of a language course in order to produce effects on the structural integration of newcomers. Existing studies point in different directions: whereas in Canada substantial gains on language proficiency were

found after 1000 hours, the OECD found an effect on the employment of refugees in Sweden after having followed 300 to 500 hours. In this context we may ask ourselves whether the current Flemish language courses, which last 120 hours and which has been recently increased to 240 hours aimed at providing newcomers with level A2 of the European Reference Framework, are enough to produce such effects.

2. **More language courses do not always lead to labor market integration.** The link between language proficiency and labor market position in terms of employment and income is clear, but there is no automatic link between language courses and integration in the labor market. Therefore, the courses' modalities seem important as well: in Sweden, there was a positive effect of language courses at work on the employment of newcomers, but a Danish study found lock-in effects of (regular) language courses. We can ask ourselves whether policies should invest in regular courses, or rather on language learning initiatives that take place outside the classroom.
3. **Language learning doesn't stop after a course.** The evaluation of German civic integration policies found out that the language proficiency of a great deal of the participants (42%) had worsened three years after having ended the course due to a lack of contact with native German speakers. Hence, it is important to frame language courses with other measures that support language learning outside of the classroom, such as mentoring programs. Moreover, it is advisable to involve the receiving community in those activities as well.
4. **Individual counselors have a crucial role in making integration effective.** This is clear from the Swedish case, where unemployed newcomers who received intensive counseling from caseworkers with a reduced caseload had more chances to find a job than unemployed newcomers who didn't. Additional evidence can be found in Norway, where the follow-up of newcomers had a positive effect on their transitions to education and work, but where caseworkers also felt they lacked the needed skills to do their job. It seems therefore important, certainly in the context of the reform of the integration sector in Flanders, to pay attention to street-level dynamics of policy implementation while designing and evaluating policies.
5. **Should we focus integration policies on labor market integration?** In Scandinavian countries (Denmark, Norway, Sweden) labor market integration is the most important goal of integration policies. In Denmark, municipalities are

responsible for investing in active labor market policies, and in Sweden the Public Employment Services are responsible for the organization of integration policies. In both countries, the employment of third-country nationals is higher than in Belgium and Flanders. The question arises in this context whether a heightened emphasis on labor market integration is desirable for the Flemish integration policies.

6. **The quality of the newcomers' jobs is also important.** Denmark is one of the countries with the highest employment of third-country nationals (among those comparable with Belgium), but a critical note is to be raised with regard to its approach: the policy is deemed effective if the newcomer finds a job, regardless of the quality of that job. Hence, we point at the need to develop policies that pay attention to both the employment of the newcomer and the quality of his or her employment.
7. **Private sector employment and work practice are the best means to achieve labor market integration.** From the Danish and Swedish research we can conclude that subsidized employment in the private sector is the most successful measure to promote the employment of newcomers. Moreover, participants who establish contact with the labor market early in their integration process by means of work practice or visits to firms also improve their chances to become employed.
8. **Cultural orientation works.** The Flemish and German evaluations of civic integration policies show that cultural orientation courses have positive effects on the newcomers' adaptation to the host society, as they facilitate daily life (knowledge about social services, contacts with the local population). Moreover, they strengthen the emotional bond with the host society. However, those effects are more likely to occur if the course takes place short after arrival.
9. **Policy coherence is key to achieving effectiveness.** The goals of the different instruments aiming at the integration of newcomers may "sabotage" each other. For instance, language courses may enhance the language proficiency of newcomers, but at the same time delay their integration in the labor market (cf. lock-in effects) and thus jeopardize their self-sufficiency. The establishment of clear goals for each policy instrument, the coordination among the different instruments and their prioritization may help to avoid undesired effects.

5.2. Het beleidsmodel van de Scandinavische landen als voorbeeld voor Vlaanderen?

In voorgaande alinea's hebben we voornamelijk gekeken naar de kenmerken en effecten van individuele beleidsinstrumenten gekeken. Vanuit een beleidsperspectief kunnen die instrumenten niet onafhankelijk van elkaar worden gezien: ze vormen een (al dan niet) coherente set van maatregelen die samen het beleid rond inburgering en integratie vormgeven. Bij het in kaart brengen van de instrumenten vielen ons de Scandinavische landen (Denemarken, Noorwegen, Zweden) op, niet enkel omwille van het feit dat ze 'state of the art' evaluaties uitvoeren, maar eveneens door de inhoud van hun beleid en de op het eerste zicht de goede resultaten op de structurele integratie van nieuwkomers op het vlak van tewerkstelling.

Het belangrijkste verschil tussen de Vlaamse en de Scandinavische aanpak is dat het Vlaamse beleid gericht is op algemene doelen zoals sociale samenhang, zelfredzaamheid en gedeeld burgerschap (cf. infra), terwijl de gemeenschappelijke noemer van het beleid van de drie Scandinavische landen werk is: ze stellen de tewerkstelling van nieuwkomers centraal in hun aanpak van inburgering en integratie, al veranderen de concrete accenten naar gelang de nationale context. In Noorwegen wordt bijvoorbeeld sterk ingezet op taal, met cursussen die minimaal 300 en maximaal 3000 uur duren. Daarnaast wordt er een vervangingsinkomen voorzien voor de deelnemers aan het inburgeringsprogramma. In Denemarken wordt aan de gemeentelijke overheden de keuze overgelaten om maatregelen als subsidies voor nieuwkomers, intensieve begeleiding en mentoringprojecten voor werkenden in te zetten, al dan niet met een taalcomponent. In Zweden is de volledige regie van het inburgerings- en integratiebeleid ondergebracht bij de tegenhanger van de VDAB. Uit de evaluaties bleek dat de ingezette instrumenten ook werken. Deze landen scoren in vergelijking met Vlaanderen telkens erg goed wat de arbeidsmarktparticipatie van allochtonen en inburgeraars betreft (volgens Eurostat bedraagt de tewerkstelling van derdelanders in Denemarken 68% en die in Zweden 60% tegenover 50% in België).

We kunnen ons dus afvragen of een vergelijkbaar model of elementen uit dit model een meerwaarde voor Vlaanderen zou kunnen bieden. Daarbij dienen dan wel de nodige kanttekeningen te worden gemaakt.

Ten eerste is het zo dat Denemarken de hoogste tewerkstelling van derdelanders vertoont tussen de landen die met België/Vlaanderen vergelijkbaar zijn, maar het

verschil met Nederland voor het jaar 2011 bedraagt slechts twee procentpunten (68% tegenover 66%).

Ten tweede weten we nog niet wat de resultaten zijn van de Zweedse hervorming waarbij massaal op tewerkstelling werd ingezet. Voorlopig blijft de tewerkstelling van derdelanders in Zweden lager dan in Nederland (60%).

Ten derde zijn er grote structurele verschillen tussen de Belgische en de Deense arbeidsmarkt. De laatste wordt gekenmerkt door een hoge graad van flexibiliteit waar jobsveranderingen, het tegelijkertijd uitvoeren van twee jobs en het combineren van deeltijds werk met werkloosheidsuitkeringen wordt gefaciliteerd op structureel niveau. Daarentegen worden Vlaanderen en België gekenmerkt door een systeem waarin het segment van werkenden duidelijker afgescheiden is van het segment van werklozen, en waar loopbanen bij eenzelfde werknemer veel langer zijn (bijvoorbeeld, het percentage werknemers met een anciënniteit van minstens 10 jaar bedraagt in Denemarken iets minder dan 30% tegenover 46% in België⁶⁹, zie Gonzalez Garibay, Struyven, & De Cuyper, 2012) Met andere woorden: het is gemakkelijker om vanuit de werkloosheid in een job te stappen dan in België en Vlaanderen, Bijgevolg is het goed mogelijk dat, indien we op inburgeringsvlak op snelle tewerkstelling inzetten, veel nieuwkomers in jobs belanden die niet bij hun profiel passen en waar ze later moeilijk van weg kunnen.

Ten vierde wordt er noch in de Deense noch in de Zweedse evaluaties aandacht besteed aan de kwaliteit van jobs. Het beleid wordt als succesvol geacht indien het erin slaagt om de doelgroep tewerk te stellen. We kunnen ons daarbij afvragen of structurele integratie geslaagd is van het verkrijgen van een (eender welke) job. We zien dus dat het **percentage overgekwalficeerde derdelanders** in Denemarken (32%) lager ligt dan in België (38%) maar hoger dan in Nederland (25%).

Rekening houdend met deze kritische noot, het lijkt ons toch relevant om ter inspiratie van het Vlaamse beleid de evoluties binnen de Scandinavische cases op de voet te volgen.

5.3 Tot slot: enkele reflecties voor het Vlaams integratie- en inburgeringsbeleid

De vorige paragraaf heeft enkele lessen getrokken uit de bestudeerde evaluaties vanuit een algemeen perspectief. Deze paragraaf bevat enkele specifieke lessen en reflecties

⁶⁹ Geen aparte cijfers beschikbaar voor Vlaanderen voor deze indicator.

met betrekking tot het Vlaamse inburgerings- en integratiebeleid⁷⁰. Die lessen hebben betrekking op verschillende onderwerpen: de algemene doelstellingen van het beleid, de concrete vormgeving van het inburgeringstraject en de rol van de drie componenten van dat traject (MO, LO, NT2).

5.3.1 De doelstellingen van het inburgerings- en integratiebeleid en van zijn evaluatie: structurele of culturele integratie?

Doorheen de tekst maakten we vaak een onderscheid tussen structurele en culturele integratie (Verweij, 2012): structurele integratie verwijst naar de socio-economische positie van nieuwkomers op enkele domeinen (arbeidsmarkt, onderwijs, huisvesting, inkomen...) terwijl culturele integratie op de etnisch-culturele positie van de doelgroep slaat (waarden, normen...). Op basis van die tweedeling kunnen we de landen waarvan we de evaluaties besproken hebben (en Vlaanderen ook) op twee manieren bekijken:

1. Enerzijds kunnen we naar structurele en culturele integratie binnen de **doelen van de beleidsinstrumenten** zelf gaan kijken: streeft het beleid structurele of culturele integratie na? In sommige landen, zoals Nederland, wordt zowel op structureel als op cultureel vlak ingezet (cf. inburgeringsbeleid). In andere landen, met name de Scandinavische landen ligt de klemtoon duidelijk op het structurele (cf. supra).

De keuze voor het ene of het andere doel heeft verregaande gevolgen met betrekking tot de keuze van beleidsinstrumenten, en de hoeveelheid middelen die daarin gestoken worden. Laat ons het voorbeeld nemen van taal: indien er voor culturele integratie gekozen wordt, istaal, die als een van de belangrijkste bepalende kenmerken van een cultuur gezien wordt, een doel op zich. Er wordt dan gestreefd naar taalvaardigheid ongeacht zijn effecten. Anderzijds kunnen we structurele integratie in de arbeidsmarkt als prioritair beschouwen: in dat geval wordt taal geen *doel* op zich maar een *middel* om de nieuwkomer aan een job te helpen. Daarnaast zal bij culturele integratie meer aandacht besteed worden aan de interacties met de ontvangende samenleving (integratie als een tweerichtingsverkeer) dan bij een puur structurele aanpak.

Het voorgaande is uiteraard een ideaaltypisch voorbeeld: in de praktijk zijn structurele en culturele doelstellingen vaak met elkaar verweven en zullen twee

⁷⁰ Die lessen zijn samengevat te vinden in de factsheet "De evaluatie van het inburgerings- en integratiebeleid: 10 reflecties voor Vlaanderen".

soorten integratie elkaar beïnvloeden. Bijvoorbeeld, een cursus MO helpt een nieuwkomer zowel om de Vlaamse waarden en normen te kennen als om zich structureel te integreren door hem weg te wijzen in de huisvestingsmarkt.

Indien we naar Vlaanderen kijken zien we dat het Vlaamse beleid grotendeels gemodelleerd is naar het Nederlandse, met instrumenten die zowel inspelen op culturele als op structurele integratie. Dit zorgt ervoor dat het beleid tussen de twee componenten blijft schipperen: willen we de nieuwkomers Nederlands leren zodat ze een job vinden, of willen we dat ze goed Nederlands leren los van het al dan niet krijgen van een job? Bovendien zijn de doelstellingen van het beleid – evenredige participatie, toegankelijkheid, gedeelde burgerschap, zelfredzaamheid, sociale samenhang – zeer breed in vergelijking met bijvoorbeeld Scandinavië (cf. supra): zo kunnen we zelfredzaamheid bijvoorbeeld ongeveer op elk beleidsdomein gaan invullen.

*Alhoewel de culturele en structurele doelstellingen van het beleid perfect combineerbaar zijn is het misschien nodig om een **collectieve reflectie** te voeren met betrekking tot de prioriteit die we aan elk van die doelstellingen moeten geven, en wat de rol van taal in het beleid is of zou moeten zijn (doel of middel?). Bovendien hoeven we ons in de oefening niet te beperken tot de inspiratie die we uit onze Nederlandse bureaus krijgen: de manier waarop het integratiebeleid in Denemarken, Zweden en Noorwegen vormgegeven wordt (cf. supra), en de recente hervormingen daarvan kunnen zeker als voorbeeld dienen voor het Vlaamse beleid.*

In Noorwegen vond bijvoorbeeld een gelijkaardige reflectie plaats, waaruit bleek dat het onrealistisch was om integratie op alle beleidsdomeinen na te streven. Zo werd er beslist om vier domeinen centraal te stellen (tewerkstelling, jeugdbeleid, onderwijs en taal en gendergelijkheid). Doorheen die domeinen werden er 17 doelen gesteld en indicatoren voor elk van die doelen voorzien.

2. Anderzijds kunnen we kijken naar **het soort integratie dat de evaluaties naar voor schuiven**. De overgrote meerderheid van de studies (met uitzondering van Canada, Vlaanderen en Duitsland) is exclusief of bijna exclusief gefocust op structurele integratie binnen de arbeidsmarkt: de studies kijken naar de mate waarin het integratie- en inburgeringsbeleid bijdraagt tot de arbeidsmarktintegratie van nieuwkomers (structurele integratie). We weten echter weinig of niets over hun culturele integratie: draagt het beleid bij tot het

overnemen of aanvaarden van de waarden en normen van de ontvangende maatschappij? Bevordert het beleid hun interactie met die maatschappij?

Vlaanderen is geen uitzondering ten opzichte van de overige landen: we weten weinig over de effecten van het inburgerings- en integratiebeleid op de structurele integratie van nieuwkomers, en bijna niets over de effecten van dat beleid op hun culturele integratie: hebben deelnemers een ander beeld van de Vlaamse cultuur dan niet-deelnemers? Hebben ze meer Vlaamse vrienden? Hoe staan ze ten opzicht van de Vlaamse samenleving? Daarnaast heeft culturele integratie ook betrekking op de ontvangende samenleving: wie neemt er deel aan initiatieven zoals Samen Inburgeren? Helpen die initiatieven om stereotypes omtrent de nieuwkomers tegen te gaan?

Vanuit dit opzicht biedt een evaluatiefocus op de effecten van het integratie- en inburgeringsbeleid op de culturele integratie van nieuwkomers (en van de ontvangende samenleving) een toegevoegde waarde ten aanzien van bestaande studies.

5.3.2 De vormgeving van het inburgeringstraject: nemen we teveel hooi op onze vork?

De keuze van beleidsdoelstellingen weerspiegelt zich in de keuze van beleidsinstrumenten. Binnen het Vlaamse beleid zien we dat het inburgeringstraject sterk gericht is op de persoonlijke ontwikkeling van de inburgeraar vanuit maatschappelijk, taalkundig en loopbaanperspectief. Indien Vlaanderen vanuit internationaal perspectief bekijken komen we tot enkele vaststellingen met betrekking tot de vormgeving van het traject.

Het inburgeringstraject in Vlaanderen voorziet een belangrijke plaats voor maatwerk maar blijft in essentie binnen een **lineaire logica**: de inburgeraar stapt in het traject, hij volgt een programma waarvan de componenten vooraf bepaald zijn (klassieke taallessen, maatschappelijke oriëntatie, loopbaanoriëntatie) en op het einde van dat programma wordt hij verondersteld klaar te zijn voor het uitgekozen loopbaanperspectief. In landen zoals Duitsland, Oostenrijk en Nederland zien we een vergelijkbare benadering. In Zweden en Denemarken daarentegen lijkt het model flexibeler te zijn. In Denemarken bepalen de gemeentes zelf welke instrumenten ze toepassen, maar ze worden wel beoordeeld op de tewerkstelling van de inburgeraar. In Zweden wordt er een veelheid aan arbeidsmarktgerelateerde maatregelen toegepast.

De vraag rijst over welke benadering de grootste voordelen biedt. Daarover hebben we geen uitsluitsel, maar we weten uit onderzoek binnen het arbeidsmarktbeleid (De Cuyper, De Rick, & Gonzalez Garibay, 2012) dat persoonlijke ontwikkelingsprocessen vaak niet-lineair zijn. In deze zin is het waard om ons af te vragen of we inburgering niet best vanuit een langetermijnperspectief benaderen, waarbij we niet naar *trajecten* kijken maar eerder naar *loopbanen* waarbij het inburgeringstraject als een schakel in een bredere loopbaan wordt gezien. Om die loopbanen op te volgen zou er bijvoorbeeld een systeem van Persoonlijke Ontwikkelingsplannen opgezet kunnen worden waarbij voor continuïteit tussen instellingen (Onthaalbureau, VDAB) wordt gezorgd. Zulke plannen (ook "portfolio's" genoemd) worden reeds in verschillende landen toegepast binnen het arbeidsmarktbeleid.

5.3.3 De aanpassing van MO, LO en NT2: geïntegreerde trajecten als de norm?

De voorgaande alinea heeft de mogelijkheid geopperd van flexibelere inburgeringstrajecten waarin we afstappen van de lineaire logica. Wat zou dit concreet betekenen voor de drie huidige bestanddelen van het inburgeringsbeleid – NT2, MO en LO? Het is namelijk niet zeker of we het onderscheid tussen de drie zouden moeten behouden.

Ten eerste rijst de vraag of de duurtijd van de NT2-lessen optimaal is. Het taalniveau dat in Vlaanderen wordt aangeboden aan inburgeraars (A1) is een van de laagste binnen de EU. De korte duur van de cursussen in vergelijking met de buurlanden (120 uur in tegenstelling tot 600 in Duitsland en een maximum van 2000 in Denemarken) lijkt daarom evident: er zijn namelijk minder uren nodig om een A1 niveau te behalen dan om een A2 of B1 te behalen. We kunnen ons echter afvragen wat het precieze nut is van zulke korte cursussen: in Canada stijgt de taalvaardigheid van de cursisten pas na 1000 uur les, en in Zweden stijgt de kans om werk te vinden indien ze tussen de 300 en de 500 uur les hadden gevolgd. Alhoewel we niet weten of die bevindingen ook voor Vlaanderen gelden vinden we in de evaluatie van 2010 (De Cuyper, Lamberts, & Pauwels, 2010) enige aanwijzing daarvan: het taalniveau van nieuwkomers oversteeg niet het overlevingsniveau drie jaar na het beëindigen van hun inburgeringstraject. Met andere woorden, de duur van de huidige NT2-cursussen lijkt de culturele integratie van nieuwkomers (cf. taalvaardigheid) niet te dienen.

Ten tweede kunnen we ons afvragen of we de klassikale NT2-lessen, die qua vorm en inhoud scherp onderscheiden worden van MO en LO, überhaupt moeten behouden bij een geflexibiliseerd inburgeringsbeleid. Klassikale taallessen bleken in Canada enkel nuttig te

zijn om Engels te leren lezen en schrijven, maar niet om te spreken of te luisteren. Bovendien worden de lessen MO ook soms geïntegreerd binnen de taallessen (Canada, Oostenrijk). Daarnaast waren taallessen op het werk een van de maatregelen die in Scandinavië de kansen van nieuwkomers om een job te vinden verhoogden. Tegenwoordig zijn in Vlaanderen zulke lessen de uitzondering, maar we kunnen ons afvragen of ze niet een belangrijkere plaats in het beleid verdienen. Met de komende hervorming van de integratie- en inburgeringssector wordt loopbaanoriëntatie vroeger in het traject gestart. Dit opent de mogelijkheid om het inburgeringstraject aan de loopbaanoriëntatie aan te passen, en biedt kansen om geïntegreerde trajecten op grotere schaal toe te passen. Dit hoeft niet meteen via een grote hervorming van het beleid te gebeuren, maar kan ook via EIF-experimenten (waarvan de resultaten bovendien evalueerbaar blijven).

Ten derde stopt het leren van een taal niet met het beëindigen van een NT2-cursus: net zoals persoonlijke ontwikkeling is de ontwikkeling van de taalvaardigheden van de inburgeraar geen lineair proces. Zo bleek in Duitsland dat een deel van de deelnemers aan cursussen Duits hun taalvaardigheid verloor wegens gebrek aan contact met Duitstaligen. Daarom is het nodig om de ontwikkeling van taalvaardigheden te blijven stimuleren aan de hand van flankerende maatregelen zoals buddyprogramma's, taalbeleid, taalpromotie, enz.

Samenvattend kunnen we dus hypothetisch spreken van een geflexibiliseerd inburgeringsbeleid waarin men naar de loopbaan van de inburgeraar als geheel beschouwt. Die loopbaan wordt vormgegeven aan de hand van een ontwikkelingsplan dat indien nodig bijgestuurd wordt. In het plan worden trajecten uitgestippeld naar concrete doelen (zoals werk), waarin taal, MO en andere loopbaanspecifieke acties in elkaar verweven zijn.

Er zijn natuurlijk enkele belangrijke kanttekeningen bij zo'n flexibele benadering. Ten eerste impliceren flexibele trajecten niet dat de huidige aanpak zou verdwijnen: klassikale NT2-lessen blijven bijvoorbeeld van belang voor inburgeraars met een educatief perspectief. Een geflexibiliseerd beleid impliceert enkel dat klassikale trajecten één van de mogelijkheden worden in plaats van de norm. Ten tweede is het zo dat een flexibele aanpak enkel kan werken indien de doelen van het beleid duidelijk geëxpliciteerd worden, zoals het geval is in Zweden (cf. supra, 5.2.1). Om die doelen verder te verankeren zijn er duidelijk indicatoren nodig, aan de hand waarvan we de uitkomsten daarvan kunnen meten. We kijken hiervoor naar het Deense voorbeeld, waar de gemeentes vrij zijn om maatregelen in te zetten, maar waar ze van dichtbij worden

gevolgd en beoordeeld aan de hand van indicatoren die de tewerkstelling van nieuwkomers meten (dus in functie van de doelen van het beleid). Naast monitoring zou bij zo'n flexibilisering het belang van trajectbegeleiding en de rol van de regisseur van het beleid alleen maar toenemen.

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ANNEX 1. DATABASE OF EVALUATIONS OF INTEGRATION INSTRUMENTS

Country	Type of instrument	Target group	Method	Score	Results	Benchmarking criteria (implicit or explicit)	Comments	Source
NL	Civic integration abroad instruments: language courses	Prospective newcomers (in the framework of family reunification, family formation and religious services)	Quantitative: Descriptive data analysis Qualitative: interviews	3	Inflow of foreigners (especially from Morocco and Turkey) decreases. 88% of candidates passes their exams Functioning of the policy was satisfactory Candidates were motivated. Higher level of responsibility and self-reliance. Scores in Dutch comprehension were better than those who did not follow the program. No selective discouragement of migration. Less applications than before for family reunification, more applications from educated candidates for family formation.	Effectiveness (short-term): effects of policy on knowledge of Dutch language. Functioning of the law . Effectiveness: improved effectiveness in the civic integration process of target group and faster integration. Side-effect: effects on migration inflow.	Among those who passed, young and high-educated were overrepresented. Importance of timing: there should not be a lot of time between civic integration abroad and the start of civic integration in the Netherlands. The evaluation was conducted too early to measure the impact of the policy on integration. Importance of shortening delays between the integration program abroad and the beginning of the integration courses in the host country. Social orientation about the destination country was more important than language course.	Wilkinson, Goedvolk, & Van Dieten, 2008
DE	Civic integration instruments	Ethnic Germans and some groups of humanitarian migrants	Quantitative	1	The projects led to reductions of welfare dependence (55% as opposed to 68% of non-participants) and an increase of employment (25% vs. 12%).	Effectiveness (implicit): employment and reduction of welfare dependence		OECD 2007
NOR	Civic integration instruments	Humanitarian migrants	Quantitative (administrative data, survey of municipalities)	4	Lock-in effects: those participants who dropped out of the program to find employment were more	Two types of criteria: Output attainment: Are goals in	Fast-track program may be needed. Complaints from	Kavli et al., 2007 OECD 2012

			Qualitative		<p>likely to be employed after the program finished.</p> <p>Positive correlation between work practice measures and labor market outcomes.</p> <p>Close follow-up and individual benefits improve the labor market outcomes.</p> <p>No effect of number of hours in language proficiency or on labor market outcomes.</p> <p>Municipalities that have introduced performance measures have a broader training repertoire.</p> <p>Participants have less chance of employment in municipalities where program coordinators have a general responsibility for the participants' introduction.</p>	<p>legislation met by implementing instances (municipalities)?</p> <p>What factors influence the use of certain policy tools?</p> <p>Effectiveness: transitions to education and employment.</p>	caseworkers with more than 20 cases.	
BE/VL	Civic integration instruments	New- and oldcomers	Quantitative : descriptive analysis of administrative data, survey. Qualitative : policy analysis	4	The evaluation took into account the number of newcomers that received labor market training as a part of the civic integration program, and concluded that 46% percent of the persons receiving training moved into a job.	Effectiveness is interpreted as output attainment (number of civic integration courses completed, number of intake interviews).		De Cuyper & Wets, 2007; Geets, van den Eede, Wets, Lamberts, & Timmerman, 2007

					Most participants were satisfied with the policy, and that there was a relationship between the frequency and the experienced quality of contacts with counselors. In addition, respondents from large cities concluded their civic integration pathways faster than respondents from smaller municipalities.		
BE/VL	Civic integration instruments	New-oldcomers and	Quantitative : descriptive analysis of administrative data Qualitative : interviews	3	<p>- Oldcomers' participation was limited.</p> <p>-The language proficiency of the participants remained at a "survival level" three to four years after having finished the course</p> <p>-Social orientation courses are especially useful for adapting to daily life in Belgium during the first year, with participants being better informed than non-participants. Even though the knowledge of participants and non-participants becomes equal after one year, participants remain better informed about topics such as legal issues, applying for a job or health services.</p> <p>-Participants to civic integration policies who</p>	Effectiveness is interpreted as both output attainment (number of civic integration courses completed, number of intake interviews) and effect on the integration in several domains (language proficiency, labor market integration, education, income, inter-ethnic contacts, cultural orientation, societal participation, health and housing).	De Cuyper, Lamberts, & Pauwels, 2010

					complete the program are in general more often employed than those who do not complete it. - Those newcomers who did not start the program but who are employed have higher wages and are more often fulltime employed than those who did complete it.			
BE	Civic integration instruments	New- and oldcomers	Qualitative : interviews	2	Civic integration courses lead to a high degree of self-sufficiency and integration	Effectiveness: impact of the policy on the integration of immigrants (self-sufficiency, shared citizenship, belonging to society and self-development).		Yanasmayan and Foblets. 2012
FR	Civic integration instruments : cultural orientation, language courses	Newcomers	Quantitative : descriptive data analysis Qualitative	3	90.5% attendance 87%+ rate of signature (july 2003-june 2004) 63.3% civic education attendance rate Increase in language courses attendance rate from 57.4% in July-December 2003 to 75% in January-June 2004	Output attainment : attendance rate to information desk, rates of contract signature, rate of attendance of recommended training courses	Platforms (i.e. the first service offered to newcomer, by which they receive information and a medical examination) are effective means of gathering information about needs.	Guibentif 2004 on the basis of Bisson 2004
NL	Civic integration instruments: language and cultural orientation	Newcomers and oldcomers (pre-1998)	Qualitative: expert assessment/interviews	3	Real participation is 50% (satisfactory) Low drop-out Little need of compulsory character (people motivated) Useful for women Sanctions are little applied (50% of municipalities)	Output attainment in terms of courses and sanctions Effectiveness of secondary pathways	600 hours is too little for newcomers to learn language, impact on secondary pathways Interesting: same problems as in last Flemish evaluation: check how they did a follow-up. Courses	ICMPD 2005

							insufficiently diversified, not enough focus on vocational training and follow-up trajectories. Scant attention paid to quality because subsidies on the basis of newcomers that pass the final test irrespective of achieved levels Local differences related to city politics. Difficulties for women with child care. Language training on the spot organized by municipalities	
DE	Civic integration instruments: language and cultural orientation	Newcomers to have followed German courses	Quantitative: survey (self-assessment)	4	Courses led to improvement in language skills, more contacts with Germans, employment and	Effectiveness: achievements in integration process (especially German language proficiency) of participants vs. non-participants. Sustainability: one year after having finished the course, measurement of emotional attachment to Germany, language, labor market insertion, social contacts in German	European Language Portfolio is used for self-assessment in survey. A survey of course teachers points out that teachers prefer groups that are homogeneous in terms of preconditions for learning (e.g. level of education) and heterogeneous in terms of language.	Schuller et al 2011

DK	Civic integration instruments: language and cultural orientation	Newcomers (refugees and family reunification)	Quantitative: survey	4	Improvements in integration between 2007 and 2009. Employment did not lead to integration in other areas. Knowledge of Danish knowledge is correlated with level of participation. Attendance in Danish language courses is high.	Level of integration (targets in Integration Act) – employment and Danish language knowledge. Satisfaction of target group Participation of target group Feelings of inclusion.	Adaptation of the orientation courses to the educational level of the participants.	Hansen & Kolodziejczyk 2009
NL	Civic integration instruments: language courses and cultural orientation.	Newcomers and oldcomers	Descriptive data analysis Qualitative methods (literature study, interviews, etc)	3	There were improvements in output attainment.	Effectiveness absent Focuses on the policy's implementation and on the extent to which output is produced (output attainment).	Exceptional: doesn't look at the effects in terms of LM participation. Very comparable to the Flemish evaluation. Very detailed description of the implementation process The expected output in terms of number of courses was specified for each group of municipalities and benchmarked every year. Some immigrants follow the courses but do not take the integration test.	Significant 2010
NOR	Civic	Humanitarian	Quantitative:	1	53% of the participants in	Effectiveness	Need to improve	OECD 2012

	integration instruments: language, cultural orientation, career counseling	migrants	descriptive data analysis.		<p>2008 transitioned to work or education. Same figures as years before. An additional 20% participated in labor market training.</p> <p>65% of refugees who finished the program in 2006 were in work or education in 2007 (10 percentage points more than the year before).</p> <p>Increase in the numbers of persons taking Norwegian language tests over time. More than half passes the test.</p>	(implicit): transitions to work or education.	language teaching by increasing "awareness of targets, results and quality".	
DK	Labor market instruments:	Non-EEA nationals receiving social assistance benefits	Quantitative: duration model	6	<p>Positive program effects. Largest effects for subsidized employment (in private sector). Effects also large and significant for direct employment (in public sector). Effects are larger for programs beginning after six months of unemployment.</p>	Effectiveness: hazard rate to regular employment	No lock-in (in-program effects).	Heinesen et al 2011
SE	Labor market instruments: counseling	Immigrants and refugees who are "job-ready" but at risk of becoming long-term unemployed	Quantitative: duration analysis	6	<p>The evaluation found out that participation in the program increased the probability of transitions from unemployment into work experience schemes, and that participation in work experience as a result participation in the program increased the probability of employment.</p>	Effectiveness: duration of unemployment, transition to work experience schemes.	A previous qualitative evaluation found that one of the success factors or the program was the fact that the officers spent more time with each client than in other programs, what increased the chances of a successful match. Success factors: better counseling and	Aslund & Johansson 2011

							understanding of each applicant, intensified efforts in finding work for clients, and careful matching between participants and employers.	
DK	Labor market instruments: integration programs and policies	Non-EEA nationals	Quantitative: multivariate regression analysis.	5	<p>In successful municipalities the waiting period for employment is shorter than in other municipalities.</p> <p>Successful municipalities use private sector providers more than unsuccessful ones.</p> <p>Public sector employment programs and Danish language classroom training have lock-in effects.</p> <p>In successful municipalities caseworker:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Work out high-quality individual plans on time. -Behave in a flexible way rather than formalistically. -Keep a certain professional distance rather than become close with the client. -focus primarily on the less complicated cases. -Have more in-service training regarding integration than other municipalities. <p>Threats and economic sanctions are not</p>	Effectiveness: duration of period between the date of obtaining residence and beginning of employment spells.	<p>The survey uses street-level bureaucratic behavior as a variable, obtained from a 2000 survey.</p> <p>Selection effects are possible: municipalities with less integrated migrants may choose for private service provision.</p> <p>The positive relation between integration and most features of caseworker behavior only applies when the integration problem in a municipality is difficult.</p> <p>Policy success depends on both policy mix and on caseworker behavior.</p>	Heinesen et al 2004

					associated with municipal success.			
SE	Labor market instruments: intensive coaching with reduced caseload	Newcomers	Quantitative: multinomial regression	5	Significant positive effect of treatment on employment and labor market-training probabilities. Participants were 43% more likely than non-participants to be employed	Effectiveness: the effect of the program on non-subsidized employment. Efficiency: the added value in terms of production (income) is divided by the cost of the program for the individuals who represent the added value.	The program was actually set up as an experiment. Younger participants were more likely to be treated. Spread of innovations within experiment to the normal program in terms of coordination between municipal offices and PES, and in terms of the quality of language instructions.	Joona & Nekby 2012
SE	Labor market instruments: labor market practice, language practice at work and other labor market contact (e.g. study visits to workplaces).	Newcomers (immigrants with permanent residence permit) a	Quantitative: Logistic regression	5	Significant positive effect of labor market contact (in-work training) on probability of employment. Significant negative effect of vocational counseling on probability of employment	Effectiveness: probability of immigrants' employment (short run)	Conducted on the basis of a survey of case workers (a lot of discretion when answering the questions).	Svantesson-Aranki 2006
DK	Labor market instruments: public and private sector employment	Non-EEA nationals	Quantitative	6	Increase of 1% in the number of enterprise-based training days is associated with a five-day reduction of duration of unemployment. There is a positive significant effect from short training programs, and counseling and upgrading could have long-term effects. Positive but insignificant	Effectiveness: duration of period between the date of obtaining residence and beginning of employment spells. Sometimes also used as efficiency (cf. Andersen and Heinesen 2008).	Enterprise-based job training is the most effective measure for removing foreigners from public support: eliminates lock-in effects. Half of the transitions to self-sufficiency occur because people start to be supported by their spouses. Only few immigrants	OECD 2007

					effect of public job training.		benefit from enterprise-based job training, as the investment is unattractive to employers. This can be solved by providing more subsidies.	
IL	Labor market instruments: training	High-skilled female immigrants from the USSR	Quantitative: longitudinal study	6	<p>-The likelihood of participation decreased with the number of children, marital status (being married) and age at arrival, but increased with education and previous experience with white-collar jobs (i.e. highly educated women were more likely to participate in training).</p> <p>-Positive impact of training on job offers both for white collar and blue collar occupations.</p> <p>- Training was found to increase wages for those working in white collar occupations.</p> <p>-Training is especially valuable in terms of job offers for older and less-skilled workers "since it provides them with the option to leave unemployment for a potentially better job".</p>	Effectiveness: employment and wages	The authors emphasize the importance of the job-search skills (enhanced for instance by the provision of information about the Israeli labor market) within the training program in addition to the occupational skills.	Cohen-Goldner & Eckstein 2010
FIN	Labor market instruments: training	Recently arrived non-working migrants	Quantitative: duration model	6	The introduction of the integration plans increased the duration of	Effectiveness: employment and dependence on		Särvimäki & Hämäläinen, 2010

					employment by 1.5 months, and decreased the social benefits received per year by 1,323 Euros.	social benefits.		
PT	Labor market instruments: information provision Support in job search	Legal and undocumented migrants	Quantitative: descriptive data analysis Qualitative	3	20% of the referrals resulted in employment 72% of the training referrals resulted in enrolment in training programs	Effectiveness: referrals that resulted in employment and training	Complementary to other services	IOM 2010b
SE	Labor market instruments: vocational workplace-based training Language courses.	Recognized asylum seekers and their families. Persons in need of protection and their families	Quantitative: logistic regressions	6	Take-up of language courses among non-OECD immigrants: 57%. There is some additional likelihood of employment in the long term after three to five hundred hours of language instruction taken during the first two years of residence. Publicly funded labor market training and early employment (during the first two years of residence) display a larger impact than language courses.	Effectiveness (implicit): long-term employment.	Language competences are a requirement to be considered by the Public Employment Services.	OECD 2007
SE	Labor market instruments: work-oriented language training combined with practical workplace training	Difficult to place immigrant jobseekers	Quantitative: Duration models	6	Significant positive effects for individuals removed from jobseekers' registry because of placement in job or education	Effectiveness: length of unemployment. Efficiency (only suggested): cost-benefit analysis of unemployment duration reduction vs. project costs.	Instrumental conception of language training (mainly in function of labor market). Collaboration with trade unions to pick counselors. Control group was constructed	Delander et al 2005
DK	Language courses	Policy reunited migrants	Quantitative: regression discontinuity design	6	Enforcement of language training has no effect on labor market participation	Effectiveness: does following a language course (output) lead	Compares effects of obligatory vs. non-obligatory courses'	Pons Rotger 2011

					of target group, but affects positively the income of target group Also impact on out-migration	to integration in the labor market (effect)?	effects on incentives to adapt to host country (large effect on LM participation and earnings means little incentives)	
DK	Language courses Labor market instruments: employment with a wage subsidy, direct employment programs, education and training, mixed special programs, counseling and upgrading and special employment in private sector firms	Newcomers	Quantitative: timing of events duration model	6	Significant negative effect of participation on labor-market programs on hazard to regular employment (lock-in). No lock-in for subsidized employment. Positive effect of program on private sector subsidized employment. "The foreigners who generally find employment most quickly have the following characteristics: men without children, young, married to a Dane, from ex-Yugoslavia or turkey, family reunification with a non-refugee, residing in a municipality with many foreigners and low unemployment, living outside a ghetto and in good health". Danish language training has both locking-in effects and positive effects on self-sufficiency, but the former are larger (short-term perspective). Danish language training has a positive impact on the chances of employment (long-term	Effectiveness: rate at which newly arrived immigrants find regular employment. Efficiency (implicitly): social benefits of inclusion in labor force vs. costs to employers of training workers who then leave.	Policies are decided at the municipal level Estimate lock-in and program effects. Compares effects across different types of employment. The efficiency argument may be a basis to increase subsidies (to compensate employers). Transition to training is counted as one of the forms of employment.	Clausen et al 2009 Clausen et al 2006

					perspective, i.e. 10 years). No evidence for effectiveness of the combination of workfare programs with Danish language training. Locking-in effects for combination language training-public sector training..			
AUS	Language courses	Foreign-born population	Quantitative: descriptive data analysis	2	75.2% registration rate in 2001 among those deemed to need the program. 58.3% of exiting clients with functional knowledge of English.	No explicit evaluations despite complex statistics, but some benchmarking of effectiveness: -Reach (take-up) -Retention (use of the entitlement) -Results (English language competencies).	Overlap: English courses also provide orientation for instance inviting members of mainstream services for a talk. Facilitation of social interaction.	(Australian Government. Department of Immigration and Citizenship., n.d.)
DK	Language courses	Foreigners	Quantitative: duration analysis	6	Progression rates are higher for students who are younger than 30, long-schooled in their countries of origin, in evening classes, and who do not display absenteeism. Recipients of cash and unemployment benefits are the slowest, whereas independent (i.e. not falling under the immigration law) are the fastest. Progression in Danish language courses is faster	Efficiency: rate of progression. Progression is defined as advancement from one level to the higher one. Expected rate of progression is compared to observed rate of progression to benchmark language centers.	This study seems to replicate the indicator for integration that is constructed to benchmark municipalities. It is not possible to compare the performance of the different language centers due to the strong differences in the composition of the groups across them.	Clausen & Husted 2005

					when participants are employed or take evening courses.			
DE	Language courses	Ethnic Germans and refugees	Quantitative: descriptive data analysis	3	The percentage of immigrants in employment six months after the completion of the language course declined significantly between 2001 and 2004. Language is a significant but non-robust determinant of employment after controlling for socio-demographic characteristics and migrant group.	Effectiveness (implicit): employment	No comprehensive evaluations have been conducted	OECD 2007
NOR	Language courses	Newcomers	Quantitative: regression analysis on the basis of a survey	5	No impact of language proficiency on earnings of immigrants. Earlier waves of immigrants' earnings are higher than the recent waves'. This is partly explained by language deficiencies in recent cohorts.	Not a formal evaluation. Effectiveness (implicit): earnings, language proficiency.		Hayfron 2001
NOR	Language courses	Newcomers	Quantitative : descriptive data analysis. Qualitative	3	Average survival rate of 368 learning moments out of a maximum of 3000.	Not defined	Focuses on scope of the training rather than actual quality of learning. Need for full-day qualification programs. Need for an interpreter. Confusion of what are language materials and social orientation materials (what should be learned how?).	Norberg 2002

CA	Language courses.	Legal School-Age permanent residents	Qualitative Quantitative : administrative data analysis, regression	5	<p>-The program is relevant, as it is aligned with Canada's strategic policy objectives regarding integration and responds to an actual need of the permanent residents. Waiting times are mostly not an issue, design is positively evaluated.</p> <p>-Program management is evaluated positively: flexible deadlines, child care provision, but no registration of take-ups due to voluntary nature of the program.</p> <p>-Program impact: added value only for read and written languages (EN/FR), 60% pass rate for one level and 26% for more than one, no impact in terms of settlement, the majority of service providers teach civic integration and English for the workplace.</p> <p>-</p>	<p>Program relevance and design: is it justified? Program management Program delivery Program impact: rate of completion, characteristics of the service provision. Efficiency: cost-effectiveness (qualitative assessment by key informants) and assessment of alternatives.</p>	<p>90% of the classes feature continuous intake.</p> <p>The way in which data is collected and its potential for the evaluation was also evaluated Service providers are left free to focus their courses on social orientation, English for daily life, or English for the workplace.</p> <p>Interesting about all Canadian evaluations:</p> <p>-They include a response from the government listing the actions that will be adopted in order to follow the report's recommendations.</p> <p>-The Canadian evaluation framework takes into account the fit of policy with broader departmental and federal objectives (i.e. policy goals are also evaluated).</p>	Evaluation Division, 2010
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SE	Language courses	Refugees	Quantitative : regression	5	In the long term (7 years), taking 300 to 500 hours of language courses increased the likelihood of refugees' employment, but early employment outweighs the impact of language courses	Effectiveness (implicit): likelihood of employment.		OECD 2007
CA	Mentoring	Newcomers	Quantitative: descriptive data analysis, survey Qualitative	4	<p>Program is unique in creating social networks between Canadians and newcomers; it was found relevant and aligned with federal and departmental priorities.</p> <p>Positive impact on newcomers' linguistic abilities.</p> <p>Positive impact on social rather than on professional network.</p> <p>Two-way exchange: immigrants learned about the Canadian culture and the mentors about the challenges and contributions of immigrants.</p> <p>Personal growth of clients in terms of social skills, identity and leadership.</p>	<p>Relevance: need to set forth the program, alignment with government priorities</p> <p>Implementation: preparation of volunteers and clients for effective participation, timely individual matches and group activities</p> <p>Results (effectiveness): Facilitation of settlement and adaptation of clients, facilitation of the development of social and professional networks, mutual cultural awareness and acceptance, unexpected outcomes</p> <p>Design: management to</p>	<p>Matches can be one-to-one or family matches.</p> <p>Program is inspired in notion of "reciprocity" between host society and newcomers.</p> <p>Interesting about all Canadian evaluations:</p> <p>-They include a response from the government listing the actions that will be adopted in order to follow the report's recommendations.</p> <p>-The Canadian evaluation framework takes into account the fit of policy with broader departmental and federal objectives (i.e. policy goals are also evaluated).</p>	Evaluation Division, 2010b

						enable the program's effective and accountable delivery, capacity to deliver, efficient methods to reach objectives, best practices. Efficiency: cost per client compared throughout the years.		
IE	Mentoring	Newly arrived third-country nationals	Qualitative	2	Positive effects of mentoring in terms of supported access to labor market, education, social and cultural life in Ireland.	Effectiveness (implicit): extent to which immigrants become integrated in issues such as language proficiency, access to services, understanding about a multi-cultural Irish society, increasing knowledge about the local area, and developing friendships where appropriate.	The evaluation looked at integration as a two-way process in which both mentors and mentees derived benefits from their participation	Healy 2010
UK	Mentoring	Refugees	Qualitative	2	Positive effects, especially in terms of improving English language proficiency, advice regarding everyday life and confidence building.	Effectiveness: impact on the integration of refugees	The evaluation looked at integration as a two-way process as well	Esterhuizen & Murphy 2007
DK	Mentoring: KVINFO Mentorship network	Newcomers	No information	1	160 previously unemployed women (out of 900 participants) gained employment through the network	No formal benchmarking. Effectiveness (implicit) operationalized as labor market integration of	Mentorship is directed towards finding employment.	OECD2007

						participants		
CA	Pre-departure orientation programs/ Overseas Orientation Initiatives	Labor migrants and their families	Quantitative: survey and descriptive data analysis Qualitative: interviews and document analysis	3	Pre-departure orientation needed for refugees, but less so for labor migrants with specific employment-related needs. Overall satisfaction with the service. Accurate information helped to manage newcomer expectations, but not entirely: The instrument helped newcomers prepare for employment. Biggest challenges related to that topic.	Relevance: consistency with needs, alignment with federal policy priorities. Effectiveness: satisfaction, role of information in managing newcomer expectations, way in which OOI helps newcomers to prepare for employment. Efficiency: cost per participant.	The evaluation identified a lack of coordination within CIC regarding which information should be provided to which immigration categories and at which locations.	Evaluation Division, 2012
AUS	Pre-departure orientation: Australian Cultural Orientation (AUSCO) program.	Humanitarian migrants	Qualitative Quantitative: descriptive data analysis	3	Broad agreement that the program meets its objectives and even goes beyond them (new skills on timeliness and improved health and nutrition, confidence, self-awareness). Actual attendance: 70%	Effectiveness: meeting goals, set out in Key Performance Indicators. KPI were three: -Client uptake (90% of eligible clients should be invited). -Client satisfaction. -Client competences	Five-day orientation program, contracted out to IOM by means of tendering processes before immigrants depart to Australia. The two last KPIs were not measured due to the lack of objective data. KPIs were contractually set out. During the evaluation, the need was identified to stress the need to learn English and the importance of the AMEP program (cf. above). Need of better connectivity between the different services.	Humanitarian Branch DIAC, 2009
DK	Settlement and dispersal instruments	Refugees	Quantitative: survival analysis	6	Positive effect of assignment to areas with low immigrant concentration. However, those individuals assigned	Effectiveness: duration of period between the date of obtaining residence and beginning of	Employment should be considered as a factor when designing dispersal policies.	OECD 2007 Damm & Rosholm, 2010

					to areas with low immigrant concentration tended to relocate, and relocation influenced transition to employment positively.	employment spells.	A removal of the policy may have quickened labor market integration	
DK	Settlement and dispersal instruments	Refugees	Quantitative: descriptive data analysis	6	Individuals who move during the introduction period are more successful at being employed than those who don't or who move after that period.	No definitions, explicit or implicit	There is no correlation between municipalities' integration success and their popularity among individuals who relocate.	Nielsen and Jensen 2006
SE	Settlement and dispersal instruments	Refugees	Quantitative: regression	6	Increased emphasis on income support rather than labor market integration had as a result an increase in welfare receipts and a decrease in earnings. Effects would have been worse, however, if immigrants had not moved from the municipalities where they had been assigned.	Effectiveness: economic outcomes of immigrants in terms of earnings, idleness and welfare receipts.	Quasi-experimental setting	Edin et al 2000
AUS	Support services : migrant community services.	Migrants, refugees and humanitarian entrants	Qualitative.: focus groups	2	Migrants found services useful	Effectiveness: finding accommodation; finding a job; learning English.	Dissatisfaction about referrals to other systems. Need to articulate standards and setting protocols for issues such as domestic violence. Side effects: community development.	Urbis, 2002
PT	Support services : field teams	Institutions and service providers at the neighborhood	Qualitative	2	Considered as extremely important, as it allows to help institutions to disseminate information	Analysis on the basis of number of visits carried out by the Field Teams	Teams are deployed at the neighborhood level to help institutions.	IOM 2010

		level			about services to immigrants.		Especially helpful for technicians than for immigrants themselves.	
PT	Support services : telephone service	Immigrants and CNAI partners	Quantitative : descriptive data analysis	3	Global satisfaction: 88,7%	Output attainment indicators: number of clients, satisfaction of target group. Effectiveness: responses obtained according to target group.		IOM 2010
PT	Support services : telephone translation	Immigrants and institutions	Quantitative : descriptive data analysis Qualitative	3	Positive evaluation which helps to overcome the migrants' obstacles	Analysis on the basis of the number of translations carried out, satisfaction with waiting times, satisfaction with opening hours, etc. Effects: perception of the extent to which the services solved communication obstacles.		IOM 2010
AUS	Support services: Integrated Humanitarian Settlement Strategy (IHSS).	Humanitarian migrants	Qualitative: interviews and consultations, including the target group	2	Increased equity Timely service provision. High satisfaction among clients. Service provision is according to the IHSS principles. Reduction of the potential for client dependency. Increased professionalism. Basic support needs are being met.	Effectiveness not defined, but operationalized by means of users' satisfaction and the extent and features of service delivery.	The policy is dealt with through a system of contractors: the Australian government does not provide services but pays for them. Problems: coordination, agencies become silos, management of peaks and troughs in inflow of clients. The last one has been solved by Guaranteed Business Levels.	Urbis 2003

PT-GR-IT-SP-IE-DE	Support services: one-stop-shop	Newcomers	Qualitative	2	In order to establish a one-stop-shop a number of assumptions need to be fulfilled: -Political feasibility: Policies should be mobilizing and trust-building, rights-based, client-centered, and prepared to cooperate with NGOs. -Structural feasibility: coherent organizational structure (immigration and integration together), cooperation between state agencies and civil society. -Practical feasibility: physical location, opening hours, internal communications, welcoming atmosphere.	No clear criteria for evaluation	The project attempted to assess the feasibility of implementing one-stop-shops for immigrants in six different countries. Its outcome was a handbook in which the conditions for implementations are developed	Penninx 2009
PT	Support services: one-stop-shops	Immigrants, legal and illegal	Quantitative: data descriptive analysis Qualitative	3	-Mediators help to increase the efficacy of responses. -Long waiting times are an obstacle to the policy. -cooperation among services is positively evaluated: -Organizational features are positively evaluated (satisfaction, leadership, autonomy, etc). - Immigrants' perspective is positive, both regarding the Centers' functioning and the quality of the treatment. The role of socio-cultural mediators is positively perceived.	Several criteria for evaluation: -Output attainment (have the goals been reached?). Indicators: number of clients treated. -Effectiveness (are migrants' obstacles removed?). Measured from the clients' perspective: obtained information, timing for the information, contribution of the centers to "welcoming" and "integration", intention to use the Centers in the	The Centers provide services for both regular and irregular immigrants. Extensive use of socio-cultural mediators. Government-civil society partnership. Staff is circulated between mainstream services and the Centers. This helps to sensitize them	IOM 2010

						<p>future. -Are there any new obstacles or needs for which new policy answers are necessary? -Coherence -Efficacy</p> <p>Three evaluation perspectives: institutional, organizational and clients'.</p>		
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