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Migrant Integration in Rural and Urban Areas of New Settlement Countries: Thematic Introduction*

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Since the end of the twentieth century, the European Union Member States have become an increasingly attractive region for immigrants. Even before the 2004 enlargement, data at national level demonstrated that migration played a more important role in population development than birth and death rates, and that the demographic dynamics of the EU15 increasingly depended on migration flows (Johansson and Rauhut 2002). EU expansion in May 2004 has resulted in a dramatic rise in numbers of migrants as well as broadening their diversity. The post-enlargement labour migration from the accession states targeted primarily the traditional destinations of Germany and Austria, but more recently also the United Kingdom and Ireland (Traser 2006).

A relatively new feature in European migration is the significant and growing impact it has had on peripheral and rural areas. In southern Europe there has been a relatively steady stream of migrants to rural areas since the 1990s, in part connected with their relatively large, labour-intensive agricultural sector (Kasimis 2005). In some northern European countries, such as Ireland and Scotland, rural areas have particularly benefited from the 2004 EU enlargement: increasing evidence suggests that the majority of migrant workers from the 2004 accession states have found employment in rural areas rather than the traditional migration centres (TUC 2004). Migration to rural and remote areas can counter depopulation trends that have afflicted those areas for decades, and can contribute to the sustainability of public and private services in rural communities. This can result in a virtuous cycle where well-serviced rural areas may be attractive to both groups, those who once left them as well as migrants.

However, despite the fact that the new migrants can contribute to reversing population decline through closing skills and labour shortages, as well as reversing dependency ratios (the ratio between the tax-bearing working population and retirees), political attitudes, media coverage and public opinion are often negative

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(EPC/KBF 2005). The climate of reticence is also reflected in public opinion on further EU enlargement. A recent survey indicated that while 45 per cent of EU citizens supported the accession of Bulgaria and Romania in January 2007, 42 per cent were opposed to it (Traser 2006: 40). Nonetheless migration will remain an important part of the "new Europe", and the management of migration, as well as integration approaches, will be high on political agendas. The presence of diverse – and in new settlement countries only slowly emerging – migration regimes across Europe result in the need for flexible policy approaches. "Best practices" cannot simply be transferred from one context to another: one size does not fit all. For example, targeted immigration programmes, which were to meet specific market needs, proved relatively successful in northern industrial countries but were ineffective in southern Europe (Katseli 2004). Similarly, integration approaches will have to be tailored to the needs of each country and locality. Measuring progress (and even the status quo) in this area has its own challenges, as integration is a complex concept.

The current thematic issue of UNESCO's *International Journal on Multicultural Societies* (IJMS) addresses these issues by exploring integration approaches and processes for different groups of migrants in new settlement countries at macro and micro levels. It pays particular attention to the geographical dimension of migrant integration by examining both urban and peripheral/rural contexts. This introduction provides the background and context to four subsequent contributions. It first discusses issues associated with the controversial but widely used concept of integration, and its relevance for policies at EU and national levels. Second, it considers the particular challenges and opportunities new settlement countries are encountering when aiming to promote migrant integration. Trends in approaches to migration management and integration in southern and northern Europe are outlined. Third, the relatively new phenomenon of international migration to rural areas in Europe is addressed, again considering developments in northern and southern Europe. Finally, the four contributions to this special issue are introduced.

1. Conceptual Issues of Integration

There is no clear definition of integration, and the term is controversial in part because it lacks criteria for operationalisation and measurement (Gibney and Hansen 2005). Integration has often been used as a catch-all concept, designating both processes and objectives of inclusionary strategies. It has been referred to as a "treacherous concept, resting on a mathematical metaphor, which assumes that the social processes of group interaction can be likened to the mathematical processes of making up a whole number. Anyone who uses it should specify the integer, the whole number, into which the fractions are being combined" (Banton 2001: 151). On this basis, it has been conceded that the concept comprises probably no more than a "default term" as there is no less-controversial alternative (Geddes 2001: 3).

At least in the European context, integration has become a popular concept in public-policy debates and high-level policy formulations (Favell 2005). Part of the

reason for its high profile may be the fact that the concept stretches beyond mere political and legal concerns, such as citizenship, and addresses difficult social and cultural processes. Moreover, it has the potential of accommodating both the rights and responsibilities of individuals and those of communities – at least in cases where integration is conceived of as a two-way process, requiring changes from communities as well as the individual.

It is in the extent to which migrants and host communities are seen as having rights and responsibilities that processes of settlement become more closely defined. Some authors have distinguished between assimilation, integration and segregation, where integration is regarded as "a 'middle way' between coercive conformism to national norms and values, on the one hand, and the threat of separatism, seen as latent in the excessive preservation of non-European cultures, on the other" (Gibney and Hansen 2005). Others have described the integration process as a continuum, where assimilation and multiculturalism make up the opposing poles, both with their respective problems (IOM 2006). The former term has often been equated with the absorption of minorities into a value system that the majority perceives as shared, with concomitant attempts to render minorities "invisible". The latter tends to refer to the recognition of diverse ethnic communities – an approach that cannot easily facilitate interaction and understanding between cultural and ethnic groups. Depending on whether multiculturalism includes the institutionalisation of mechanisms that can protect minorities from discrimination, certain cultural traits can be protected and even promoted (Díez Medrano and Koenig 2005). If such mechanisms are lacking, the approach can be regarded as giving minorities the responsibility to adapt in order to succeed (IOM 2006; Watt 2006). Closely located to multiculturalism on a continuum of integration is the intercultural approach, which – by contrast to multiculturalism – has been argued to promote "inclusion by design, not as an add-on or afterthought" (Watt 2006: 156). The intercultural approach involves mainstreaming so that existing policy and provision processes are inclusive of minority ethnic and cultural groups, thus promoting equality. Moreover, it refers to a type of engagement in which stakeholders from different ethnic and cultural groups participate, thereby promoting interaction (Watt 2006).

Based on a survey of existing European policy approaches, Geddes (2001) distinguishes between three types of integration (a) socio-economic integration, which relates to migrants' use of rights in the education system and the labour market; (b) civil and political integration, for example the status of citizenship, but also migrants' active participation in the institutions of civil society and their inclusion in the welfare state; and (c) cultural integration, meaning a process which involves cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change on the part of newcomers as well as the host society (Geddes 2001).

There has been a growing if belated recognition of the need to move beyond the goal of simply managing migration flows and to promote newcomers' integration at EU level also (Boswell 2003). States need to give potential migrants the

confidence that they will not be excluded or discriminated against if they want to attract workers to fill skills and labour shortages. Moreover, the rise in public support for extremist right-wing parties and public anxiety about Muslim minorities have resulted in a perceived need for comprehensive integration strategies. Such a need has yet to be attended to at both national and local levels – the level at which the process of integration takes place primarily (Spencer 2003). Local communities are not only spaces with their social, cultural, economic and political components in which migrants live. Rather, migrants are in dynamic relationships with communities, and their experiences at local level will define their opportunities (Papademetriou 2003).

It has been commented that integration in the EU context "remains ill-defined and can in effect mean 'all things to all people', including assimilation" (Watt 2006). However, the Common Basic Principles (CBP) on integration formulated by the Council of the European Union in 2004, and the 2005 Communication: *A Common Agenda for Integration*, both point towards an intercultural approach (Cooke and Spencer 2006). The CBP affirm that integration consists of a "dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States" (EPC/KBF 2005: 4). The importance of employment as a key part of the integration process is highlighted, as well as equitable access to institutions, public and private goods (EPC/KBF 2005). Taken together, the principles relate to legal, economic, social and cultural/religious dimensions. Moreover, they recognise that integration cannot consist of a top-down approach, but rather needs to involve stakeholders at all different levels. This approach is also reflected in the 2005 Communication, which suggests, for example, that EU Member States need to focus on the host societies, to increase their understanding of migrants' contributions, and their acceptance of diverse cultures and religions (Cooke and Spencer 2006).

There are clear limits to the EU integration agenda. For example, EU policies address legally resident third-country nationals only, but exclude for example accession state nationals entitled to work in Ireland, Sweden and the UK (and more recently in other EU countries, which lifted initial access restrictions to their labour markets in 2006 and 2007). These migrants also need support in order to have their rights respected, and for positive relationships between them and the host communities to be promoted. Moreover, the proposals for action at EU and national levels proposed are not binding (Cooke and Spencer 2006).

2. Migrant Integration and New Settlement Countries

Facilitating integration processes along the dimensions discussed above constitutes a particular challenge for countries that have until recently been primarily characterised by emigration, and have become popular destination countries over a very short period. Countries with a colonial past and a history of guest-worker systems have received a steady flow of immigrants, often prompted by a political economy approach to migration. Their immigration regimes, i.e. the legal regimes

of statuses and rights, have been formalised. By contrast, in new settlement countries, immigration regimes are only slowly unfolding. As covered in depth by Piaras Mac Éinrí's Irish case study in this issue, new settlement countries have not yet developed the institutions, laws and policies needed to manage migration flows well, and have limited experience with integration strategies. Moreover "implementation deficits" of migrants' formally held rights (also anchored in international agreements and conventions) are notable. For example, despite the fact that Section 75 of the Northern Ireland Act 1998 confers the duty to public authorities to promote equality of opportunity and good race relations, inadequacies in the application and implementation of such duties have been observed (Watt and McGaughey 2006). Deficiencies in implementation notwithstanding, the situation still compares favourably with the Republic of Ireland, where no equivalent duties exist to date (Watt and McGaughey 2006). Problems also arise through a lack of detailed demographic and socio-economic data in some new settlement countries (for example, on ethnicity as well as on housing, healthcare and education), which can provide a basis on which to measure socio-economic progress of minority ethnic groups, many of whom will be migrants. Future censuses may take account of this gap (Watt and McGaughey 2006).

A lack and inadequate quality of public provisions for migrants has resulted in a growing supply of provisions by non-governmental and community groups (Watt and McGaughey 2006). Civil society's involvement in the integration agenda is undoubtedly desirable. Local and national voluntary organisations can provide information and advice, support migrants in building social and employment networks, and contribute to their voices being heard in decision-making processes. Because the voluntary sector is so diverse and flexible, it is well suited to identify and address migrants' needs, and to take a holistic and person-centred approach. At the same time, the state's role is crucial in providing leadership and vision in this process, and in functioning as a catalyst, which enables partners in society to assume tasks they are best suited to fulfil (Cooke and Spencer 2006). The state must coordinate endeavours and facilitate a long-term strategy. In the absence of this, as also demonstrated by Mac Éinrí's case study, an overly complex structure of programmes and initiatives may result, which tends to be relatively short-term and project-directed. Unfortunately, at present it seems that the voluntary sector is often conveniently seen as a money-saving alternative to public provisions – a theme pursued comprehensively by the contribution of Findlay et al. in this issue.

This difficult situation in new settlement countries is exacerbated by the fact that emigration is a new phenomenon for many of the sending countries, such as the Baltic States. Just as the focus of the new receiving countries has been on understanding the scale and patterns of immigration, and on gaining some insights into the needs as well as the contributions of the new arrivals, new sending countries are trying to assess similar issues relating to emigration, and are only gradually developing support services for their migrant workers. This contrasts with countries with a well-established record of emigration, such as the Philippines,

which play a key role in advancing the integration of their emigrants. They provide pre-departure training for their nationals who plan to migrate; have mechanisms in place to protect and reach out to their nationals abroad, for example through their consular offices overseas; and facilitate contacts between migrants and their country of origin (IOM 2006). New sending countries are only beginning to develop similar policies and provisions, for example, to help migrants to maintain links with their country of origin, and by providing incentives for their return (Eurofound 2006), thereby encouraging circular migration. Moreover, some receiving countries have attempted to provide information on their living and working conditions, including the pre-departure stage, as can be illustrated with Ireland's "Know Before You Go" campaign (Traser 2006: 16). In Spain, following the recognition of Romanians being the third-largest group of foreigners resident in the country, the Spanish and Romanian governments decided to set up a joint working group on immigration (Traser 2006).

Of course, the new (and sending) countries are heterogeneous, and discourses on migration have reflected this fact. Migration in southern European, for example Spain and Italy, has often been discussed in terms of these countries' history of illegal/undocumented immigration, migrants' frequent inclusion in the informal sector of the economy, and repeatedly conducted regularisation programmes. Moreover, these countries have a robust demand for low-skilled migrant labour, and are geographically close to dynamic source countries and areas with migration pressure (Arango and Jachimowicz 2005; Geddes 2001). Spain has been particularly under scrutiny following its 2005 regularisation programme for some foreign workers, as this constituted a break with previous approaches to unauthorised migration. The programme was part of a larger, more comprehensive immigration reform, and involved first-time cooperation between two crucial ministries, the Ministry of the Interior and the Ministry of Labour and Social Issues, allowing for the pooling of resources (Arango and Jachimowicz 2005). Indeed, the restrictive elements of EU policy have especially influenced southern European countries' focus on external controls, and their legislation is in accord with that of other EU countries (Geddes 2003).

In northern Europe, endeavours to manage migration flows have also stressed combating irregular migration and illegal employment. In addition, the development of effective integration policies has been a focus, partly caused by family reunion inflows as migrant workers became integrated into formal economies (Katseli 2004). Managed migration policies have allowed for an expansion in the numbers of those migrants who are able to fill vacancies in skilled and low-wage jobs (Anderson et al. 2006).

Katseli (2004: 2) comments that the segmentation of EU labour markets, together with differences in economic, social and institutional characteristics, has given rise to two distinct "migration regimes in northern and southern European countries". Migrants' socio-economic integration will partly be shaped by the fact that countries in the south are not so highly organised. Their state institutions offer less

comprehensive services and provisions, and citizens in this region have lower expectations about state capacity than is the case of their northern counterparts. This is compounded by irregularity and informality in southern European countries (Geddes 2003).

However, there may be a greater overlap of migrants' experiences in northern and southern Europe than an analysis of "migration regimes" suggests. A recent survey on the lives of migrants from Central and Eastern European countries (i.e. also including non-EU nationals) working in low-paid employment in the UK illustrates this point. The survey found not only that a considerable proportion of them (22 per cent) were "illegally resident" due to expired visas. In addition, it was reported that compared with the national average for their occupations, these migrant workers received relatively low pay; were working longer basic hours and longer total hours, with overtime not always being paid. Few received paid holidays, and less than a third were entitled to paid sick leave (Anderson et al. 2006). This indicates that in countries across Europe much remains to be done to address integration matters. "Policies concerning the integration of migrants could be made more coherent across regulatory areas, involving the EU, national governments, and local administrations. Participation in policy design and implementation by immigrant associations, NGOs, and the wider public is a prerequisite for the sustainability of policies, successful integration, and the better use of both immigrant and domestic labor potential" (Katseli 2004: 3).

3. Immigrants in Rural Areas

Strong migration flows to rural areas are another relatively new phenomenon in the European context. Although studies of migration to rural areas are well established in the United States and Canada, this is not the case in Europe. The limited research conducted on this topic in Europe has tended to focus on the sending countries afflicted by the rural exodus (Kasimis 2005). In 2000, the EU Social and Economic Committee examined the causes for the increased size of migrant employment in rural areas, and requested further research on the subject. Among their findings was the observation that pools of native workers had decreased in rural areas; native workers were not attracted to seasonal employment and associated low wages and poor working conditions, in part related to young people's higher levels of education; native workers could find themselves in a poverty/benefits trap; employers could avoid social security payments by recruiting migrants (Kasimis 2005). Moreover, rural areas have increasingly become "multifunctional". Non-agricultural activities such as tourism, as well as new consumption patterns linked with leisure and recreation, have created job opportunities that the native-born population has not been able to take up (Kasimis 2005).

The relatively constant stream of migrants to rural areas since the 1990s in southern Europe has been mentioned. In Italy in 2000, migrants constituted 60 per cent of agriculture's seasonal labour force. In Spain, the 2001 census indicates that

17 per cent of all migrants lived in areas with a population below 10,000. Research conducted between 2000 and 2006 in three rural areas in Greece showed that more than half of rural households and two-thirds of farm households had employed migrant workers. They were important for the survival and expansion of farms, and complemented family labour by filling seasonal labour deficits. They also allowed family members to take up employment outside agriculture (Kasimis 2005). In terms of integration, it was migrant workers in the less-developed regions living permanently in one region with their families who seemed to be relatively well accepted and integrated.

In northern Europe, until recently, metropolitan areas have been the main destinations for immigrants. This may partly have been due to the fact that for migrants in low-skilled, unstable jobs, employment opportunities in cities allow for flexible working arrangements (Johansson and Rauhut 2002). However, the 2004 EU enlargement has had a particular impact on rural areas, with the majority of Accession 8[1] nationals finding employment there (TUC 2004). With regard to Scotland, reports from rural National Health Service Boards have indicated that they are dealing with 800 to 1,000 new migrant workers each month (Watt and McGaughey 2006). Such numbers have consequences for the provision of public (and private) services in rural areas. In some cases, the new community members will increase pressure on scarce resources, such as housing, resulting in poor accommodation for migrants themselves. In other cases, migrants may well contribute to the sustainability of local services, for example, educational facilities.

The strongholds of minority languages, such as Gaelic and Welsh, are in rural areas. While migrant impact on minority languages has scarcely featured in research to date, it is likely to be positive: the presence of other minority languages can contribute to further awareness of the rich heritage of minority cultures and languages. There is also the hope that at least the second generation of the new migrants can become the "new Gaels" and "new Welsh", provided, for example, that Gaelic- and Welsh-medium education will be made available to, and be taken up by, the new arrivals. The limited evidence that exists in this area gives cause for cautious optimism (Herd and Jentsch 2006). This is an important area for future research because policy initiatives to support indigenous minority languages and those aiming to attract migrants can be in conflict – as can be argued to be the case in Scotland. These tensions need to be recognised and addressed in order for both indigenous minority and migrants' cultures to benefit (Herd and Jentsch 2006).

[1] In May 2004, European Union membership was extended to include the ten countries of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. While nationals from Cyprus and Malta have had full free movement rights and have been able to work throughout the EU, transitional measures were put in place to restrict movements by nationals from the other eight (Accession 8 or A8) countries. For the first two years, only Ireland, Sweden and the UK granted full access to their labour markets to these new EU citizens. In May 2006, Finland, Greece, Portugal and Spain lifted all restrictions, followed by Italy in July 2006, and the Netherlands in May 2007.

As multicultural and intercultural approaches to integration are able to complement individual with collective rights, aspects of minority cultures can be protected, for example, through the safeguarding and promotion of practices such as the use of minority languages, and the practising of religion in public spaces (Díez Medrano and Koenig 2005). While some indigenous minority languages do enjoy legal and educational support in mainstream schools (albeit to varying degrees and with widely varying success) such support is hardly ever available to immigrant minority languages. Moreover, counter to the notion of intercultural approaches to integration, the learning and teaching of immigrant minority languages is often regarded as a barrier to integration. Some examples of "good practice" exist, for example, in North Rhine-Westphalia (Germany) and Victoria (Australia) where linguistic pluralism has become part of school programmes. The current lack of comprehensive and contemporary European-level guidelines and directives to support multilingualism does not help developments in this area, and needs to be addressed (UNESCO 2003).

4. Contributions to this Issue

This thematic issue includes four contributions that consider in detail important aspects of migrant integration in urban and hitherto neglected rural areas of new settlement countries, on which this introduction could only touch. They provide the general context to specific integration issues as they relate to different migrant groups. In addition, they offer Scottish and Irish (and in one instance additional English) case studies, which afford analytical insights that can advance our understanding of factors facilitating or hindering integration processes in different contexts. At a time when the Europe-wide sharing of experiences and "good practices" to include migrants has been strongly promoted (Spencer 2003; Geddes 2003), it is expected that these analyses and findings can enhance policy and public discourses in other countries also.

In the first contribution, Mike Danson explores population change and policy initiatives. His findings highlight that, even in a country where the situation pertains that economic migrants are actively attracted, and where the policy discourse tends to support immigration to an unusual extent, clear integration deficits can exist. In the one area in which migrant workers formally appear to be well integrated – the labour market – it is revealed that migrants' skills are often under-utilised, and their working conditions and prospects frequently poor. It is apparent that this state of affairs is only partially amenable to change through policies addressing integration processes. Structural problems provide the primary explanation for the difficulties that migrants experience in gaining access to "better quality" jobs. Particular economic sectors are shown to have missed renewal opportunities, and appear to be stuck in the secondary labour market. Many of these sectors are located in rural and remote areas. If the problem remains neglected, this study suggests that neither programmes that aim to attract migrants, nor the rural communities that have identified migrant workers as central to strategies aimed at renewing and re-energising localities, will prove sustainable.

The second contribution, from the present author, Philomena de Lima and Brian MacDonald, shifts attention from the macro to the micro level. The experiences and prospects of migrant workers in rural communities across Scotland's predominantly rural Highlands and Islands are explored. This study suggests that there are reasons to believe that with appropriate interventions by relevant authorities, such as preparing host communities for their migrant workers, international migrants' contributions are more likely to be recognised by rural community members than those made by many "life quality" internal migrants in the past. Moreover, it appears that the authorities' endeavours to meet the needs of migrants in this new settlement country differ in pace and quality from the modest attempts made in previous decades to meet the needs of long-established, but relatively small, minority ethnic groups. However, similarly to the first contribution, this paper recognises that the lack of high-quality employment may well discourage migrants from remaining in rural and remote communities in the medium or long term. Hence the new pattern of temporary and circular migration, facilitated by low-cost travel and easy communication, may prove particularly relevant for rural communities.

The third contribution, from Allan Findlay, Nicholas Fyfe and Emma Stewart, addresses the situation of asylum seekers and refugees, and the role that civil society plays in supporting this heterogeneous group, with a particular focus on the geographical dimension of service provision. As is common in many countries, in the UK, too, asylum seekers and refugees used to be concentrated in the capital city and the surrounding areas. However, a policy aimed at the geographical dispersal of refugees by the UK Government has resulted in peripheral and in some cases rural areas becoming hosts for asylum seekers and refugees. At the same time, asylum seekers' social position has become more vulnerable. Many of the welfare services aimed at them, previously provided by the state, have been shifted to the voluntary sector, which has hereby become an alternative to state provisions. As a consequence, services for asylum seekers and refugees are provided where the NGOs are located, and not necessarily where the greatest need is. Not surprisingly, this tends to disadvantage those individuals in peripheral areas.

The fourth and final contribution, by Piaras Mac Éinrí, considers the situation in another northern settlement country, Ireland. Ireland offers an interesting comparison with Scotland, as the two countries share much of their emigration history and the more recent immigration patterns. However, whereas the UK has a relatively firm and long-standing legal base on which issues such as racism, discrimination and integration can be addressed, Irish policy at present rests on a more voluntarist approach to such issues. In the light of the previous contribution's focus on the growing importance of the voluntary sector in Britain (at least with regard to provisions for asylum seekers and refugees), it appears that there may be the possibility of a gradual convergence between Irish and British approaches to integration: as the UK seems to increasingly rely on civil society for service provision, Ireland has started to put in place a significant body of legislation and policy, even if it does not (yet) provide a comprehensive framework for action.

These contributions aim to be of relevance and interest to policy-makers and practitioners in the field of migration and integration, as well as to academics. Key policy debates in this field are identified and discussed, and integration concerns of different groups of migrants considered – an issue that is increasingly politicised and so of rising strategic importance. The case-study approach attempts to bridge the gap between the policy-practitioner community and more academic analyst-oriented researchers by relating conceptual and theoretical understandings to "good practice" and offering lessons from the experiences of new settlement countries.

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Fresh or Refreshed Talent: Exploring Population Change in Europe and Some Policy Initiatives*

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This paper considers the urban, rural and regional dimensions of an ageing and declining population and compares these developments globally and between European countries. Strategies to attract new migrant workers to address population changes are examined within their historical and social contexts, especially in formerly declining rural areas. As Scotland has a long history of emigration and depopulation and recently has pursued a particularly active strategy of encouraging immigrants and migrant workers, special attention is paid to experiences within territorial unions where powers are reserved to higher authorities. Arguments are illustrated by reference to UK Government policy and the Scottish Executive's Fresh Talent Initiative and its Strategy for a Scotland with an Ageing Population. This contributes to the debate over whether the rationales and objectives of these policies fit with the needs of the society, economy and the constituent parts of the nation, and of migrant workers themselves.

In the opening to *Anna Karenina*, Tolstoy argues that "Happy families are all alike; every unhappy family is unhappy in its own way" (2003, 1). All countries are now facing issues of demographic change – of decline, ageing and migration. Indirectly they are also confronted with significant structural problems, with delivering service needs that are often inconsistent with existing provisions, and with associated evolving labour market supply and demand disequilibria; and each is addressing these challenges in their own way. Some, for example the new Member States of the EU, are exporting their surplus labour to more prosperous

* While an earlier version of this paper received helpful comments at the International Migration and Scotland: the Public and Social Policy Agendas conference, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, Sleat, Isle of Skye, 1–2 September 2005, Birgit Jentsch provided many more useful links, criticisms and support than an author would normally expect. The remaining errors and value judgements are mine alone, however.

economies,[1] others such as Ireland and Sweden are welcoming migrant workers to fill job vacancies. However, there would seem to be mutual benefits in countries learning lessons from each other and from history. Indeed, although the scenario of an ageing Europe and world appears to be novel, the reality for many peripheral, rural and former industrial areas has been of significant decline and occasional abandonment of well-established communities (Hunter 1999).

The traditional and current discourse in most nations tends to be dominated by a dominant theme of depopulation through emigration, war or famine; of overpopulation as analysed from Malthus onwards; or of mass immigration by refugees, guest workers or colonial partners. Many states have attempted to manage their population through immigration controls and various birth-control instruments, while recently customs unions have increased the scale at which such policies and strategies are considered, planned and implemented. There is a long history of public-policy interventions through health schemes to reduce infant mortality, and death rates generally, but also to manage migration – both immigration and emigration, and for several decades to address perceived unsustainably high and then falling birth rates. Within nations, regional and urban/rural dimensions of population change are important in particular places, and these have offered the potential to experiment proactively within territories with ways of addressing demographic challenges, rather than leaving it to the market to solve or exacerbate the problem. Latterly, across the globe there has been an increasing awareness that populations are ageing everywhere and that this will have significant implications for governments, budgets, labour markets, communities and individuals. This suggests new approaches to demographic change are required as problems and solutions interact across borders and boundaries.

How nations and states respond to this evolving demographic agenda is influenced and moderated by their own particular histories and geographies, as well as by their economic circumstances. A number of historical, legislative and social contexts need to be considered and compared, therefore, before transnational learning is possible over these issues, so that a traditional political-economy approach offers more than a narrow neoclassical economic analytical framework. Academic economists (for example, Krugman 2005) and geographers (most notably, Florida 2002) have been proposing that regions and cities offer attractions to mobile populations and to enterprises that go beyond simple market costs and benefits, suggesting that such deeper analyses are required if individual migration decisions and collective policies are to be successfully understood. These analyses, however, often neglect the periurban and more particularly the rural dimensions of population change in favour of a distinct focus on the central city or city region. As a contribution to debates around such analyses, this paper explores the evolving demographic situation in Europe and looks at how nations are addressing the

[1] As might have been anticipated, however, the loss of labour supply has been such that governments (of A8 countries) are now considering policies, such as minimum wages, to manage this more proactively by retaining more of the workforce.

impacts of their ageing and declining populations, especially where active attempts are being made to attract migrant workers with attention paid to the rural as well as the urban dimensions. Of course, many migrants in the European context today have little "choice" over their destinations in sectoral or locational terms, and this will be an important subcurrent of the analysis.

So, in Section 1, characteristics of demographic change are examined at the global, European, EU, UK and Scottish levels, covering population structure, migration and related issues. By focusing in particular on aspects of migration, the foundations are laid for subsequent exploration of some of the associated strategic policies which are being introduced. To illustrate the application of the analysis within specific environments, the arguments draw on experiences in Scotland, which has been innovative in a number of respects. Scotland has a long history of migration, at times dominated by immigration and at others by emigration, especially from rural areas, and an introduction to how these movements have influenced attitudes to demographic change are discussed in Section 2. Scotland has quietly promoted itself as a nation of inclusion and integration, but it also displays many of the problems and challenges faced by many other countries, and of those on the periphery of the continent especially. In recent years, Scotland has taken particular initiatives with respect to migration and ageing, within the contexts of a customs union (the European Union) and a unitary state (the UK). Each of these higher-level authorities constrains independent actions on critical aspects of population and immigration. Because of these restrictions, experiences and lessons from Scotland should reflect the environment and powers facing many regions and countries; practices here should be applicable in modified forms to other parts of the developed world. Similarly, the analysis also should be able to suggest impacts on the regions and countries of origin, and on wider communities.

Thereafter, the rest of the paper is structured as follows. Section 3 follows a similar scalar approach in considering policies and strategies introduced by governments and other agencies. Particular attention is paid to Scotland given the significance of context for analysis at any level, as argued above. Experiences and evaluations are offered in Section 4, building on the existing literature and appropriate theoretical underpinnings, with an assessment and stress on the spillover effects of local policies beyond national boundaries. The economics underlying the degree of success of such strategies are especially highlighted, with the argument that there are merits in considering the fundamentals driving *emigration* flows from developed territories as well as *immigration*. The final section concludes and confirms the challenges in applying progressive migration and ageing strategies faced by peripheral nations and regions within their wider continental economic contexts.

1. International Dimensions of Demographic Change

Although an apparently perennially contentious issue, migration has been a critical element in the forging of the economic and social histories and developments of all

European nations and countries. From the earliest times, peoples have moved across boundaries, whether natural or constructed, changing both the communities they have left and their territories of destination (Cox 1970). In a demographic sense, as all countries face up to an unprecedented period of ageing and decline (UN 2000, 2002; CEC 2005*a*), the importance of migration flows has been enhanced further. Much of this discussion has been on the impacts of immigration on the receiving societies and economies, which contrasts with the equally significant though neglected effects on where people are leaving from and the fortunes and attitudes of the migrants themselves. This paper contributes to this debate by focusing on the mainstream aspects of inward flows, assessing policy responses and drivers to attract migrants to Scotland in particular; our other work is exploring the motivations of Polish workers in such population movements (Helinska-Hughes 2006). To address this research agenda, it is necessary to examine population structure, changes and forecasts at different spatial levels because, as always, demographic flows across boundaries affect and are affected by developments outwith the nation.

Projections by the United Nations (UN 2002) suggest that most countries in the developed world are facing population decline over the next fifty years, with Japan and virtually all the countries of Europe expected to decrease in population size. So while the population of the geographical continent of Europe is set to decline by 100 million from 730 million, Japan, currently 127 million, is projected to fall to 105 million by 2050. These changes will impact more strongly on some countries than others so, for example, the population of Italy, currently 57 million, is projected to decline to 41 million and the Russian Federation is expected to decrease from 147 million to 121 million between 2000 and 2050. By the year of the most recent enlargement (2004), the European Commission was recording general patterns of underlying decline across the EU15, with only large-scale in-migration into the largest four countries offering some apparent stability (CEC 2005*b*), but all these Member States were to have entered an era of falling populations by the third or fourth decade of the century. Similarly, six of the ten accession states were already in decline on entry and these falls were set to continue into the foreseeable future. The only exceptions across Europe would be the micro-states, and to some extent England, which according to the General Register Office for Scotland would face decline later than elsewhere because of in-migration from outwith the continent (GROS 2005).

Further, these nations of the developed world will have to face the challenge of populations that are ageing as well as declining and these twin developments "will require comprehensive reassessments of many established policies and programmes, including those relating to international migration" (UN 2000). The UN forecasts that globally there will be a doubling in the proportion of people over 60 from 11 per cent to 22 per cent, with a rise in numbers from 688 million in 2006 to 1,968 million in 2050. The developed countries should expect an increase from 20 per cent to 32 per cent, although all regions of the world would see rising numbers and significance of the over-60s. Much of the increase in developed

countries would be amongst the eldest, with a rise from 19 per cent to 32 per cent in the proportions of those over-60s who are 80 years or more. In Europe, there would be a rise from 21 per cent to 34 per cent in the over-60s, and eventually 28 per cent of these would be over 80. Southern European countries should anticipate over 40 per cent of their people being over 60 by 2050, with other European regions following these trends. Life expectancy at 60 does not vary greatly across the continent and is not expected to go up much in the near future but the median ages of all European countries are forecast to increase as a result of these various changes, typically rising from just over 40 to close to 50 years old. In addition to the decrease in population size, then, the countries of Europe are undergoing a relatively rapid ageing process. The ratio of the population aged 15 to 64 years to the population aged 65 or older, the "Potential Support Ratio" (UN 2000), is one way to measure the dependency of those over a particular age on those of working age – which itself is not necessarily stable or fixed. Given the expected ageing of these national and continental populations, this ratio would fall from 4 to 2 between 2006 and 2050, with little variation across Europe.

Replacement migration has already been offering some demographic stability to the core of Europe (UN 2000, 2002; CEC 2005*a*) and this has been the focus of much debate and speculation from these two international organisations and others (see, for example, UN 2006).

For the UN, the conclusions are:

- The levels of migration needed to offset population ageing (i.e. maintain potential support ratios) are extremely large, and in all cases entail vastly more immigration than occurred in the past.

- Maintaining potential support ratios at current levels through replacement migration alone seems out of reach, because of the extraordinarily large numbers of migrants that would be required.

- In most cases, the potential support ratios could be maintained at current levels by increasing the upper limit of the working-age population to roughly 75 years of age (UN 2000).

Against this global and continental background, the threat of population decline in Scotland, forecast by the state agency responsible for demographic statistics and analyses since the late 1990s (GROS 2005), has contrasted with the other countries of the UK, where unremitting growth is expected to continue well into the future (GROS 2005). As discussed below, this contrast has generated a number of policy initiatives addressing migration and inclusion. Reflecting three main factors: relative economic and political expectations, the early introduction of these initiatives, and EU enlargement, for the last three years Scotland's population has been rising, to reach 5,094,800 by the end of June 2005. Continuing a recent trend, the 2005 increase was explained in terms of in-migrants exceeding out-migrants by

about 19,800: 12,500 from the rest of the UK and 7,300 from the rest of the world (GROS 2006). Although net in-migration was estimated to be lower than in the previous year, it was still the second highest since the early 1950s, and for two years running, in-migrants from the rest of the UK exceeded out-migrants in every age group. Confirming a long picture of demographic stability, Scotland's population in 2005 was only slightly lower (0.2 per cent) than a decade before, and indeed it has hardly changed in a century (from 1921 to 2021 it will have varied within a narrow band between 4.9 and 5.2 million). In reality, relatively little change is expected for the next few decades, as GROS is projecting that Scotland's population will rise to 5.13 million in 2019 before falling below 5 million in 2036, reaching 4.86 million by 2044. This projected long-term decline is mainly the result of fewer births and more deaths. Continuing the ageing of the last few decades, in 2005 there were 10 per cent fewer people aged under 30 than in 1995, while sharp increases were recorded for those aged 30 and over, particularly for those aged 45–59 and 75 and over (14 and 15 per cent, respectively). Compared with many other parts of Europe, therefore, Scotland is promised an ageing and declining future with an increasing dependency ratio and progressively fewer entering the labour market.

2. An Evolving Positive Environment for Immigration in an Old Nation

It is the contention of this paper that a nation's patterns of migration and attitudes to immigrants are strongly influenced and informed by their peoples' history and experiences of population movements. Legacies and folk memories affect how individuals, families and communities react to demographic changes, and migration especially. For these reasons, some time is spent here exploring the well-established evolution of Scotland as a nation: recording the mixing of different peoples over a millennium and more, endemic out-migration and the recent policy responses to an early realisation of the implications of demographic ageing and decline. Without this analysis it is not possible to understand how and why particular strategies are adopted, and so what factors are instrumental in their successful introduction and whether they are transferable.

Scotland has an ancient tradition of migration (Ascherson 2002: 237) and historically has been a country of both emigration and immigration, with each "… important aspects of what it is like to be Scottish in the 21st century" (UHI Policy Web 2005). Migration is not only not a new dimension of demographic change, therefore, but also successive waves of migration over the past millennium (of Picts, Celts, Britons, Angles, Irish, etc.) have all had an influence on Scottish culture and have played an important role in creating the diverse identities that exist in present-day Scotland (UHI Policy Web 2005; Hunter 2006; Scottish Executive 2006*a*). Indeed it has been claimed that, over a thousand years ago, Scotland was the first nation to define itself in terms of territory rather than ethnicity, accepting all who lived within the borders as being members of the nation. This seems a relevant and early characteristic for considering migration

strategies, policies and attitudes in the twenty-first century, and is returned to below.

For the last two centuries, among many in Scotland there has been a strong individual and collective memory of clearance and enforced migration from the Scottish Gàidhealtachd (Highlands and Western Isles), other parts of rural Scotland (Aitchison and Cassell 2003) and from Ireland, which has informed and influenced attitudes to refugees, emigration and immigration (Hunter 2006; Ascherson 2002: 174). Ascherson argues that their descendants in Scotland continue to perceive that these Celtic societies had a collective responsibility "guided by the principles of mutual solidarity, property shared in common, loyalty and the transmission of identity through song and story" (p. 175). Especially for those from these areas, there have been suggestions that these experiences of migration had a resonance with those of other aboriginal peoples (Ascherson 2002: 212–14; Hunter 1999). Though no longer in the mainstream, such empathies both contribute to the collective memory and are referenced in the Scottish Government's promotion of a multicultural society (Scottish Executive 2006*a*).

That there were relatively minor differences across both the Celtic and Teutonic cultures of the early Scottish nation (Ascherson 2002: 178) further confirms that their accepted rules and modes of living promoted fairness and inclusion throughout the ages. On the one hand, it could be argued that such folk memories and supporting cultures, regardless of legislation, offer an environment more conducive to refugees, immigrants and those seeking asylum than in territories without similar histories. In contradistinction, it has been argued that despite the negative attitudes and treatment experienced by Scottish emigrants in the past, Scots are not "particularly welcoming to immigrants in their own country" (UHI Policy Web 2005). Evidence to support this latter claim was not offered in this UHI report – conducted under Chatham House rules, beyond noting that such attitudes are "reflected in the negative media focus on immigration and racist attitudes that prevail towards some immigrant groups", with no further context or geographical detail. Coverage of asylum, refugee and immigration issues in the Scottish media, however, does tend to support the former, more liberal interpretation (see, for example, "Minister condemns veil comments", Chisholm 2006).

Moving away from this focused consideration of Scottish attitudes to immigrants, it is important to recognise that movements of people within Europe are not a new phenomenon nor do they always involve potential contest or conflict. For millennia, people have moved into the territories of others to trade, network, communicate and cooperate to mutual benefit. For example, there was a long-established economic migration from Scotland to Poland and the east Baltic based on trading opportunities associated with economic and *demographic* growth following the Black Death in the 1340s, when one-third of Europe's population perished (Ascherson 2002: 245–48). This movement was driven by rural poverty, particularly in the east and north-east of Scotland, and the pull of opportunities along the Vistula in Poland. It has been estimated that 5 per cent of the Scottish

population were involved in this migration, with about 50,000 settling there. After two or three generations these emigrants had tended to have integrated successfully into Polish society and culture, in reported contrast to English colonial practice, and "this talent for assimilation[2] was typical for the future" (Ascherson 2002: 250). So, in Canada and the United States, Scottish immigrants demonstrated a willingness to adopt new patriotisms, essentially because they moved as individuals or families rather than as transported communities. A significant exception to this was the "plantations" of Scots to Ulster, where the implications of this engineering and consequent failure to assimilate continue to present times. This contrasting evolution seems to offer some modern parallels where popular discussions and debates often raise similar anxieties, with questions over "swamping" or domination by an incoming culture especially resonant (some of the discourse over in-migrants from England who now make up 9 per cent of the Scottish population (see Watson 2003).

While much has been written eloquently and poignantly on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century, often enforced, migrations from Scotland – especially with regard to the Highland Clearances (Hunter, 1999) and their southern Scotland equivalents (Aitchison and Cassell 2003), more modern depopulations have tended to be under-researched. So, creating an enhanced mood of endemic mobility, rural working-class areas were especially severely hit by the First World War, with not only higher than proportionate losses among the more than 100,000 Scottish dead but also "… [very few] families lacked soldiers who emigrated rather than face the dislocation and depression of the post-war years" (Harvie 2000: 24). Therefore, although the war had restricted migration, many never returned anyway, or during the subsequent peace left in the 1920s so that the population fell in the Highlands and Islands (the Western Isles declining by 10 per cent over that decade). Tellingly and with parallels to the current period, industries collapsed without the labour and with the failure of prosperity to come with peace (Harvie 2000: 26). This regional depopulation continued in the post-Second World War period, with the North-East and Borders regions also losing people through emigration to a greater extent than the country as a whole.

There is evidence, then, of market forces encouraging mobility away from depressed economies, but also exacerbating their plight with selective out-migration. Discerning definite patterns over time, Ascherson demonstrates that capitalists alternatively actively encouraged and discouraged internal and external migration according to their needs and concerns for at least a century from the late 1600s (2002: 200–04), and it could be argued that this continues to the present day, often moderated through the institutions of the state and market. Although Scotland

[2] It is interesting how the term and implications of "assimilation" today are seen quite critically, because it demands efforts only on the part of the new arrivals, not the host society. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore all these issues and readers are referred to Ascherson's and others' work on this topic, "liberalism" and "multiculturalism". (see Díez Medrano and Koenig 2005: 85; Scottish Refugee Council 2006; and http://www.opendemocracy.net/debates/article.jsp?id=1&debateId=111&articleId=2052).

had suffered extensive net emigration from 1811 to 1911, with an average of 147,000 leaving each decade, this rate doubled to almost 400,000 net in the 1920s. Coupled with the losses from war and conflict and a higher birth rate, the proportions of the very old and very young became exaggerated in the period up to the outbreak of the Second World War, with household earning capacity 20 per cent lower than in England and a lower proportion of the population of working age (24 per cent against 33 per cent in 1938) (Harvie 2000: 47). The interactions between migration and dependency ratios were apparent almost a century ago, therefore. Economic drivers and the pursuit of better living standards were important factors in encouraging some to leave, with implications for the capacity of the remaining community to compete and survive. Further relatively high population losses during the Second World War (Scotland had 15 per cent of secondary-school pupils in the UK and subsequently suffered from the decimation of this skilled and talented labour supply), and drafting of female labour to the Midlands of England, combined to exasperate the disproportionate impacts on Scottish society and economy (Harvie 2000: 53).

Critically, then, there were profound and persistent demographic-related impacts on Scotland of the two world wars, not least as significant contributory factors to the prolonged lower economic performance relative to the rest of the UK and relative to the potential migration destinations (USA, Canada and Australia, especially). Over the period 1921–61, despite a higher rate of natural increase than England and Wales, the population of Scotland grew by only 6 per cent, against 21 per cent south of the border. The prime driver in this demographic divergence was emigration, with an increasing tendency over time to leave the UK altogether rather than seek work in England. According to Harvie (2000: 65), a "positive emigration" ideology became established especially among the young (90 per cent of migrants were under 45), and as most were from key industrial sectors and sought to improve the prospects for their families, there was a significant loss of embedded human capital. Migration was driven by pull-factors, opportunities for advancement were perceived to be superior elsewhere. By the 1960s, up to 40,000 more were leaving Scotland each year than were returning or coming there so that, by the end of the century, the proportion of the UK population living in Scotland had fallen to 8.5 per cent from 10.5 per cent in 1931.

Considering the counter movement, the flows of incoming, comparatively few, immigrants over the century had tended to be well received and had integrated into Scottish society or were relatively unobtrusive (Harvie 2000: 67; Watson 2003), with a continuing labour surplus curtailing any significant inflow of working-class competitors for jobs and housing, as had been the case with earlier migrations of Irish and Highland families (Bruce et al. 2004). Nevertheless, this does not mean that there are not xenophobic and racist attitudes held by some in Scotland, and the reports by the Institute for Public Policy Research (ippr 2006) and the Scottish Refugee Council (2006) provide good balanced coverage on perceptions, tolerances and experiences in Scotland.

Over the last half century, Scotland has seen profound and accelerating changes in its economy and these have fed and been inextricably linked with the demographic changes discussed earlier (Danson 2003). By the turn of the new millennium, Scotland was a very different place from the country that, as part of the UK, had entered the EU in 1973. It had not been able to improve its long-term growth rate differential with England, economic opportunities appeared to native Scots and potential immigrants to be better there or further afield, and the population was facing decline after prolonged stagnation. The re-established Scottish Parliament and Scottish Executive (Government) were realising that a bleak scenario was unfolding given this set of circumstances; a reinvigoration of the economy and society was imperative. The Executive's Framework for Economic Development in Scotland (FEDS) was published in 2000 (Scottish Executive 2000), updated in 2004 (Scottish Executive 2004*a*), and as demographic concerns became better appreciated (GROS 2005) key policy developments were launched: the Fresh Talent Initiative (FTI) in 2004 (Scottish Executive 2004*b*) and the Strategy for a Scotland with an Ageing Population (Scottish Executive 2007). The roles of these population-driven initiatives are now explored within their UK and European contexts.

3. Responsive Demographic Policies and Strategies

We have argued elsewhere (Danson 2007) that Scotland has been fairly typical, until relatively recently, in believing it is unique in facing the threat of an ageing population; as was shown above, however, decline and ageing are universal across the continent and developed world. Both government and opposition in Scotland have become increasingly concerned at the demographic prospects of a population both falling and getting older. So, according to the former First Minister, Jack McConnell,[3] this nation's declining population is "the single biggest challenge facing Scotland as we move further into the 21st century" (Scottish Executive 2004: 1). The Scottish Executive (2004*b*: 3) policy document which spotlights this continues:

> If this decline is not stemmed then our economy will suffer, there will be a severe strain on our public services as an ever ageing population struggles to cope with the challenges of the global economy, and our cultural life will be diminished. … If Scotland is to achieve a balanced economy, with a stable tax base to support strong public services, then we must boost the working population, particularly the 25–45 age group.

This brings home how critically "ageing" has impacted on the mainstream Scottish establishment policy agenda. Much of the recent interest in Scottish population change has been driven by this concern with a predicted decline in numbers below the totemistic 5 million, albeit with a recognition of concomitant ageing. This contrasts with earlier periods when emigration was seen as the dominant concern

[3] On 16 May 2007 Alex Salmond MSP was elected First Minister by the Scottish Parliament, becoming the first pro-independence Scottish National Party leader of a Scottish Government.

and actual depopulation was experienced in many localities, especially in remote rural areas and former mining and textile communities. Rural regions have been similarly affected in many other parts of Europe (CEC, 2005*b*); nevertheless definitely dominating the public debate has been concern over immigration.

As an integral part of one of the earliest customs unions and free trade areas, Scotland has seen the free movement of labour within the UK for 300 years, contributing to periods of mass internal migration and extended regional population growth differences over very long periods, as discussed above. Continuing such strategic commitments to the free movement of workers, the UK, along with Ireland and Sweden, from the start of the most recent enlargement of the European Union has not used the possibility of invoking a seven-year moratorium on opening their borders to mobile labour from the accession states. As a consequence, the UK has been an important destination for foreign workers within the EU, with 427,000 coming from the accession states between May 2004 and June 2006 (Boyle and Watt 2006). Non-EU legal migrants normally enter the UK for work through an employer-led work permit system. Generally, in recent years there has been a dramatic change in UK policy with a move from immigration "control" to immigration "management" (Spencer 2002; Mac Éinrí 2002). UK policy has become concerned with "the need for managed labour immigration, reflecting employer demand, demographic change, skills shortages and the internationalisation of the market" (Mac Éinrí 2002).

Within the UK-wide context of encouraging well-qualified in-migrants to meet labour and skill shortages, under such schemes as the Highly Skilled Migrants Programme (January 2002), Scotland has recognised a more pressing need to attract and retain new talent. Echoing the associations between movements in and out of the country, Jack McConnell therefore proposed that: "Scotland has a long tradition of welcoming new people, just as huge numbers of Scots have been made welcome in other countries across the world, in which they have settled and thrived" (McConnell 2003*a*). From that position, his administration launched a series of initiatives to assist more proactively than in the UK as a whole "students from overseas who are graduating, people or companies looking for work permits, or refugees who have been granted asylum in the UK". In particular they were to establish a "one-stop service" "to help advise on jobs, accommodation, visas, work permits, school and university opportunities" (McConnell 2003*b*). Making the link with Florida's ideas on cosmopolitanism (Florida 2002) and Putnam's on social capital (Putnam 1995), he was basing these attempted departures from UK-wide strategies on the grounds that "I believe, increasingly, that people will choose places to work because of factors like the quality of life that they and their family will have when they set up home. … So we must make it a lot easier for people and families to get all the information they need to set up home here. … The purpose is to give practical help to those interested in living and working in Scotland. Key partners will be business and the universities because an important target audience is students from outwith Scotland". This Fresh Talent Initiative was trying to work

at the limits of UK immigration policy by actively encouraging newcomers, whatever their status, to consider moving to Scotland for work and residence.

Scotland therefore was pursing a liberal migration agenda, partly to create a more multicultural society, as a direct consequence of its perceived unique challenge of a declining and ageing population; this was against a UK demographic picture which had been and was continuing to diverge dramatically from that of Scotland. But immigration is a reserved policy area under devolution and all FTI-related schemes fall within the UK managed migration system. Partly because of that constraint, the Scottish Executive has been developing a series of bilateral agreements with major countries outwith the EU, such as China and the United States (Scottish Executive 2006*c*; 2006*d*), to promote *inter alia* such schemes as Fresh Talent: Working in Scotland; the Scotland International Scholarships Programme; Scottish Networks International – which helps to place foreign graduates in Scottish businesses; the Relocation Advisory Service; and Scottish Enterprise's Talent Scotland scheme. All must satisfy the UK Home Office.

4. Experiences and Evaluation

With EU enlargement in 2004, citizens of the ten new Member States were allowed to live and work in the UK. The Home Office established the Worker Registration Scheme for the citizens of the eight Central and Eastern European accession states (A8) in particular, and this facilitated the migration of their workers to the UK. According to data from the quarterly *Accession Monitoring Report* (Home Office 2006), between the date of enlargement in May 2004 and the end of 2005, almost 24,000 A8 migrants to the UK registered as working in Scotland. As Boyle and Watt (2006) contrast: "annual migration to Scotland from all countries outside the UK averaged 17,000 during the ten years to 2001". These represent significant inflows in both recent and historic terms.

The analysis that follows is based on data from the Worker Registration Scheme provided directly to Futureskills Scotland by the Home Office (Boyle and Watt 2006). This showed (Boyle and Watt 2006: 99) that the most common jobs held by A8 migrants are:

- factory process operative, accounting for 18 per cent of A8 migrants in Scotland;
- kitchen and catering assistant (9 per cent);
- crop harvester (6 per cent); and
- maid/room attendant (6 per cent).

The industries in which migrants most commonly work are:

- hospitality and catering (27 per cent);
- agriculture (20 per cent);
- food processing (14 per cent); and
- administration and business services (13 per cent).

While the first two of these sectors employ almost half of Scottish migrant workers, in the UK as a whole they attract just over a fifth, suggesting a particular set of labour market conditions. It is well established that these are sectors and occupations where there is evidence of difficulty in recruiting labour (Futureskills Scotland 2006). A primary reason for this is the low wages and skills required in these jobs and the data on A8 migrant workers confirm these economic causes: 90 per cent earn less than £6.00 per hour, compared with only 20 per cent of all employees in Scotland (Annual Survey of Hours and Earnings 2005, quoted in Boyle and Watt 2006). In contrast with the drivers behind the Fresh Talent Initiative, which aims to attract highly skilled and paid workers, only 2 per cent of A8 migrant workers earn £8.00 per hour or more, while the comparable figure for all Scottish employees is 59 per cent.

These findings are similar to those in particular localities across Scotland. In the Highlands and Islands it was found that the majority of migrants, despite having degrees or other equivalent qualifications, were employed in predominantly semi-skilled or unskilled jobs (de Lima et al. 2005). Consistent with this, it has been shown (Scottish Economic Research 2006*a*) that Tayside migrant workers tend to be employed in elementary occupations, although "nearly 60 per cent of them have university qualifications and a further 16 per cent possess a trade or professional qualification".

Although Boyle and Watt are able to argue that this in-migration demonstrates "that the labour market is working effectively for some employers and the migrant workers", and so both sides of the labour market are satisfied, there are obvious negative dimensions to these migrations. Most notable is the under-utilisation of this migrant labour: despite their human capital they are overwhelmingly in secondary jobs with low-paid and low-skilled work. Migrants are not typically in jobs that demand even mid-range skills. Employers might have found these vacancies difficult to fill, but Boyle and Watt conclude that a lack of technical skills among indigenous candidates could not have been a significant cause of labour shortages as these are not required by these jobs.

Combining this evidence with their other analyses of the Scottish Labour Market (Futureskills Scotland 2006), it can be argued that "labour demand pressures in Scotland may be greater among lower skilled than higher skilled jobs" (Boyle and Watt 2006). It has been suggested (Scottish Economic Research 2006*a*) that "the motivation of employers in recruiting migrant workers is explained in terms of an under-supply of workers locally [because of] an under-supply of certain (non-technical, *added*) skills locally and because they feel that migrant workers are more flexible and productive".

These labour market studies of recent A8 migration (Scottish Economic Research 2006*a*, 2006*b*; de Lima et al. 2005) and reports from business organisations (see *Holyrood* 2006) therefore provide a consistent message: "employers recruit and value migrants for 'positive traits' they bring to the workplace such as a strong

work ethic, reliable attendance and flexibility. That is, migrant workers appear to demonstrate characteristics that some employers report that certain school leavers and indigenous employees lack" (Boyle and Watt 2006). Further, all the reports from across Scotland cited above indicate that new migrant communities are reasonably well integrated in the workplace and in the community, at least in terms of the attitudes of their co-workers and community members.

Another element in the overall strategy to accommodate migrants in Scotland is captured in the UK policy to disperse asylum seekers across the country. Glasgow has been especially proactive in this and has offered homes to several thousand people at any one time in recent years. While this has not been subject to much detailed economic analysis, in a report on the economic impacts of asylum seekers on the Glasgow economy (Fraser of Allander Institute 2005), the benefits to the city of the central government payments to support people seeking asylum have been calculated. These suggest that 368 new jobs and over £7 million worth of wage income are generated as a result of the city's policy of supporting asylum seekers. As the right to work for asylum seekers was withdrawn in 2002, this represents new activity to the city economy with no displacement of locals from employment. That these often skilled and enterprising asylum seekers are unable to work or seek employment is criticised by many agencies. This notwithstanding, and forming a significant element of criticism of immigration on the scale witnessed recently, many local people do express resentment at the "drain" on resources such as housing, and the capacity problems faced by schools, housing and other community facilities. Permitting the asylum seekers to work would, of course, go some way to addressing such capacity constraints.

At the other end of the labour market, the Fresh Talent Initiative has attracted a disproportionate share of attention. Within its own objectives, it has been reasonably successful with 10 per cent of all non-EU students in Scotland successfully encouraged to stay and work or continue their studies in Scotland. In the nine months between June 2005 and April 2006, over 1,860 successful applicants were made, including 253 people applying from overseas, and of these 173 were from China, India and the USA (Scottish Parliament 2006). However, against the original aspirations of attracting 8,000 graduates each year under the scheme, this appears rather limited, and relatively few are being attracted to rural Scotland. Nevertheless, it has been instrumental in creating a climate of welcome and attraction for those outwith the EU.

Just as there has been evidence that an escalator region process[4] draws skilled workers and higher education graduates to the London conurbation (Harvie 2000: 79), progressively denuding indigenous enterprises of human capital and truncating career ladders for the less mobile, so there has been a threat that the in-migration of workers from Eastern Europe would be to Central Scotland alone, or even subsequently lead to flows across the border to London. Canadian research evidence and evidence in the UK also suggests that the majority of "foreign immigrants" tend to choose larger towns and cities, as there are likely to be established migrant communities, facilities and events compatible with their own cultural and ethnic backgrounds (Champion 2004; UHI PolicyWeb 2005; de Lima et al. 2005).The evidence to date, however, from these Scottish studies does suggest that the A8 migrants tend to be spread across the UK, in all regions and in both rural and urban Scotland. As there are inherent barriers to achieving economies of scale and scope in the facilities and capacities for diverse communities in rural and peripheral areas, there are difficulties in delivering a genuinely multicultural Scotland (see Díez Medrano and Koenig 2005: 85, for an exploration of such issues).

The centralisation of the UK economy and demography around the London conurbation may be considered as an important part of the problem of the north of the UK, and Scotland especially. This is particularly significant with regard to the creative sectors which are now driving many local and regional economic regeneration strategies. So, paralleling the shift southwards to London of management and control over the economy and its constituent parts (Danson 2003), there has been a progressive concentration of the media and culture sectors in the capital conurbations (Florida 2002; Krugman 2005) with further impetus given to out-migration from the periphery. Such virtuous cycles further strengthen the agglomeration economies of the core and undermine the long-term sustainability and performance of the communities of origin. Again, in this context complementarities can be seen between economic and demographic policies in Scotland in trying to reverse depopulation and relatively poor economic performance, but these can be undermined by wider UK agendas. Scottish society has long attempted, with some success, to promote and recognise the value of minority cultures within a larger hegemonic entity (consistent with Florida's thesis, 2002), with the mid-twentieth-century Scottish Renaissance stressing internationalism and the advantages of cultural coexistence (Harvie 2000: 141). This was strongly exemplified at the launch of the Scottish Independence Convention where "new Scots" were clearly in evidence with representatives from Asian Scots and English migrants to the fore.

[4] As proposed by Fielding (1975), this suggested that skilled young people are attracted to the London/South-East region at the start of their working lives by the consistently dynamic regional labour market offering a range and quality of local employment opportunities. Compared with their home labour market, they are able to progress up a particular career ladder relatively more quickly then, especially towards the end of their careers but actually at any step, they can return home, realising any economic gains such as property equity and strong salaries. Essentially there are three distinct stages to the escalator: "stepping on the escalator, being taken up to a higher level by the escalator, and stepping off the escalator" (Fielding 1995: 176).

That such sentiments have a wider currency may be concluded from recent research on the reported contrasting experiences of immigrants to Scotland and England: "In the eyes of the minorities, devolution has made Scots at once more proud and less xenophobic. Even English immigrants feel devolution has defused tensions, calmed frustrations, and forced Scots to blame themselves rather than others for their problems. Pakistanis have suffered increasing harassment – but they attribute that to 9/11 not to devolution. And Muslims adopt Scottish identities, even Scottish nationalism – consciously or unconsciously using these as tools of integration" (Hussain and Miller 2006). Similarly, Hamada (2006) has concluded recently that there is "a conflict between the Scottish Fresh Talent Initiative to attract immigrants and the UK-wide efforts being made to deport asylum seekers".

There are evolving tensions between the Scottish and UK policies on immigration, therefore, with ambiguities inherent in Scotland having a liberal approach to attracting and retaining fresh talent in conflict with to a tightening UK Home Office agenda on immigration management.

5. Conclusions

Scotland, like a number of other countries facing issues with a declining and ageing workforce and population (Danson 2007), has been promoting an inclusive agenda for people of all ages: Strategy for a Scotland with an Ageing Population (Scottish Executive 2007). One of the aims of this is to raise the economic activity of the over-50s and to facilitate employment opportunities beyond the statutory retirement age. There are certain limits to such a strategy, with former industrial and rural areas facing particular difficulties of depopulation, so that in-migration has been considered quite positively as a means to address these demographic challenges.

There seem to be merits in considering four different elements in migration flows to territories such as Scotland: refugees and those seeking asylum; potential economic migrants from outwith the customs union; migrants from other members of the EU; and the indigenous population and expatriates. Within a unified state such as the UK, where the powers over immigration are reserved to the highest level of national parliament, the ability to follow a more liberal or otherwise different regime on asylum seekers and refugees is restricted. Strategies to attract such mobile people are limited to participating actively in dispersal programmes to accommodate them around the country, and experience suggests that this must be proactively supported with local initiatives to assist the vulnerable and to encourage host communities to welcome them and break down barriers (Scottish Executive 2006*b*). Failure to embrace such a strategic approach means that refugees will tend to concentrate in the capital city or port of entry, raising the potential for conflict, congestion and catastrophic breakdown in services, and effectively neglecting the issues of rural areas. An important causal factor in this is the failure of certain key markets, and property, health and education markets

especially, to adjust as quickly as labour markets to the freedom of movement of workers and capital within customs unions.

The Fresh Talent Initiative has aimed to attract skilled and highly motivated graduates to stay or to enter Scotland when they might have chosen to return home or to have drifted down to the capital conurbation. Evidence (Scottish Parliament 2006) shows that the numbers who have taken advantage of this scheme are relatively few, are predominantly from North America – who perhaps would not have faced major difficulties obtaining a work permit anyway, or are students from China and India completing their undergraduate programmes who are using the opportunity to continue with postgraduate studies, and strongly favour locations in the major cities. Many of these will wish to return home after the period of favoured residency under this initiative or to move to the more buoyant labour market further south. Following the reassertion of the priorities of the UK Home Office (Home Office 2005), the privileges they obtain under the FTI are special only for a relatively short period and so they do not offer any long-term advantages over other economies within the UK.

A very significant inflow of workers has been under way since the accession of ten new EU Member States in 2004, as described in Section 3. As the free movement of labour has not been fully accepted by most members of the EU, the UK, Ireland and Sweden have been the favoured destinations of most movers from Central and Eastern Europe, so there has been a concentration of this new generation of guest workers in these countries. However, as the evidence shows, these workers have overwhelmingly come to low-paid, low-skilled, labour-intensive secondary jobs in agriculture, food processing and services. Prospects for most are poor and do not offer many hopes of advancement; in the words of Adam Smith "the only nexus is cash" between worker and employer. While meeting immediate labour shortages, it can be argued that these workers are perpetuating the long-term and endemic underperformance of these particular sectors. The jobs they tend to be recruited to have long been the industries and occupations that local people have been reluctant to enter (Boyle and Watt 2006). Staff turnover is high, training is at a low level if offered at all, capital investment is low, and often profits and productivity are marginal; all of which tends to fix these areas of the economy in a vicious cycle of low rewards for enterprise and employee. The skill shortages reported by these sectors reflect their low status and failure to raise their performances. With high economic activity levels and few still untapped sources of labour available, pools of women returners and students both having been exploited already (Scotland has some of the highest employment rates in Europe and the highest in the UK (Futureskills Scotland 2006), employers have been encouraged by their recent ability to access a new reserve army of labour from the accession countries. However, this will not allow the fundamental restructuring in their labour processes that is necessary to break out of their historic cycles. As secondary employment has a tendency to trap its workers into a dead-end position, there are few positive long-term attractions for in-migrants; without the opportunity to be recruited to positions in better performing sectors there will be few incentives to remain in Scotland.

Investment in food processing, tourism and other service sectors, all especially significant to fragile communities in rural areas, is necessary if the industries and the workforce – indigenous and migrant – are to improve their prospects and performances in the longer term.

The final group to be considered are arguably the most important but, in recent times, the most neglected. Asking why so many expatriate Scots express a strong desire to return home but do not (Harrison et al. 2004), or examining the reasons for them leaving in the first place, each throws some light on the difficulties inherent in the aggregate economy. There have been some minor benefits realised from a diaspora market (Harvie 2000: 127, 130) in the case of Scotland but not on the scale of Ireland, for example. Research on these questions confirms that truncated labour markets and inferior career opportunities in the periphery of the UK are the real constraint on a national better economic performance overall (Anyadike-Danes et al. 2001), and such issues are felt most keenly at the lowest levels of the urban hierarchy – rural and small-town Scotland, especially. With the progressive loss of management and control over the businesses, nationalised industries and other sectors of the economy, many have seen the need to move to core and primary labour markets if they are to advance individually, and these are concentrated and centralised around London and the south-east of England. While many express a desire to return, there is a perception that their careers and incomes would suffer to a high degree (Harrison et al. 2004).

The failure to attract more immigrants from around the world under the Fresh Talent Initiative provides some illustration of this. With a large majority from Central and Eastern Europe ending up in secondary jobs, which are vacant because of their very nature, offering low rewards and poor prospects, there is confirmation that economic renewal in particular sectors remains a pressing but unmet priority. As these sectors eventually satisfy their demands for low-paid labour, so there will be no further fillip to the population and ageing and decline will be re-established. Critically, if growth is to be boosted then the economy needs to be attractive to skilled and qualified Scots as well as to potential migrants. As has been the case in Ireland, refugees, economic migrants and others then have an important, if not an essential, role to play in supporting and benefiting from that enhanced development (Ruhs 2004). Population decline and ageing can both then be addressed, but only to a certain extent, given past and present evolutions in the demographic profiles and characteristics of the nation. But the direction of the reasoning is crucial: economic health makes the country attractive to long-term migrants, which then makes it meet Florida's (2002) criteria for growth and contributes to the population challenge.

The dominant political discourse in Scotland in the 1980s and 1990s contrasted with the establishment in the UK as a whole (McCrone et al. 2004), with a stress on enlightenment in terms of the protection of individual and civil liberties, community participation and the natural environment, as in other small nations such as the Czech Republic and Catalonia (Harvie 2000: 142). Continuing this

divergence in the philosophy of nationalism, "Multicultural Scotland", or at the very least civil society and the political elite, has embraced the logic of the single European market and, by regenerating deeply embedded cultures and norms, the attraction and welcoming of migrants promises to be a key component in improving economic performance and social cohesion (Zetter et al. 2006). These sentiments were expressed at the opening of the reconvened Scottish Parliament in 1999, when the broadcaster Tom Fleming stood to recite *The Beginning of a New Song*, a previously unpublished poem by Iain Crichton Smith. This calls for Scotland to "sing in a new world":

> ***The Beginning of a New Song***
>
> *Let our three-voiced country*
> *sing in a new world*
> *joining the other rivers without dogma,*
> *but with friendliness to all around her.*

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Migrant Workers in Rural Scotland: "Going to the Middle of Nowhere"*

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This paper explores the under-researched area of international migration and rural areas. It examines what the possible implications are of commonly cited "identifiers of rural labour markets" for the migrant population. Moreover, recent trends in international migration to the Highlands and Islands provide the context in which research findings on employers' and migrant workers' experiences in this region are presented. The paper concludes that substantial numbers of migrant workers will remain a long-term feature of this rural area. With appropriate interventions by the relevant authorities, rural communities may recognise the contributions by migrant workers more than those made by many "life quality" internal migrants in the past. However, issues of securing "high-quality employment" are as pertinent for the migrant population as they are for other rural community members, many of whom have left their communities to find employment elsewhere.

In many Western societies, demographic developments, such as an ageing population, decreasing fertility and out-migration of young people, have led to wide-ranging debates on the consequences of these trends for the economy, welfare policies and the sustainability of rural communities. In terms of addressing these trends, a wide spectrum of proposals has emerged. In the UK, they include the creation of incentives for young people to stay or return to their rural communities, as well as encouragement for in-migrants and international migrant workers to fill labour-market shortages, especially in the context of an enlarged Europe and increasing globalisation. In Scotland, strategies to encourage in-migration have included the Scottish Executive's launch of the Fresh Talent Initiative in 2004, which aims to encourage students at Scottish universities to stay in Scotland for

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two years after their graduation. Through collaboration with Work Permits UK (WPUK) attempts are made to promote Scotland among people applying for work permits in the UK. Through such measures, it is hoped that the decline of Scotland's population, which is projected to fall below the symbolically important 5 million mark by 2036, can be addressed (GROS 2005). An increase in the population seems to hold a particular promise for communities in peripheral areas, which over past decades have experienced continuous out-migration of specific groups, especially the young and highly educated (Stockdale 2002).

There is indeed evidence to suggest that especially since EU enlargement in May 2004, rural areas have attracted relatively large numbers of migrants (TUC 2004). However, for many rural communities, ethnically and culturally diverse in-migration on a relatively large scale constitutes a new phenomenon. It is thus not surprising that we have very limited knowledge about such migrants' life and work experiences. This paper first highlights the key findings of two different bodies of literature: that which relates to international migration, and that which considers identifiers of rural labour markets and services. Combining the literature in these two subject areas allows us to gain some insights into the implications that the particular characteristics of rural labour markets and services may have for the migrant population. These implications are further explored on the basis of the findings of empirical research with employers and migrant workers, which was conducted in the predominantly rural Highlands and Islands (H&I) of Scotland in summer 2005.

1. Some Key Aspects of Migrant Workers' Employment

Migrant workers in the UK tend to fill gaps in health care, education, cleaning, food processing/manufacture and agriculture, hospitality, IT and construction (TUC 2003). In Scotland, 69 per cent of EU accession state nationals are known to be employed in mainly low-skilled jobs in hospitality, agriculture and food processing. The UK average (47 per cent) is much lower for these three sectors (Home Office 2005; 2007). While income levels of migrant workers are approximately 15 per cent higher than the UK average, many are still at the lowest end of the income scale. Among accession state nationals, more than 80 per cent earn less than £6 per hour (Home Office 2005; 2007). Research by the Trades Union Congress (TUC) has suggested that overseas workers are often underpaid compared with UK employees, and sometimes receive wages below the legal minimum (TUC 2003). Citizens Advice Scotland underlines these findings, reporting that offices across Scotland have been made aware of employers and employment agencies underpaying overseas workers and making illegal deductions, as well as depriving migrants of statutory sick pay and holidays (BBC News 2006). In addition, research by the Joseph Rowntree Foundation with a migrant sample of 600 concludes that employment relations are often seen as unsatisfactory by migrants. More specifically, it is explained that "less than half of those in hospitality and agriculture, and only 15 per cent of employees in construction, received paid holidays. Less than a third of all employees received

paid sick leave. None of the survey respondents was a member of a trade union" (Anderson et al. 2006).

Given all these documented problems, what are the reasons why workers migrate? For many migrants, economic factors provide a particularly important incentive, such as higher wages abroad, or relatively high unemployment at home (de Lima et al. 2005). Hence, a strong local economy is a decisive factor driving migration. However, other issues come into play, for example, the momentum created by previous migration. Migrants' network connections clearly play an important role here.

> Networks promote the independence of migratory flows for two reasons. First, once network connections reach some threshold level, they amount to an autonomous social structure that supports immigration. This support arises from the reduced social, economic, and emotional costs of immigration that networks permit. That is, network-supported migrants have important help in arranging transportation, finding housing and jobs in their place of destination, and in effecting a satisfactory personal and emotional adjustment to what is often a difficult situation of cultural marginality (Light et al. 1990: 1).

Hence, networks reduce perceived and real barriers to a new life in a foreign country, and can encourage the migration of those who otherwise would have remained at home (Light et al. 1990). Accessing jobs can be relatively easy. There is a general consensus among employers that the employment of migrant workers is a very positive experience. Employers perceive migrants to have a better work ethic than locals, and business owners have reported that their businesses have been saved by migrants who will work for the minimum wage (Anderson et al. 2006; Bell et al. 2004).

London and South-East England have traditionally attracted the majority of migrant workers. The Labour Force Survey published in 2000 identified that 68 per cent of migrants resided in these areas. This might be attributed to a greater number of employment opportunities and the attraction of established migrant or ethnic minority communities (Robinson 2002). However, this situation seems to have been changing. There has been evidence to suggest that the majority of migrant workers from the EU accession states are finding employment in rural areas rather than the traditional migration centres (TUC 2004). In fact, in Scotland, reports from rural National Health Service Boards have indicated that they are dealing with 800 to 1,000 new migrant workers each month (Watt and McGaughey 2006).

2. Key Identifiers of Rural Labour Markets

Given some of the issues that affect migrants in general, what implications may the particular characteristics associated with rural labour markets have for the migrant population?

Gaps in labour supply have been recognised as a specifically rural issue (Marsden et al. 2005). It is therefore not surprising that, with EU enlargement, rural areas have also experienced a substantial increase in the numbers of migrants. Moreover, despite efforts to develop a high-skill high-wage economy in rural areas, evidence points to a substantial and further growing demand for low-skills employment, at least in the UK, which has been attributed to the prevalence of small employers offering few "quality jobs" (Pavis et al. 2000). At the same time, there is a relatively small pool of people from which employers can recruit (Green and Hardill 2003), which further benefits those who are prepared to work in jobs that are often insecure, with difficult working conditions, and which tend to be low paid. However, while it has been found that securing employment in rural areas per se may not be a particular problem, the vital role of local contacts in facilitating job searches has also been emphasised (Cartmel and Furlong 2000).

> A range of research on rural labour markets has highlighted the importance of personal networks in finding employment in rural areas. … For young people, parents and other family members provide important access to "hot" knowledge about local employers and vacancies … (Green and Hardill 2003).

Obviously, recent in-migrants to rural areas are unlikely to be included in such networks (Green and Hardill 2003). However, it seems questionable to what extent this will apply to international in-migrants also, and the types of jobs they often occupy. After all, employers' demand for specifically unskilled labour, which they may not be able to source locally, has been found to be a main driver in the recruitment of migrants. Adding to this the phenomenon of existing migrant workers attracting further compatriots, as explained above, informal networks in rural communities may not lead to the degree of exclusion one might expect. However, migrants may have reduced access to information compared with locally established people, for example, with regard to available "higher-quality" jobs. Beyond the employment situation, what support can migrants expect from services and provisions in rural areas?

3. Services and Provisions in Rural Areas

Ethnic minorities in general are underrepresented as consumers of public services because they lack knowledge of available services and of how to access them. In Scotland, as in other parts of the UK, growing research demonstrates that minority groups experience high levels of social exclusion. They have poor access to services, information and advice (Chakraborti and Garland 2004; de Lima 2004). In rural areas, these issues can be exacerbated.

> The remoteness and scattered nature of rural communities present challenges in terms of delivering and accessing services within these communities. Economies of scale are difficult to achieve in rural areas (Accent Scotland and Mauthner 2006).

As regards opportunities for education, the limited size and nature of catchment areas often results in restricted curriculum opportunities for students (Green and Hardill 2003). The lack of transport has also been considered a major barrier to participation in education, and high transport costs can hinder the provision of services locally as well as limiting access to services in more distant population centres (Accent Scotland and Mauthner 2006). Fletcher and Kirk (2000) suggest that in rural areas, learners could pay twice as much as their urban counterpart. This will, of course, have a particular impact on those on a modest income, so that migrants in poorly paid jobs are likely to be among the groups particularly affected. Other barriers to accessing services in rural areas include their availability, defined by aspects such as opening hours, and affordability. This applies to health and council services, for example, libraries and lifelong learning opportunities. For migrants, limited availability of English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) provisions can be particularly detrimental. Related to this, the patterns of migrant workers' shifts and irregular working hours can prevent them from taking advantage of services.

It is worthwhile highlighting the widely documented, problematic area of accommodation in rural areas. Especially people with little resources in rural areas, such as youth, "have been unable to establish independent homes, or have relied on poor quality private rented sector accommodation in remoter areas" (Rugg and Jones 1999). Even in cases where young people were able to find employment, low pay and insecure contracts prevented them from overcoming their problems with transport and housing (Cartmel and Furlong 2000; Pavis et al. 2000).

Whether the issue is access to employment or to services and provisions in rural areas, it is clear that "rural resident" may not be the most important category in these contexts, but categories of race and ethnicity may be equally or more important (Jentsch 2006). Especially in those rural areas for which in-migration is a relatively new phenomenon (let alone in-migration of members from minority ethnic groups) we can imagine additional barriers, such as discrimination, as likely to affect this group. Let us turn to our own study and empirical evidence on migrant workers in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland.

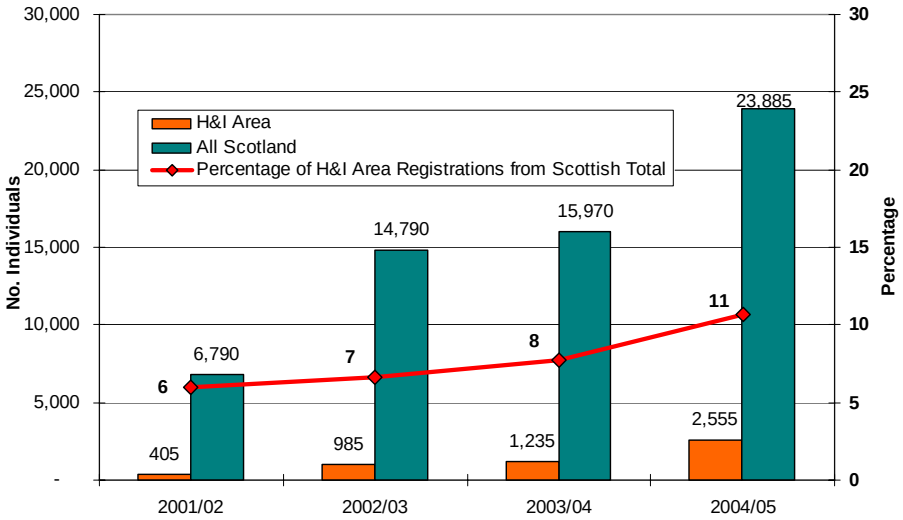
4. Migrant Workers in the Highlands and Islands

This section is based on the quantitative and qualitative research findings of a study on migrant workers in the predominantly rural H&I of Scotland. The study aimed to provide information and understanding of the migrant workers' numbers, and their role in this region. It was also to explore the needs of employers and migrant workers. The research methods employed included the completion of questionnaires through telephone interviews with fifty-three employers, a focus-group discussion with employers, and the conduct of in-depth interviews with twenty-five migrants. Participants from all research groups were recruited from across the region and from a range of economic sectors.

4.1. Numbers of migrant workers

Looking at the predominantly rural H&I, we can make the following observations. Figure 1 shows that the number of National Insurance Number (NINo) registrations of overseas nationals for the area have doubled over the tax years 2003/04 and 2004/05 from 1,235 to 2,555. In Scotland as a whole, the registrations went up by over 50 per cent. An increase can also be noted in the overseas nationals who have migrated to the H&I as a percentage of the Scottish total, underlining the importance of rural areas as a destination for migrants.

Figure 1: Registration of Overseas Nationals on the National Insurance Recording System in Scotland/H&I, by Tax Year



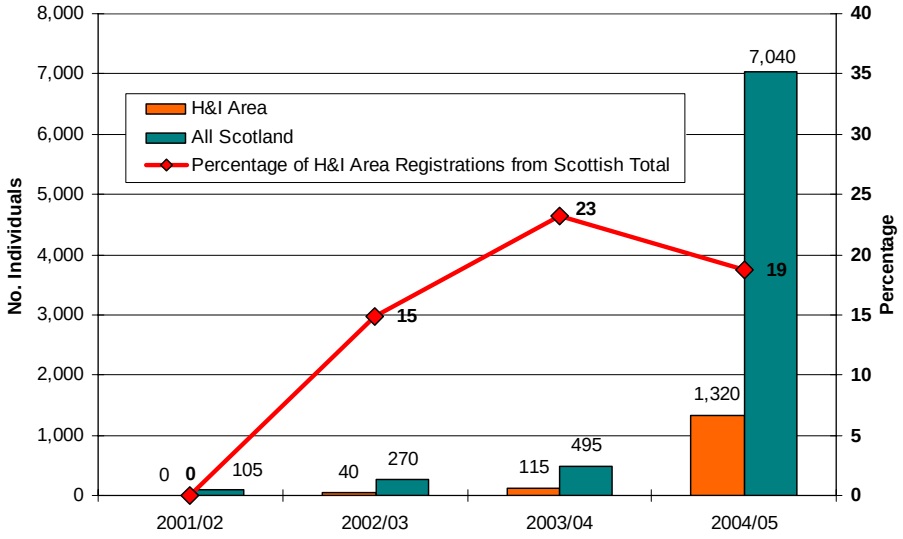
Note: 100 per cent of cases with a National Insurance Number (NINo) and overseas nationality code on the National Insurance Recording System (NIRS2). More stringent NINo allocation procedures within the Department for Work and Pensions from April 2001 initially caused backlogs in the system, with fewer NINos registered during 2001/02. These backlogs were then cleared in 2002/03 and hence the number of registrations in 2002/03 was roughly twice that of 2001/02, even though the number of arrivals into the UK only increased slightly over the period. Many of those completing NINo registration in 2002/03 arrived in the UK in 2001/02, in many cases working while awaiting NINo allocation.

Source: Department for Work and Pensions data, 2005 (http://www.dwp.gov.uk/).

Focusing on the registration of EU accession states nationals in the H&I area, an elevenfold increase can be observed (see Figure 2) over tax years 2003/04 and 2004/05. The growth of EU accession states nationals was even more pronounced in Scotland as a whole over this period, where numbers increased by a factor of 14. The proportion of migrants of this origin to the H&I area compared with the Scottish total has slightly decreased, following a strong gain in the preceding years.

1,320 (52 per cent) overseas nationals registered with NIRS are from EU accession states.

Figure 2: Registration of EU Accession State Nationals on the National Insurance Recording System in Scotland/H&I, by Tax Year



Note: 100 per cent of cases with a National Insurance Number (NINo) and overseas nationality code on the National Insurance Recording System (NIRS2). More stringent NINo allocation procedures within the Department for Work and Pensions from April 2001 initially caused backlogs in the system, with fewer NINos registered during 2001/02. These backlogs were then cleared in 2002/03 and hence the number of registrations in 2002/03 was roughly twice that of 2001/02, even though the number of arrivals into the UK only increased slightly over the period. Many of those completing NINo registration in 2002/03 arrived in the UK in 2001/02, in many cases working while awaiting NINo allocation.

Source*: Department for Work and Pensions data, 2005 (http://www.dwp.gov.uk/).*

What are the reasons for the increase in recruitment of migrant workers?

4.2. Reasons for employing migrant workers

Over the past five years, the vast majority of businesses included in the study had experienced a growth in the proportion of migrant workers they employed. This also applied to employers whose total workforce had remained the same over the past five years, and even to the majority of employers whose total workforce had actually decreased.

In line with the literature on rural labour markets, employers explained the increase of the proportion of migrant workers by labour shortage. However, some

employers associated this shortage with the labour supply situation in their particular sector (rather than the rural area) and others also identified skill shortages. Several statements by employers in hospitality and fish farming and processing suggested that the sectors depended on migrant workers and "*cannot survive without them*" (hotels and restaurants, Ross and Cromarty). This development seems to have occurred over the past few years, and involved in particular Central and East Europeans, as described by these interviewees.

> For the past six to seven years, the employment of migrant workers has become usual in the industry (fish farming and processing, Ross and Cromarty).
>
> Employees were needed by many local businesses, and suddenly, the East Europeans were available (fish farming and processing, Argyll and Islands).

A lack of skilled labour was emphasised in the construction sector.

> All construction companies are looking for the same skills and numbers of UK workers are limited. Migrant workers seem to be the answer (construction, Inverness, Nairn, Badenoch and Strathspey).

One factor mentioned by four interviewees as problematic in relation to recruitment was the out-migration of young people, who had left their rural communities as they wanted "to get on" (health sector, Lochaber). This further reduced the already limited pool of labour from which rural employers can recruit.

In eleven cases, employers qualified the lack of locally available labour by explaining that many unemployed were unwilling to work. Unattractive wages and conditions of work were recognised as a barrier to the employment of locals in particular in hospitality, fish processing and agriculture, as expressed by these interviewees.

> There are not enough local people willing to do heavy, manual or repetitive work. You can only pay the rate for your industry, and agriculture is at the low end of pay rates (agriculture, Moray).
>
> After speaking to others, I was surprised to find that the best country house hotels employ migrant workers. There are unemployed Brits but they will not work for the minimum wage … Everyone is in the same boat. I would like to employ locals but they will not do low paid work (hotels and restaurants, Skye and Lochalsh)

4.3. Methods of recruitment of migrant workers

While thirty-five of the fifty-three employers said they had actively attempted to recruit migrant workers, thirty provided information about the diverse mechanisms of recruitment employed. They comprised in the majority private recruitment agencies, and in a few cases the job centre, websites, migrant workers' word of mouth, recruitment by head office through its own contacts, and advertising. Importantly, of those employers who had not actively recruited migrants, the emphasis was on word of mouth.

> [The arrival of migrants] gave contacts with the migrant communities, and then it was easy as more came along (fish processing, Ross and Cromarty).

The importance of "word of mouth" recruitment was further highlighted by the focus-group discussion with employers. In line with the literature, it was explained how hiring migrant workers can develop a dynamic of its own, as these workers use their networks and often bring their friends and family members to join the same business. In addition, the phenomenon of proactive search for employment by migrants had been experienced by all participants. One focus-group participant explained that she did not actively have to seek migrant workers, because electronic applications for jobs came with a ratio of perhaps 100 migrant workers to one Scottish application. As migrant workers are actively seeking jobs, rather than being forced by authorities to apply to continue receiving benefits, this was judged to place them at an immediate advantage. On the one hand, such experiences appear to call into question the importance of networks of locally well-established people in rural areas as a precondition for finding employment. On the other hand, such networks could be of particular importance for "high-quality" jobs, which seemed to be hardly relevant for the migrant workers in our study, despite some of their high levels of skills and qualifications.

4.4. Methods used by migrant workers to access employment

For more than half of the participants, recruitment agencies – usually based in their home countries – were the most common route to accessing employment. Accessing employment directly was seen as problematic in a context where English language skills could be poor to non-existent. Hence, using agencies was seen as a convenient way of getting to the UK with employment guaranteed and a place to stay:

> We paid £300. This is not too much here [UK], but in our country it is equal to one good monthly salary. I had to pay upfront. I was thinking of coming to Britain without a job and coming to the city to look for a job, but I would have spent exactly the same money. Through the agency I came here and got a job and the next day I started work. I did not have to worry about anything. It is easier … (male, EU accession state national, hospitality)

As the period from lodging an application with a recruitment agency to the offer of employment appeared to take up to three months, migrants had tended to accept the first job that was offered for fear that rejecting it might result in further delays. In most cases individuals were not aware of, and probably not particularly concerned, about their precise destination, or indeed the nature of employment. A small number did, however, express some surprise about the isolated locations they had ended up in:

> [The agency] just said they had a job for me … they asked me to call them if I accept. So I called them and they accepted me and then I checked where [place of employment] is, then I looked at the internet … and I thought: Oh! I am going to the middle of nowhere. There were no choices given, it was the first place I had

> been given … I could reject it and wait for another one but I did not want to waste my time (male, EU accession state national, hospitality).

Having found out where they were going to be located, a very small minority of interviewees took proactive steps to find out more.

Less than half of the study participants had used other routes to access work in the Highlands and Islands, for example:

- Through recommendations from friends and social networks based in the H&I;
- Relatives staying in the area;
- Previous study or employment in the area;
- Responding to advertisements in national journals or newspapers, this was especially the case with those who were working in highly skilled occupations;
- Speculative approaches to a Job Centre.

4.5. Migrants' motivation for coming to the Highlands and Islands

Although the reasons for being in the H&I varied depending on individual circumstances, for the vast majority, employment and the associated income were the primary reasons. The prevalence of high levels of unemployment and low wages in their countries of origin was given as the main driving force for coming to the UK. Moreover, university graduates reported that the pay for professional jobs was low compared with what they could earn in the UK performing unskilled work. The ability to save and to send money back to their home country was regarded as crucial.

There was only a very small minority of individuals who had proactively chosen to come to the H&I, and who had been motivated by other than economic reasons. These included learning English, family reunification, having present or previous connections in the area, gaining work experience, and having had positive experiences in the past. The latter emerged specifically with regard to summer jobs in the agriculture and tourism / outdoor sectors, where students were only too pleased to return each year, and encourage their friends and family to come across as well:

> This is a nice farm. We are allowed to have barbeques, parties, etc. I think it must be one of the best farms, so we keep coming back (female, EU accession state national, agriculture).

In general though, it is important to recognise that migrants had not deliberately chosen the H&I as their destination.

4.6. Contracts, nature of jobs, working conditions

The views and experiences of migrant workers with regard to their employment were complex and often contradictory; consequently, three contextual factors need to be taken into account:

- Most participants seemed reluctant to appear openly critical of their employers.

- For those in semi-skilled and unskilled jobs, conditions of work were seen in relative terms – i.e. implicitly and explicitly, they tended to be compared with conditions and pay in their home countries.

- Coping with poor conditions was seen by some migrants as a temporary measure until they improved their English and communications skills and was seen as a "foot in the door" from which they might move on to education or better jobs.

Very few migrant workers had permanent contracts, or indeed contracts that lasted a year or more. Setting aside the seasonal jobs in the agricultural sector, evidence from many participants in the study suggested that there was a tendency in sectors such as food processing and construction to employ people on short-term contracts of about twelve weeks. This created feelings of insecurity and uncertainty:

> We are often on short-term [in this case twelve-week] contracts and do not know if we can have another job. We cannot plan. This does not make me feel secure and makes planning quite difficult. It is also difficult to get employment rights if you haven't worked for a year (male, EU accession state national, hospitality).

With the exception of four participants who were in skilled jobs, more than half of the study participants had degrees or diploma level qualifications, and were undertaking semi-skilled or unskilled work. While most recognised that their command of the English language was insufficient to get skilled work, a number still expressed frustration at not being able to use their skills and qualifications:

> I want to keep my skills up to date, so it is bad that I am not using my degree. I have tried applying for degree-related jobs in Scotland but my qualifications are not recognised. I would need an HND (male, non-EU Eastern European, hospitality).

In addition, most lacked knowledge and information about how their qualifications and experience might be transferred into a UK context. Working hours varied between 35 and 60 hours per week and most worked over 40 hours. For most participants in the food-processing and construction sectors, long hours and working six days a week were a feature of their working lives. Even those who did not work long hours found the nature of their work exhausting:

> We work 30 hours a week, usually 14.30–20.30 … five days a week with overtime sometimes. We often work six days per week. The machine goes very

> fast and it is difficult to keep up with this machine, this is very tiring. We work 6 hours a day, but we are very tired (female, EU accession state national, food processing).

> I don't like the work because it is very hot and hard work. Even though the hours are not long. Kitchen work is hard, but I need money so I have to work there. My English is not good so it is very difficult to get work … I need to speak better English to get better work (male, Asian, restaurant).

Feelings about the number of hours worked were complex, but depended on the primary motivation for migrating. For those who were motivated economically, the key focus was to earn as much as possible. Most preferred to work all the hours which were offered and some complained about not being offered enough work. A number of migrants preferred to forego their holiday entitlements and receive payment instead.

4.7. Experiences with migrant workers

Similar to findings in the literature, all employers involved in the study had very positive experiences with migrant workers. They distinguished themselves most in the areas of motivation, productivity, low levels of staff turnover and absenteeism. They were praised in particular for their hard work and strong commitment: often the problem appeared to be persuading them to take time off. In addition, migrants were highly commended for their reliability and skills. Although they were overqualified in many cases, they were still prepared to perform all types of work. In two cases, employers indicated that without migrant workers, their businesses would not have been able to continue, or could not have grown. Several times, the quality of migrant workers was contrasted with perceptions of poor performances of local labour, or migrant workers were described as providing an incentive for local workers to improve their performance.

> [The migrant workers] have had a good influence over the less enthusiastic UK workers. UK workers see that unless they do a good job, they will easily be replaced (food manufacturer, Orkney).

Reported challenges lay in the area of communication, as might be predicted. Focus group participants commented that an inability to communicate could cause frustration among other workforce members. It could prove daunting on a training course, when it remained unclear how much migrant workers had been able to comprehend. Although language issues were raised very frequently, it was also stated several times that problems had been confined to the beginning of a person's stay, and that such challenges were gradually being overcome.

In the health sector, it was commented that medical staff are often well experienced and qualified in their own countries, but their qualifications are not fully recognised in the UK. They were, therefore, not employed at their optimum level. In two other cases employers mentioned problems with assessing or recognising

qualifications, and the lack of documents some migrants have to prove the existence of their claimed skills.

4.8. Integration in the community

Employers' perceived some migrants' lack of knowledge of the English language as a barrier to integration and participation in social activities, but in general found them to be well integrated. This was explained with examples of migrants making good use of the environment (for example, travelling, climbing), and also getting together with locals and with people from other businesses. It was emphasised that local workers have taken an interest in the migrant workers' origins and cultures, and have joined them, for example in a Polish restaurant, and even visited them in their home country. One participant reported on formal attempts to ensure that migrant workers feel welcome: a mentoring system had been put in place, where local workers help migrants to learn about the community. Moreover, English classes had been set up, and had been attended by all migrant workers. One employer hinted at problems with community members:

> [There is] some conflict with local staff and the community. Locals don't understand that they are doing work which locals refuse to do (fish farming and processing, Lochaber).

4.9. Accessing housing and other services

The area of housing for migrants was rated by the employers as particularly challenging and frustrating. Ordinary flats, as well as hotel rooms for long-term lets, were very difficult to obtain due to prejudice, as well as being in short supply and often expensive. Hence, employers tended to be actively involved in securing accommodation for migrant workers. This ranged from helping to find accommodation, taking full responsibility for finding and securing accommodation, to the actual provision of accommodation. In twenty-one cases, interviewees explained that the company provided accommodation. However, this was sometimes a short term arrangement, and confined to the first few months of the migrants' arrival. The availability of staff blocks, accommodation consisting of the business owners' mobile home, and Portakabins were also mentioned.

Accommodation was also regarded as problematic by migrant workers**.** While the pattern of accommodation varied, the three key issues that were consistently raised across all geographical areas in the H&I were: (a) difficulties in finding appropriate accommodation; (b) the high cost for the quality of accommodation available; and (c) issues around multiple occupancies, and consequently, overcrowding. In a number of cases, accommodation was provided by the employer with some making deductions at approximately 70 pence per hour from wages, while a small minority provided accommodation free. Accommodation varied, from single or double rooms in the places where they worked (e.g. hotels) to bed and breakfast, run-down hotels converted to accommodate migrant workers, caravans and hostels where up to three individuals shared one room. Some individuals had been sharing rooms

with co-workers for as long as four years. In some instances individuals were initially accommodated in hostels for one or two weeks by the recruitment agencies and then were expected to find their own accommodation.

For those who move on from employer-provided accommodation or hostels, the primary means of finding accommodation was through contacts within their own communities and through adverts in local newspapers. Poor quality of accommodation, overcrowding, sharing a room with co-workers, and the lack of privacy, inevitably put a strain on individuals, and had an adverse impact on their quality of life. Even migrants in professional occupations expressed surprise at how limited and expensive the rental market is, both on the mainland and on the islands. There was a strong perception among migrant workers that local landlords were reluctant to rent to migrants.

Another area of concern for employers was language tuition for their workers. Help was requested with courses where the nearest college was distant, and it was suggested that language tuition should be complemented with cultural education. ESOL classes accessed by migrant workers involved in this study were mainly provided by local authority Adult Basic Education (ABE) providers, with a small minority attending classes provided by voluntary sector organisations. In the case of one local authority, a bilingual Polish tutor was being employed to help Polish workers to learn English. This was seen as an important first step for individuals who did not speak any English. Approximately half of the migrant study participants attended ESOL classes, one to one and in small groups. Some felt that the provision was flexible and was arranged in negotiation with what suited learners, while others commented that the provision did not suit them. In the small minority of cases where migrants had a good basic grasp of the language, the level of provision was seen as being too basic. For some of those who did not attend classes, long hours of work and the timing of provision constituted barriers. Others felt that they could pick up what they needed by being at work, and were not interested in attending classes. In general, however, most felt that English language provision was inadequate.

4.10. Language and culture

Migrants in rural areas may suffer in particular from isolation, as compatriots may not be living at a proximity which makes regular contacts feasible, and possibilities of using their native language, practising and enjoying their culture may clearly be limited compared with urban centres. Some of these issues may be regarded as inherent to rural areas – after all, people of the mainstream culture will also not be able to easily participate in cultural activities, such as concerts and films. In other cases, there is clear scope for action. Ongoing research in the Western Isles with migrant workers elicited that especially for those whose knowledge of English was very poor, it was important to have access to reading material in their native language. Some migrants had publications, including newspapers, in their native

language sent from home, or from family members who lived in the metropolitan centres of the UK.

> It's very hard for people who don't speak English. It's a vacuum. In London, they have Russian newspapers. It's very nice. My daughter sends them. People have this problem. They are in a vacuum (fish processing, Outer Hebrides).

In the same community, a Muslim migrant from Asia emphasised the great extent to which he missed a place of worship and the associated teaching of the Koran. The lack of a mosque meant to him that Muslims could not easily come to the Outer Hebrides. It was also his main reservation when he was considering bringing over his family – a wife and two young children.

> If I have no mosque, I can go to my room and pray, but if you are a child, things are difficult to explain. You need a teacher for the child (hospitality, Outer Hebrides).

5. Conclusions

Partly due to their sheer increase in numbers, migrant workers in Scotland's rural areas have become particularly visible since EU enlargement in May 2004. Given the high demand for such workers by employers, coupled with the fact that the motivations of workers to migrate are predominantly of an economic nature, it appears that in many rural communities migrant workers will remain a permanent feature. However, there is likely to be considerable fluctuations within this group. This is partly because such workers can often be found in economic sectors characterised by difficult working conditions and temporary contracts, and the reality that migrant workers tend to stay for short periods only (TUC 2003).

It is striking that with migrant workers' common focus on economic gains through migration, they seem to distinguish themselves from the typical counterstream migrant, with whom many rural areas are well acquainted. For internal migrants, the quality of life in such areas has tended to be the driving force for migration, and a move to rural areas has often implied significant financial cuts for them. Despite this, internal migrants have experienced great difficulties when trying to integrate in rural communities although they identified themselves with their place of destination. Research with well-established local residents has shown that they believed that "the strength of any rural community lay in the people who lived and worked in the communities and who adhered to a set of shared values and beliefs" (Shucksmith et al. 1996: 465) Migrants were often seen as a threat to community tradition, with research participants "being deeply concerned about the effect of the sheer volume of counterstream migrants on small rural communities" (Shucksmith et al. 1996: 465). On the one hand, it appears doubtful that migrant workers will do better, also in light of their rather accidental arrival in specific communities. On the other hand, rural businesses seem to need migrant workers to the extent that some employers have claimed that the new pool of labour has saved their organisation, and thereby also secured the jobs of locally established people. In other words,

migrants' economic motivations can easily be interpreted as support for the community and a contribution to the preservation of communities' economic bases if the reasons for migrant workers' presence are properly conveyed to, and understood by, community members.

In comparison with minority ethnic groups who have lived in Scotland for several generations, the new migrants have received substantial support. Employers have become active in providing accommodation and supporting migrants with other services; different authorities and organisations have produced or are producing "Welcome Packs" for migrant workers, in some cases with the corresponding commitment to strengthen services to better meet migrants' needs (although accommodation, in particular, is likely to stay on the agenda for a long time) (de Lima et al. 2005). On this basis, opinions by employers that their migrant workers seem relatively well integrated in communities may indeed reflect some measure of reality, rather than wishful thinking. Still, clear problems with employment conditions and service provisions have been identified in the literature and our own research. Service issues need to be addressed particularly urgently in new settlement countries whose infrastructures are poorly set up to receive culturally and ethnically diverse groups of newcomers. An additional challenge is that few of those rural communities that are continuing to receive migrant workers have a vision for creating healthy diverse communities and, despite initial efforts, the institutions and organisations serving them cannot yet be regarded as well prepared in assisting the cultural transition. Communities have to be conscious of their changing cultural make-up, and be concerned about the projection of their self-image so that it reflects the diversity of their population (Castania 1992). This is a significant challenge, and it appears that migrant integration at present is still characterised by important aspects of assimilation. While efforts are being made for migrants to be able to 'settle in' with the support of a minimum of social and economic provisions, possibilities of cultural interaction are currently still largely confined to individual initiatives. Opportunities for migrants to practise, for example, their native language or (non-mainstream) religion in the public domain are also extremely restricted.

It is worth noting that the dominant inflow of migrant workers from the new accession states is mainly of the same ethnic origin as the local population. This may be one reason why integration issues are not discussed in ethnicity terms, but rather in relation to demographic considerations. Given the demographic developments in Scotland in general and the related threat to the sustainability of rural communities in particular (also caused by rural-urban migration), many practitioners and decision-makers have recognised the importance of newcomers, and issues of their integration are relatively high on the agenda. Should subsequent inflows of migration include more significant numbers of migrants from different ethnicities, this may alter the terms of the integration debate. Without any interventions (e.g. preparing communities, and more positive media reports) the discourse may take a shape similar to what we have observed in the UK as a whole,

where immigrants, immigration and race relations are seen as one of the top three issues facing the UK (Crawley 2005).

At a more theoretical level, one concept that seems to have been of particular significance in our research on migrants in rural areas is that of "networks". Networks were argued to be important in rural communities to facilitate access to important resources, such as employment. Networks have also been shown to be important for the migrant community. Existing migrants in communities help to pave the way for new migrants, for example, by assisting with the search for employment and housing. However, some recruitment agencies have in some ways adopted a similar function to migrant networks by providing a service that can make the step of migration relatively safe (depending on the quality of the agency): employment and housing are immediately available. At least in the short term, such agencies seem to have sidelined the importance of rural social networks. However, it appears that the reason for the lack of importance of rural social networks in this instance is that no member of that network seems to have an interest in the particular good that the recruitment agency distributes: low-skill employment. The fact that there is an unsatisfied demand for labour is, after all, the raison d'être of recruitment agents. The dynamics between the four factors, rural social networks, migrant networks, recruitment agents and employers' demand certainly constitutes an interesting issue, which could merit further research, especially by examining issues of equal opportunity for "higher-quality" employment. Moreover, in the light of the findings from UK-wide research that many migrants suffer from poor employment practices, the role of rural informal networks and of associated notions of community control in small, tight-knit communities is also worthwhile exploring in the context of preventing (visible) migrant exploitation and maltreatment.

Under what conditions will those migrants who are considering settling in their countries of destination stay in rural areas? The lack of higher-quality employment might constitute one of the more significant disincentives for migrants to settle in rural communities. Given their frequent high levels of qualification, and the intention voiced by several migrants to search for "better" jobs from their base of unskilled employment, it is possible that they will follow the route of many rural youth under the motto that "in order to get on, you have to get out". Rural development will therefore have a crucial role to play in shaping internal and international migration decisions of these newcomers, as well as the extent to which community members are successful in creating a healthy diverse community, which is able to welcome its migrant workers.

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Changing Places: Voluntary Sector Work with Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Core and Peripheral Regions of the UK*

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It has been suggested that neo-liberal agendas have resulted in the emergence of a "shadow state" made up of voluntary organisations that deliver services that used to be the state's responsibility. This paper examines this idea in the context of voluntary organisations for asylum seekers and refugees in London and more peripheral areas in the UK. The authors' survey work confirms that the number of voluntary organisations engaging with asylum seekers and refugees in the UK has grown significantly, perhaps not surprising given the rise in the numbers of asylum seekers entering the country in the late 1990s and in early 2000. Understanding the role of these organisations, their geography and their relationship with the state is shown, however, to be more complex than proposed by the shadow-state thesis. In particular it is argued that the pattern and nature of activities of voluntary organisations is very different in London from other, more peripheral places.

Traditionally asylum seekers and refugees have been geographically concentrated in destination societies and they have been strongly dependent on the state for access to welfare services and other basic facilities. In the UK, as in many countries, this geographical concentration has tended to be on the capital city and its surrounding region, but in the last ten years there have been many radical changes. Not only has the locational pattern altered, but there has also been a repositioning of how asylum seekers and refugees access social services and welfare provision. The government decision to encourage refugee dispersal has meant that many regional cities, and in some cases rural areas, have suddenly become hosts to significant numbers of asylum seekers bringing the local populations of these areas into contact with many people from very different cultural backgrounds (Robinson 2003). At the same time local authorities, charged with providing for asylum seeker communities, have often looked to the voluntary

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sector to assist not only in welcoming the new arrivals but much more fundamentally with helping to deliver some of the services which in the past the state provided to all refugees and asylum seekers. In some areas of service delivery it therefore appears that the state and the voluntary sector have "changed places" in terms of their roles. Thus not only has the geographical position of refugees in the UK been significantly impacted by government policy, but much more fundamentally the social position of asylum seekers and refugees has also changed with regard to access to certain social and welfare services. In addition, in an era of decentralised decision-making there is the possibility of different local patterns of service provision emerging because of the different ways in which the voluntary sector has responded to the challenges of this new context of engagement.

This paper has two main objectives. The primary interest is to attempt to map (both in terms of physical space and also metaphorically in terms of service functions) the role of the voluntary sector in serving asylum seekers and refugees in the UK. Because of the significance of UK dispersal policy, the authors had a particular geographical interest in studying whether the experiences of two locations in the UK (Glasgow and Manchester) to which asylum seekers have been dispersed only relatively recently were different from the situation in London (which has traditionally been the main host to new arrivals). Secondly, the paper examines the result of a survey of voluntary organisations conducted by the authors in these locations to discover the nature of the services provided and to determine whether the voluntary sector has effectively been used as a piece of shadow-state apparatus to deliver the goals of the state by another route. In the context of this paper, the goals of the state might be to reduce the cost to the taxpayer (by cutting or limiting the provision of state-delivered services to those without full citizenship rights, while at the same time engaging with civil society and encouraging a degree of service provision to asylum seekers through encouraging the activities of the voluntary sector). A key interest of the paper is to assess the extent to which there has been a process of local shadow-state building around welfare service provision for refugees in each of the case-study areas.

1. Background: Policy and Theoretical Contexts

Ever since the UK Labour Government came to power in 1997 it has embarked on a substantial programme of welfare reform in which the voluntary sector is being given an increasingly important role. The ideological and political foundations of "New" Labour's interest in the voluntary sector lie with the interplay between neo-liberalism and neo-communitarianism which has characterised its development of social policy (Fyfe 2005). Keen to distance itself from both "Old" Labour Left (pro-state, anti-market) and the Thatcherite Right (pro-market and anti-state), New Labour has embraced a Third Way political philosophy (Giddens and Pierson 1998). While this contains a neo-liberal emphasis on the need to engage with the new "realities" of globalisation and embrace the market, choice and competition, it also adopts a neo-communitarian stance by stressing the strategic importance of civil society for social cohesion and economic vitality. As the organised vanguard

of civil society, voluntary organisations are seen as having a comparative advantage over agencies in other sectors which "enable them to operate in environments which the state and its agents have found difficult or impossible" (HM Treasury 2002: 16). Indeed, the localism of such organisations means that they are viewed as being better placed than state bureaucracies to develop "customised solutions to local problems of social exclusion" (Amin et al. 2002: 28) as well as providing environments in which individuals can demonstrate their responsibilities as "citizens".

The UK Government's strong support for increasing the role of the voluntary sector in service delivery has been exemplified by its approach to meeting welfare needs of asylum seekers and refugees. Increasing applications for asylum in Britain (from some 4,000 applications in 1988, to nearly 45,000 in 1991 and over 80,000 in 2003, Robinson, 2003: 4) combined with pan-European concerns to curb "asylum shopping" due to differences in welfare provision, has prompted a substantial erosion in the welfare entitlements of asylum seekers (Table 1).

The approach also saw grants of settlement to asylum seekers decline from 66,075 in 2003 to just 34,905 in 2004 (Home Office 2005). Another consequence of policy changes has been that asylum seekers awaiting resolution of their claims have increasingly been "driven back on to voluntary bodies and /or community organizations as they find themselves excluded from statutory welfare provision or provided with a minimum under unacceptable conditions" (Bloch and Schuster 2002: 398). In addition, the welfare and integration of refugees is also viewed by government as a key responsibility of the voluntary sector. As the Home Office (2005: 35) makes clear in its national strategy:

> The voluntary sector already has an indispensable set of responsibilities in the delivery of services to refugees, and its work on refugee integration is very well respected. It is an overarching aim of government policy to increase the involvement of the voluntary sector in service delivery.

Research into the role of voluntary organisations in relation to refugees (a term we use in the remainder of this paper to include asylum seekers) and labour migrant communities is limited. One of the first major UK studies was that by Carey-Wood (1997), which examined the role of voluntary organisations that encourage self-help among refugees through community development initiatives and organisations providing specific services for refugees in the areas of health, housing and employment. More recently, research led by Zetter (see Zetter and Pearl 2000; Zetter et al. 2004) has looked specifically at the effects of legislative changes on the activities of refugee community-based organisations (RCOs) in the UK. This work has highlighted not only the impacts of national policy on local RCOs but also raised wider theoretical questions about the integrative role of RCOs and the importance of social capital in the formation of refugee organisations.

Table 1: Recent UK Legislation Affecting the Welfare of Asylum Seekers

Year	Legislation	Implications for welfare of asylum seekers
1993	Asylum and Immigration Appeals Act	Restricted access and entitlement to local authority housing
1996	Asylum and Immigration Act	Restricted access to social housing and welfare benefits, and removed entitlement to benefits for in-country asylum applicants (i.e. applicants who claim asylum after entry as opposed to port-applicants who claim asylum on entry)
1999	Immigration and Asylum Act	Reduced welfare entitlements for asylum seekers (maintenance to be at 70% of standard benefit levels) and replaced cash benefits with a voucher system for all asylum seekers. Support can be removed if destitution is deemed to have ceased. The Act also paved the way for centralisation of support services for asylum seekers via the National Asylum Support Service (NASS) and introduced a policy of compulsory dispersal
2002	Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act	Section 55 allows the state to deny any support in the form of housing or state benefits to asylum seekers who are deemed to have lodged their claim for asylum "late" (more than 72 hours after arrival)
2004	Asylum and Immigration Act	Allows termination of basic support to families unsuccessful in their asylum application
2006	Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act	Tightens restrictions on appeals over deportation, increases powers of police, customs and immigration officials to obtain and exchange biometric and other information, and gives Home Secretary the right to repeal British citizenship of any refugee whose actions are judged prejudicial to UK interests

Sources: Morris (2002); Sales (2002); Wren (2004).

Building on this work, the research reported here has focused on examining the role of welfare voluntary organisations in providing support for refugee communities. In terms of its theoretical agenda, however, the research provides wider insights into questions concerning the nature of the shadow state and citizenship rights. The term "shadow state" was coined by Wolch (1990) to refer to those voluntary organisations charged with collective service responsibilities previously shouldered by the state sector. Because these organisations often rely on state grants or contracts, they remain within the arena of state regulation and thus constitute what Wolch refers to as a shadow-state apparatus. With the government significantly reducing state welfare responsibilities with respect to refugee populations (via the erosion of the social rights of asylum seekers) and also requiring the voluntary sector to play a more prominent role with respect to issues of refugee integration, the notion of a shadow-state apparatus developing in this field would seem to have a particular relevance. Indeed, it would fit more generally with recent speculation that under New Labour there has been a shift from a system of "governance" to a system of "governmentality" in relation to the voluntary sector. The former , characterised by welfare pluralism, relatively weak regulatory structures and some independence for non-statutory welfare providers, is (it is

argued) being replaced by ever-tighter regulatory controls aimed at securing the self-regulation of non-statutory providers and welfare recipients alike (Ling 2000; Fyfe 2005). Establishing whether some form of shadow-state apparatus is developing with respect to the welfare of refugees and labour migrants has therefore been one of the key conceptual aims of the project.

2. Research Design and Methods

A multi-locational and multi-method case-study approach was employed to address the objectives of the research. The rationale for a multi-locational approach – focused on the cities of London, Manchester and Glasgow – was that the uneven geographies of refugee settlement in the UK mean that service provision by the voluntary sector is likely to take different forms in different parts of the country. London was chosen given that it is the primary location of refugee settlement in the UK, with more than 300,000 refugees living there in 2003 (Zetter et al. 2004). In order to capture variations across the capital in terms of voluntary organisation experience, the interviewing phase of the research focused on the contrasting experiences of inner-city boroughs (Hammersmith, Islington and Lambeth) and an outer London borough (Bromley). The choice of Manchester and Glasgow reflected the fact that both are important areas of refugee settlement. In Manchester, there are both established refugee communities (including Iraqi and Somali) as well as new asylum-seeker arrivals under the dispersal programmes operated by NASS. Similarly, Glasgow has become the key site for asylum-seeker settlement in Scotland under NASS arrangements, with more than 5,000 asylum seekers accommodated in the city at the time the research began (Barclay et al. 2003).

Within each of the cities, Iraqis and Somalis were the focus of the research on refugee communities. At the time the research was being planned (2002), Iraqis were the highest asylum-applicant nationality in the UK, although by the time the research began in 2004 they were ranked fifth in terms of total asylum applications received (see Table 2). Somalis were the fourth-ranked asylum applicant nationality in the UK in 2002 and by 2004 were the second-highest asylum applicant nationality (Home Office 2005).

Table 2: Applications Received for Asylum in the UK, Excluding Dependants, for those from Iraq and Somalia

	2000	**2001**	**2002**	**2003**	**2004**	**2005**
Iraq	7 475	6 680	14 570	4 015	1 695	1 435
Somalia	5 020	6 420	6 540	5 090	2 585	1 770

Source: Home Office (2006).

Following telephone contact with those organisations willing to participate in a questionnaire survey and after piloting the questions, a postal survey was launched to investigate three broad themes:

- Structure and funding of organisations;
- Characteristics of volunteers and paid staff;
- Links to policy-making at local and national levels of government.

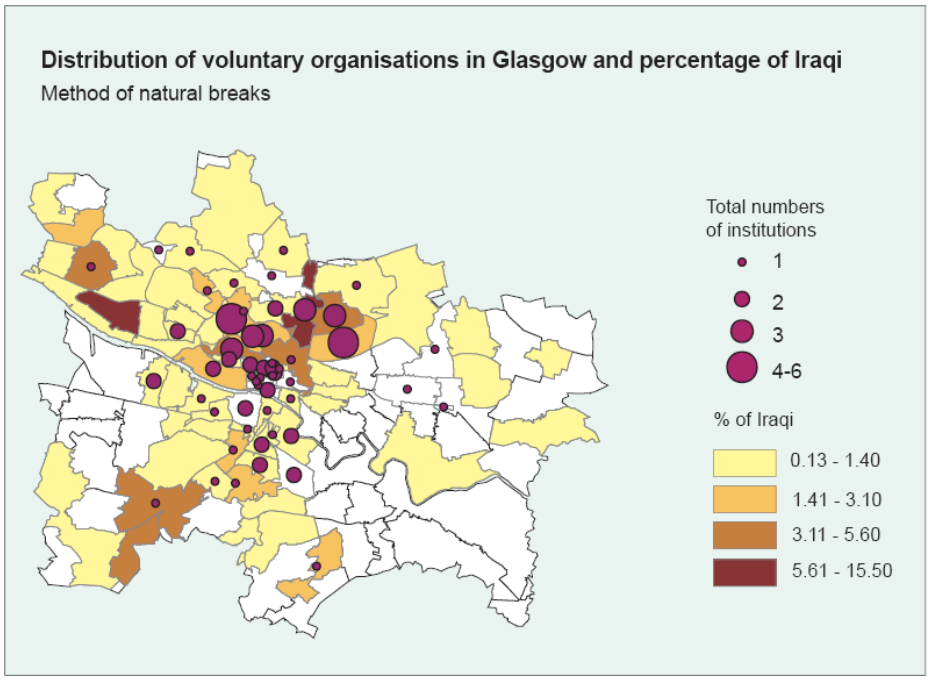
The second phase involved in-depth interviews with representatives of voluntary organisations in each of the cities, and with refugees and labour migrants using these organisations, as well as with local and regional government officials. All interviews were taped and conducted in English except for those with Somali refugees which, due to the linguistic skills of the research assistant, were carried out in Somali and then translated into English. A total of eighty-six interviews were undertaken. This paper focuses on the results of the first phase of data collection. Inevitably, however, our interpretation of the questionnaire survey is coloured by our awareness of the content of the in-depth interviews. The paper therefore draws on only a few quotations from the interviews to illustrate the main points revealed by the analysis of the questionnaires. Our purpose here is not therefore to contrast, interpret and problematise the claims made by mainstream and minority voices from our interviews (the subject of a separate paper) in a way that would be expected in a conventional textual analysis of this kind of material, but rather to privilege only a very small number of voices from the interview phase of the research, in order to amplify the main lines of argument pointed to by the questionnaire findings (the empirical focus of the paper).

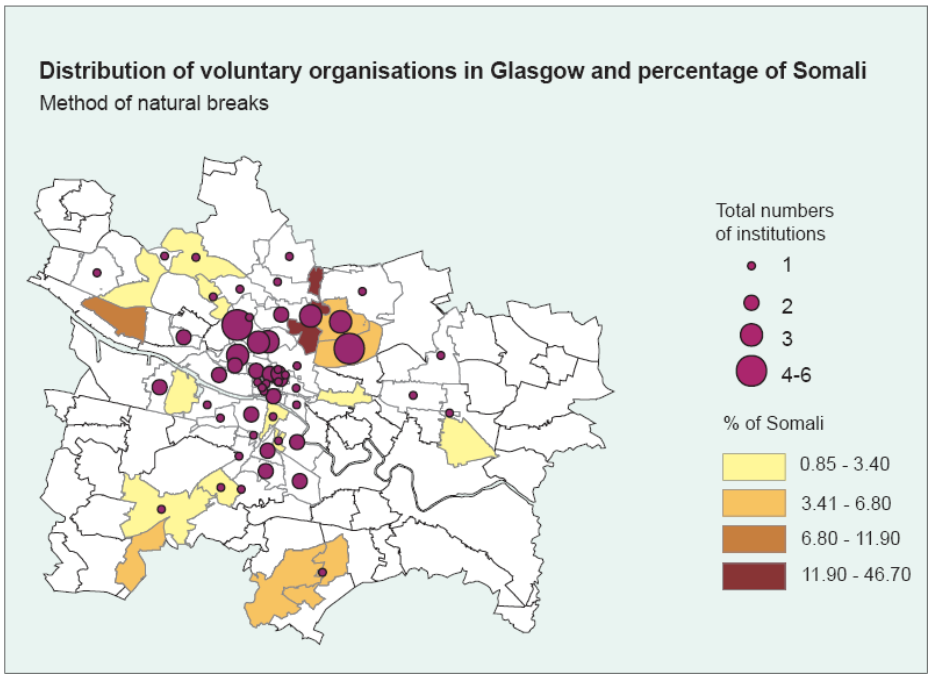
3. Contours and Characteristics of Voluntary Organisations Working with Refugees

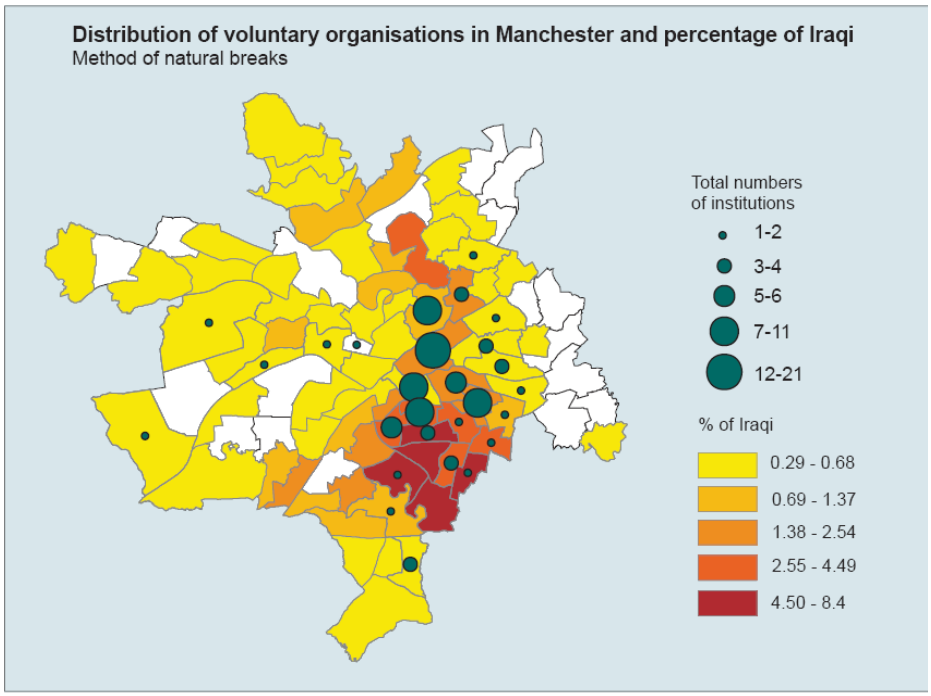
As previous research has highlighted, there is a large and diverse network of voluntary-sector support for refugees, offering both generic and specialist services, and operating on different geographical scales (Zetter and Pearl 2000: 681). There are refugee agencies, such as the Refugee Council, which are formally constituted not-for-profit organisations working on behalf of refugees nationally and typically run by paid professional staff. At a more local level, there are voluntary groups such as RCOs that are "rooted within, and supported by, the ethnic or national refugee/asylum seeker communities they serve" (Zetter and Pearl 2000: 675) and whose formation largely reflects the lack of adequate services relative to the material needs of the vulnerable groups involved, many of whom have shared similar refugee experiences. There is also a wide variety of other charities, legal and advice agencies and campaigning organisations that include refugees among their users (Sales 2002: 469–71).

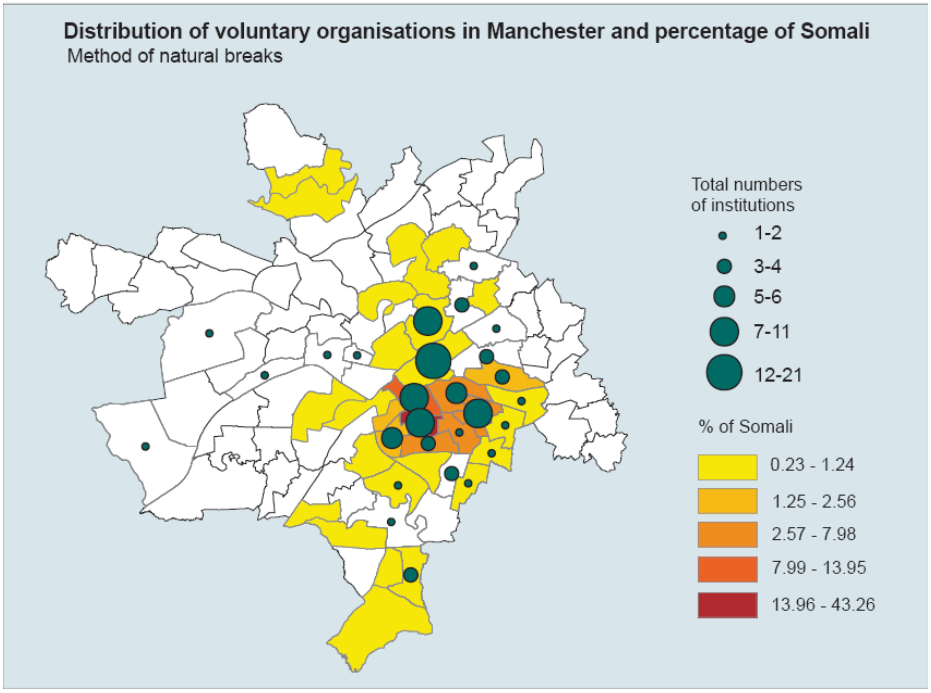
Using the database on 592 organisations and the responses to the questionnaire survey, it is possible to provide a more detailed sketch of the contours and characteristics of the voluntary-sector organisations in each of the cities.

Figure 1-4: Distributions of voluntary organisations









Source: Office of National Statistics, UK Census 2001, and authors' survey.

Based on the main database, the maps of Glasgow and Manchester shown here provide some indication of the distribution of voluntary organisations working with refugees in two of the case-study cities. Many of the voluntary organisations had other functions and only engaged with asylum seekers and refugees as a part of their remit, but for others working with asylum seekers and refugees was their sole raison d'être. The maps represent the voluntary organisations using proportional symbols to indicate at a micro-scale where these organisations are located. The background choropleth shading shows the distribution of Iraqi- and Somali-born peoples in each city. Not all people from these countries responding to the 2001 census question on place of birth would see themselves or indeed hold the status of asylum seekers or refugees, but it is our contention that the vast majority of people represented on these maps would fall into these categories. The distributions of Iraqis and Somalis are mapped for each census area as a proportion of the entire group found across the city as a whole. This standardisation was undertaken so that ready comparison could be made between each set of maps. As is evident, large parts of the cities have no one from these groups, while in all cases Iraqis and Somalis are highly clustered. The location of these groups of course reflects a residential geography that is not determined by the housing choices of the asylum seekers, but rather in relation to the housing allocations made to these groups by the state at the time of their arrival and subsequently as they were relocated.

Although in terms of our questionnaire survey, over two-thirds of organisations said that they were established in their current location because of serving a nearby community, it is clear from the Glasgow and Manchester maps that there is some observable spatial mismatch between the distribution of the Iraqi and Somali population and the location of refugee organisations. Some areas far from the city centre (often located in peripheral housing stock from which the host UK population had fled on account of dissatisfaction with the housing) have high levels of Iraqis and Somalis, but few if any voluntary-sector support organisations. To the credit of the voluntary sector there has been a response over time to problems arising from this, but the effect is not captured by the maps.

Using information derived from the questionnaire, other important characteristics of the distribution and functioning of the voluntary sector also emerge. As Table 3 shows, most organisations are relatively young, with just under half established in the last ten years. Given the different histories and scale of asylum migration and refugee settlement in the three cities, however, it is not surprising that London has the largest number of long-established voluntary-sector organisations (twenty-nine of the fifty organisations that were ten years old or more). What is remarkable about Manchester was how few recent voluntary-sector organisations were identified. By contrast, Glasgow had the youngest voluntary-sector infrastructure of the three cities, with 38 per cent of organisations having been established in the last five years.

Table 3: Voluntary Organisations Working with Refugees by City

Date of establishment	London	Manchester	Glasgow	Total
Less than 2 years ago	1 (1.5%)	0	1 (5%)	2
2–5 years ago	12 (18%)	1 (8%)	7 (33%)	20
5–10 years ago	23 (35%)	0	3 (13%)	26
10-15 years ago	13 (20%)	4 (33%)	6 (29%)	23
15–25 years ago	7 (11%)	2 (17%)	3 (14%)	12
More than 25 years ago	9 (14%)	5 (42%)	1 (5%)	15

Note: Missing data: six organisations.

Source: Authors' survey.

The postal questionnaire survey revealed that many of the voluntary organisations working with refugees, although pre-dating the UK Government's recent policy to develop a shadow state, admitted that they had only started working with migrants in the last ten years. This may in part have been in response to the greater demand for their services from asylum seekers as their numbers grew during the 1990s and in part as a consequence of increased referrals by local authorities, but expansion of the sector to help asylum seekers and refugees can also be very directly related to the new financial incentives made available by local and central government to encourage the voluntary sector to offer services to immigrants.

Table 4 provides evidence of the interesting history of the UK in having experienced two parallel and related trends over the last ten years: on the one hand numbers of asylum seekers and refugees grew rapidly (reflecting in part new government policies to attract global talent, whether already trained or in the form of foreign students), while on the other hand the government's neo-liberal agenda boosted the size of the voluntary sector to help meet the needs of this growing population of non-British citizens.

Most of the organisations in the survey were relatively small: Table 5 shows that approximately two-thirds either had no paid staff or had between one and ten paid staff. Some 39 per cent had ten or more voluntary staff, indicating the potential that these organisations have for allowing the state to tap into communities at low or no cost and to deliver services and support through this channel. Table 6 also shows that, as one would expect, these voluntary organisations depended heavily on part-time staff. Inevitably the largest organisations were those located in London. This reflected not only the larger number of asylum seekers in London, but also the national function of the capital city as home to the headquarters of many voluntary organisations. By contrast the cities to which asylum seekers were dispersed under the government's new policies were much less well served and where organisations did exist they were smaller and less well able to cope with the influx of migrants that was to take place during the peak period of arrival of asylum seekers in 2002 and 2003.

Table 4: Age and Length of Engagement of Organisations with Migrants and Migrant Communities (Percentages; n = 105)

	Age of organisation	**Started working with migrants**
Less than 2 years	1.9	5.7
2–5 years	19.0	29.5
6–10 years	25.7	24.8
10–25 years	33.3	23.8
More than 25 years	14.3	18.1
No data	5.7	4.8

Source: Authors' survey.

Table 5: Size and Staffing Arrangements of Voluntary Organisations in the Survey (Percentage of 105 Organisations)

Staff numbers	**Paid staff**	**Part-time staff**	**Volunteers**
None	11	26	13
1–10	58	63	48
11–25	22	8	26
26–50	5	3	11
50+	3	0	3
Total responses	100	100	100

Note: Missing data: eleven organisations.

Source: Authors' survey.

Indicative of the shadow-state status of many of these organisations, over half depended on the state for their funding (defined as the single largest source of funding). Of course this is only one aspect of the growth of the shadow state, but others (Amin et al, 2002) have mapped the withdrawal of the state from being a direct service provider in many areas, and so these arguments are not rehearsed once again here. In the authors' survey, some 57 per cent of the organisations (n = 86 out of 105) that were willing to reveal their largest single source of funding, identified it as the UK Home Office, the Scottish Office or the local boroughs or city councils. This degree of fiscal dependency is clearly a key feature of these organisations and shows the extent to which the UK Government either centrally or

through local government has chosen to develop shadow-state functions by resourcing voluntary organisations to deliver support and services to migrants. Table 6 shows a clear relationship between the state being the principal source of finance and the date of establishment of voluntary-sector organisations. Furthermore, voluntary organisations principally funded by the state were the ones that reported having larger numbers of full-time and part-time staff.

Table 6: Principal Source of Funding of Organisations in Survey by Date of Establishment

Date of establishment	Principal funding: the state	Principal funding: other sources	Total
Less than 10 years ago	27	15	42
10 years or more	19	23	42
Total	48	38	84

Note: Missing data: nineteen organisations not declaring funding source, two not giving date of establishment.

Source: Authors' survey.

The relationships revealed above might be seen positively or negatively, depending on one's political standpoint, but whichever position adopted implies that the state itself has chosen to withdraw from delivering many services to those who live within its boundaries who are not citizens and to leave it to the voluntary sector to provide much of the support sought by these communities.

The survey also revealed something of the types of service provided by these organisations. A majority of organisations reported offering advice on matters such as employment, health, housing and education, all of which in the past would have fallen firmly within the remit of government and the state. However, when asked about the organisation's main activity, the focus of these organisations becomes much clearer. Table 7 shows the most important activities of the voluntary organisations in the survey in relation to two types of location. On the one hand there is London, representing an area with a long-established record of receiving asylum seekers. On the other hand, Manchester and Glasgow represent the types of location to which the UK Government chose to disperse asylum seekers under its new policy. These cities, outside the core of the UK economy, although having a long history as migrant destinations stretching back to Britain's colonial heritage (Findlay and Houston 2005), have no extensive infrastructure of voluntary organisations geared towards the needs of asylum seekers. As noted in relation to Table 3, this has meant that, in Manchester in particular, there has been a greater

tendency for voluntary organisations established to serve other purposes to have to adapt to the needs and demands of asylum seekers. Thus one could argue that the infrastructure of the newly receiving locations in terms of the voluntary sector at least was less prepared to meet the needs of new arrivals and may partly explain why the most important activities of these organisations were very different in London from elsewhere (Table 7).

Table 7: Main Activities of Voluntary Organisations by City (Percentage of Organisations Offering Service/Function)

	London (n = 64)	**Manchester and Glasgow (n = 30)**
General information/advice	50	20
Education	34	20
Social activities	28	7
Empowerment/support	22	27
Health advice	19	7
Employment advice	16	3
Cultural/religious activities	16	3
Representation	14	3
Integration	14	27
Immigration advice	13	3
Legal activities	11	17
Social care	9	10
Emergency needs	8	13
Organisational development	8	3
Housing provision /advice	8	3

Note: Missing data: one organisation. Other functions accounted for 20 per cent of organisations in London and 10 per cent elsewhere; as many organisations reported more than one main activity percentages do not sum to 100 per cent)

Source: Authors' survey.

The most striking feature of the table, apart from the obvious point of the sheer scale of voluntary-sector engagement with asylum seekers and refugees, is the difference between organisations in London and those in the other cities. Although numbers of responses are low, thus demanding caution, it is clear that functions such as advice on education, health and employment are taken up less by organisations in Glasgow and Manchester and that in these cities the most important roles were empowerment and support of refugees and asylum groups and assistance with their integration into the community. This difference seemed to justify the authors' research design and the attempt to investigate scale and geographical location as important dimensions of the research topic. On the one hand it is evident that relations between the voluntary sector and asylum seekers

varies very considerably between what can be identified at state level and at the scale of specific cities and local authorities. On the other hand it is evident that this is not just a scale issue and that significant spatial variations exist between core regions such as London and the south-east and voluntary organisations based in peripheral regions such as the north-west of England and Scotland. Further research would however be needed to check the robustness of these claims, given the sample size and the possibility of biases introduced because of the uneven questionnaire response rate.

There was surprisingly little difference, however, between voluntary organisations funded principally by the state and other voluntary organisations in the activities in which they engaged. Those independent of the state were more likely to list befriending and language training than those that were more dependent on the state for finance, but in other respects state finance of the voluntary sector did not seem to impact on the types of activity that organisations engaged with. There was, however, a clear impact on how organisations delivered their services and on how their policies towards migrants had evolved (Table 8).

Table 8: Funding and Activity Patterns

Impact of the state on voluntary sector policies	Principal funding: the state	Principal funding: other sources	Total
Significant impact	25	2	27
No effect	14	19	33
Total	39	21	60

Source: Authors' survey.

The mix of activities revealed in Table 7 indicates that these organisations are involved in addressing both the long-term welfare needs of refugees as well as the more immediate, short-term requirements of asylum seekers. As the coordinator of a Somali RCO explained:

> People's problems form a path. They come in and their first problem is legal, they want to solve their legal problem, you know, so we have now been recognised to give immigration advice. … So the first part is put your legality in order, be here legally. Once we've solved that and the person is given leave to stay, or rejection, whatever status, then comes the most basic needs: they need housing, they need income, OK. That is our next challenge, social security … Before [NASS] it used to be mechanical. Now no more; you can't take it for granted (Somali RCO, London).

This understanding of the welfare needs of asylum seekers and refugees as forming a *continuous path*, from arrival as an asylum seeker to formal recognition as a refugee, is typical of most voluntary organisations working in this area (although some other perspectives were expressed, especially by organisations that had not been set up initially to deal with asylum and refugee issues). It is also highly

significant because it flies in the face of government attempts, via legislation (see Table 1) and strategy documents, to draw a sharp distinction between the "deserving" refugee and the "undeserving" asylum seeker, favouring "measures to encourage the 'social inclusion' of refugees … while at the same time , enforcing a punitive regime when they arrive" (Sales 2002: 474). Many are critical of this distinction. Sales, for example, argues that "The social exclusion and stigmatization to which [asylum seekers] are exposed … damage their chances of settling while racist discourse against asylum seekers impact on everyone from these communities, whatever their legal status". Although it is therefore significant that voluntary organisations refuse to recognise this distinction, it nevertheless has had important consequences because the "punitive regime" confronted by asylum seekers means that the role of many voluntary organisations appears increasingly "defensive – gap filling and meeting essential needs – rather than being actively engaged in the development of individual and community resources" (Zetter et al. 2004).

The concept of the needs of asylum seekers and refugees evolving on a path is also valuable in thinking about the problems of devolving responsibility to voluntary organisations to meet these needs. Given that the evidence presented above shows not only an uneven geography in terms of the proportion and type of voluntary-sector organisations found in different places, but also an uneven range of activities and services, it becomes clear that some cities are better placed to receive and support refugees as they make this transition along a path of social needs. At present, older established destinations such as London are undoubtedly better endowed with voluntary-sector organisations capable of working with people at different points along the path than are newer destination cities such as Manchester and Glasgow. As Table 7 shows, in these locations voluntary organisations have to date been less likely to help with structural issues, such as housing and employment, over which they have limited control. Of course it could also be that the political culture of these cities, with their stronger histories of delivering these services through the welfare state to the local population, has meant that the voluntary sector has not seen this as an area for engagement. Whatever the explanation, the consequence of the uneven geography of voluntary-sector activities in relation to the needs of asylum seekers has meant that this sector cannot or does not seek to provide a *continuous path* of the kind conceived of by the Somali commentator quoted above. Instead the evolving *path of needs* faced by asylum seekers and refugees requires people in these peripheral cities to engage more strongly over time either with services provided by the agencies of the local authority or through the private sector.

5. Voluntary Organisations as a Shadow State?

As discussed in the introduction, the government clearly envisages the voluntary sector playing a key role in delivering welfare services and advice to refugee communities and many of the organisations responding to the questionnaire survey indicated that they received a significant proportion of their funding from

government. But to what extent are these developments indicative of voluntary-sector organisations forming a shadow-state apparatus? (Wolch, 1990). The evidence gathered in our research suggests that a complex set of relationships between government and voluntary sector is developing. In some ways the research shows the concept to be appropriate, but in other respects it is very clear that the notion is limited in its relevance when applied in a UK context, in contrast to Wolch's North American experience.

On the one hand, voluntary organisations within the three UK cities clearly have had to respond to the rapidly changing environment in which many of their activities are increasingly shaped by the government's policy agenda. The London-based Refugee Council (a voluntary organisation), for example, provided data on the type of assistance it has given to Somali and Iraqi refugees over a three-year period between 2001 and 2004. This shows clearly how the establishment of NASS meant that much of the advice provided by the Refugee Council related to queries raised by asylum seekers about NASS (a state agency).

It would clearly be misleading to interpret this activity simply as evidence of "co-option" into a shadow state but it does suggest that attempts by the Refugee Council to distance itself "from the process of policy implementation" with respect to the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act may not have materialised (Zetter and Pearl 2000: 694). More generally, dealing with hardship cases is an increasingly important part of the welfare service provided by the Refugee Council, which clearly connects with the changing policy environment described earlier and the difficulties this has caused in terms of the erosion of welfare entitlements for asylum seekers.

In terms of the experiences of local voluntary organisations in the three cities, the qualitative research evidence also lends some support to arguments for a closer engagement between government and the voluntary sector. One voice from a London-based refugee-training organisation reported:

> It has definitely become more bureaucratic. If I compare it to how it was when I first started working here. It's just endless really, now, forms for this, forms for that. And the funding we get is so short-term, it seems we are always applying, writing reports, it just never stops. … The ideal relationship for us would be one in which they [the government] gave us money and then let us be. Unfortunately, we seem to have the opposite relationship where they don't give us nearly enough money but are on at us all the time (Refugee training organisation, London).

This was typical of many such responses. There were very few if any discordant voices. A representative of an Iraqi RCO noted:

> I wouldn't say we were monitored as such, but there are conditions. We are not allowed to be political, to be a political organisation, run campaigns, that sort of thing. That is a condition of being funded. We are funded to provide help for the Kurdish community, that is the reasoning. You know, help the council with integration, support the policy of the [borough] council (Iraqi RCO, London).

Such comments lend support to the more general arguments regarding welfare reform under New Labour. This involves "the development of ever tighter regulatory controls aimed at securing the self-regulation of non-statutory welfare providers and welfare recipients alike" (May et al. 2005: 704; see also Ling 2000; Fyfe and Milligan 2003).

On the other hand, there is also evidence at a local level of voluntary organisations (particularly RCOs) actively resisting moves by the government to co-opt them into performing particular tasks. The coordinator of an Iraqi RCO in London, for example, spoke of flatly refusing to distribute government leaflets relating to the return of refugees to Iraq following the second Gulf War:

> You know what they [the UK government] want us to do? They say to us "here are some leaflets for" what do you call it, the return to Iraq? They say, "give them to your members". Give them to your members! To ask us to do such a thing! No, we will not do such a thing. No. They are the snakes. We will never, ever, do that thing. All they want is for us to be gone. They do not ask us, they do not ask anyone. Is it safe? Is it right? Never they ask those questions, just give these leaflets so they will go (Iraqi RCO, London).

Also important in voluntary organisations decisions to keep their distance from government have been the stigmatisation of asylum seekers in policy and the way perceptions of government in the UK are closely informed by refugees' experience of government in their homeland:

> We don't have a relationship [with the UK Government] at all … They don't like us. … You know, we really don't have much going for us in their eyes. I mean asylum seekers … at best are regarded as an inconvenience, at worst terrorists, bogus asylum seekers … We have many suspicions [of government], that is natural … Obviously [our] experience with government in Iraq hasn't been positive in any way … so any dealings with the government are things to be avoided, and the fact that it's a different government doesn't make that much difference. … [If] the government just took a few small steps, were just a bit less hostile towards these guys, then everyone could become a lot happier, but they [the government] need to make the first moves (Iraqi RCO, Manchester).

In summary, while a voluntary-sector infrastructure has clearly developed to provide welfare support for refugees, the notion that this is some kind of shadow-state apparatus would be highly misleading. While some voluntary organisations are shouldering welfare responsibilities that once would have been delivered by the state and are often subject to state scrutiny, most strongly deny that their aims have been compromised or that they have simply become the pawns of the state. Thus it would be fair to conclude that while government would not be unhappy to foster the emergence of a shadow state, there are very good reasons why most voluntary organisations formed by, or for, asylum seekers are ever likely to fully accept such a mantle.

6. Discussion and Conclusions

This paper provides evidence of the nature of the interface between recent immigration to the UK and service provision made available to these recent arrivals. The authors' survey has shown that many voluntary-sector organisations have been formed or have adapted their activities in response to the UK Government policy of encouraging this sector to engage with refugees and asylum seekers. But many of these voluntary organisations are themselves "vulnerable", being small in size and recent in origin, reflecting the immaturity of the sector and its fragility as a means of providing services to what in the period 2001–04 was a very rapidly growing refugee population.

The survey findings suggest that there has to some extent been a spatial mismatch between the locations where the voluntary sector has intervened and the places of residence of refugee populations (see maps). This is a fundamental problem arising from the impossibility of providing an even pattern of services in relation to need when depending on the voluntary sector, as supply of the services depends largely on the goodwill of volunteers and temporary staff, who may be willing to help in the locations where they live and also in the city centre, but are often more resistant to travelling the longer distances to work that might be needed to engage in the locations of high-density settlement of some refugee groups.

Furthermore the survey found very interesting geographical differences in the types of activity provided by voluntary organisations in Glasgow and Manchester compared with London. These northern cities are areas receiving new flows of asylum seekers over recent years in response to the government policy of dispersing UK asylum seekers away from London. Fundamentally it illustrates that dependence on the voluntary sector, under circumstances of devolvement of responsibility to local authorities, is likely to produce localised geographies of service and welfare provision in place of the uniform national provision of the kind that would occur were the state providing these services.

A worrying feature of the survey was the strong dependency of many voluntary-sector organisations on government funding, allowing the state to greatly influence them in the way in which they can operate. Clear relationships were identified between organisation size, age of establishment and the extent of government funding. Those that received government funding were much more likely to see the state as impinging on their policies towards migrants and migrant communities, opening up the charge that the government has the potential to shape the shadow state to its own ends. However, interviews with the managers of some of these voluntary organisations asserted that in important areas they had retained the upper hand, pursuing their own goals and operating according to their own principles. It would therefore be wrong to represent the voluntary sector as purely undertaking shadow-state activities (Wolch 1990).

Although the evidence base of this article has focused on the spatiality of the voluntary sector and the nature of the activities in which the sector engages with

regard to the welfare and social needs of refugees, there are much wider theoretical issues raised by this work, for example the need to think through how government engagement with the voluntary sector impinges on concepts of citizenship. The connections between voluntary associations and citizenship are well established in social and political theory. Turner (2001), for example, has highlighted how voluntary associations "provide opportunities for social participation, for democratic involvement at the local level, and thus for active citizenship" (Turner 2001: 200). In the context of current government policy with respect to refugees and labour migrants, this notion of voluntary organisations as sites of citizenship takes on a particular importance because of the ways in which the government expects such groups to play a pivotal role in the integration of refugees via activities relating to the "social practices of citizenship", such as language training and education in British civic institutions. As UK Government policy spells out (Home Office 2000, 2002), crucial importance is now attached to the goal of "preparing people for citizenship" by "ensuring that every individual has the wherewithal, such as the ability to speak our common language, to enable them to engage as active citizens in economic, social and political life" (Home Office 2002: 30). The subsequent 2002 Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act required applicants for citizenship to pass an English language and a citizenship test, the latter to show they had "a sufficient understanding of UK society and civic structures".

These developments resonate with what Ehrkamp and Leitner term a *relational* understanding of citizenship, focused on the complex interplay between state and civil society in the construction of citizenship. This relational perspective stresses the need to look beyond city hall or the voting booth as the only sites of citizenship and instead conceive of citizenship "as a social practice that individuals engage in beyond the state, through organizations of civil society" (Ehrkamp and Leitner 2003: 131). Indeed, as they go on to observe, "For immigrants, [civil society] institutions provide … an important support system for ensuring members well-being and for maintaining and reaffirming their identities in their new place of residence". It remains to be determined whether the UK move to locate some aspects of welfare and service provision with the voluntary sector will also mean the effective establishment of conditions of uneven citizenship for new arrivals in the country. Not only this, but only time will tell whether local differences in the engagement and activities of voluntary-sector organisations will lead to these groups developing distinctly different self-identities.

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The Challenge of Migrant Integration in Ireland*

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Immigration now greatly exceeds emigration in several peripheral EU countries traditionally characterised by high rates of emigration. While some empathy with immigrants may well exist because of these new settlement countries' own emigration histories, they lack the policy, legislation, infrastructure, support organisations and experience of those European countries long used to dealing with immigration. The challenge now is both to respond in the short term to the needs and rights of these new members of our societies, and to address in the medium to long term the task of building a new society in which place of origin and ethno-national identity are no longer the sole defining vectors of identity. This paper examines endeavours to advance integration in Ireland, focusing in particular on the public authorities' statutory duties to promote equal opportunities and good race relations but also on the more general debate about identity, citizenship and the accommodation of diversity. While Ireland and Scotland have much in common, the two countries have contrasting legal and policy bases for the pursuit of integration.

"Contrast the United Kingdom state – a vibrant multi-ethnic, multi-national liberal democracy, the fourth largest economy in the world, the most reliable ally of the United States in the fight against international terrorism – with the pathetic sectarian, mono-ethnic, mono-cultural state to our south" (Moriarty 2002)

The former leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, David Trimble, famously described the Republic of Ireland in the terms just quoted when speaking to an Ulster Unionist Council meeting in 2002. Even allowing for political hyperbole, the comment spoke volumes about his ignorance of the modern state south of the border. For better or for worse Ireland is today, by one reckoning, among the world's most globalised states (Kearney 2006). Recent data (Department of Social

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and Family Affairs 2006) show that nationals of more than 180 states and territories have been issued with personal public service numbers (PPSNs; national insurance numbers) since 2001. These are hardly signs of a closed and inward-looking society.

Nevertheless, Trimble's comments would not have been a particularly unfair description of post-independence Ireland for most of the twentieth century. In the context of a rapidly changing Ireland with one of the highest rates of immigration in the European Union, it is worth briefly considering the legacy of that earlier period, as well as some of the earlier discourses of Irishness, in evaluating a contemporary approach to identity and diversity in a rapidly changing landscape.

Ireland is a young state; its political independence dates only from 1922. The Irish version of European nineteenth-century nationalism, like many of its continental counterparts, was characterised by a strong emphasis on exceptionalism rather than universalism and on the building of a strongly separatist national identity. Inevitably, this meant a certain degree of introversion and led to an emphasis on differences, rather than points in common, vis-à-vis the neighbouring island and the British ruling authorities. But how was this to be done? Like Britain, pre-partition Ireland was a largely English-speaking country. It had a Roman Catholic majority but also had substantial Anglican, Presbyterian and other religious minorities. With the exception of the indigenous Travelling Community (as they are now called), there were almost no "ethnic" or "racial" minorities in the sense in which the terms would be understood nowadays. Insofar as ethnicity (complicated by religion) could be said to have existed, the fault-line ran through Irish society itself rather than between the indigenous community and the "other".

In short, the Irish, however defined, had none of the obvious differentiating factors such as a shared language and religion which would normally constitute the boundaries of national difference. To the extent that a somewhat forced emphasis on a common history and culture became part of the myth of national identity, it tended to stress "national" rather than "foreign" sports and to propose a myth of national rejuvenation through the invention of a Gaelic- (or Irish)-speaking country – Gaelic had not been the dominant language for centuries – which would overcome modern differences by harking back to an earlier age. The only problem was that many Irish people did not speak Irish or did not belong to the mainstream constructed from this nationalist imperative.

The construction of the modern Irish state and identity was further marked by the partition of the country in 1920, leaving the post-independence Irish Free State with a diminished minority of Protestants and an introverted, backward-looking culture. Ireland's non-participation in the Second World War, its relative isolation from many of the major changes, good and bad, which overtook other European societies in the twentieth century, notably the effects of immigration when "the Empire struck back" in the 1950s and 1960s in such countries as France and the United Kingdom (Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies 1982) and its

relatively recent experience of modernisation, secularisation and urbanisation meant that as a country it was ill-equipped to deal with the challenge of change when it did come, belatedly but with some intensity, at the end of the twentieth century.

One could thus summarise Irish attitudes and policies as follows: an Enlightenment-inspired inclusive universalist tradition of republicanism, expressed mostly by Presbyterians in the 1798 United Irishmen rebellion, gave way to a narrower nineteenth-century nationalism, stressing cultural identity, language and religion. Under this perspective the defining characteristics of Irishness were genealogy, land and exclusion of the other. There were few "others" in any event. The most prominent "indigenous other" – Travellers (earlier called Tinkers or Itinerants) – were badly treated and still are. Protestants of various sects in post-independence, post-partition Ireland, were not always the victims of explicit and systematic discrimination. But it did happen on occasions (Whyte 1980) and at best they were expected to "know their place" and recognise the hegemonic position of the Roman Catholic Church even if successive Irish governments were careful to maintain a certain formal distance between Church and State. Thus Catholicism never became the religion of the state, but exercised a substantial influence on key areas of public life, notably education, medicine and state social policy.

The Irish Free State espoused economic autarky. A history of colonisation, the damage caused by the Civil War, the flight of capital and an economic war with Britain in the 1930s meant that the new state was impoverished and marked by underinvestment. A strong semi-state sector did emerge, but the private sector was underdeveloped, inward investment was limited and infrastructure was poor. A repressive social and cultural climate was characterised by censorship, patriarchy and bigotry. Irish society was inward-looking, isolationist and xenophobic.

There was a strong culture of emigration, which was both experienced and represented for the most part as involuntary. A significant if diminishing part of this emigration was to Scotland. One recent documentary, *Ár Dover féin* ("Our Own Dover"), broadcast on Irish-language television channel TG4, compared the deaths of fifty-eight Chinese migrant workers who suffocated in a trailer in Dover in 2000 with an earlier Irish tragedy in Kirkintilloch, Scotland, when ten Irish migrants working as "tattie hokers" (potato pickers) perished in a fire in an overcrowded hostel in 1937 (Lentin 2001). Many major European social, political and economic trends of the early to mid-twentieth century largely passed Ireland by, including the Second World War, social and cultural change, secularisation and (post)colonial immigration.

1. Modernisation

The 1950s represented the nadir of independent Ireland's social and economic condition. The Irish Republic had "the lowest marriage rate, the highest age at marriage, the highest fertility rate and the highest emigration rate" (Ryan 1955). A

government inquiry, the Commission for Emigration and other Population Problems, sat from 1948 to 1954 and correctly diagnosed the reasons for this state, notably the unattractive prospects of life in rural Ireland, especially for women, but largely failed to prescribe an appropriate remedy, which would necessarily have embraced urbanisation and industrialisation as key policy aims (Government of Ireland 1954).

Nevertheless, by the end of the decade and notably after the publication of a ground-breaking economic policy document (Government of Ireland 1958), Ireland cautiously embraced a new policy aimed at incentivising foreign direct investment, the dismantling of tariff barriers, notably with the UK, and a gradual opening up of Irish society and the Irish economy. The results were dramatic – growing employment, falling emigration, a surge in marriage rates and a 22 per cent growth in the population between 1961 and 1981 (Lee 1989). EEC membership in 1973 proved a particular turning point even though it was followed during the 1980s by a decade of soaring unemployment and renewed emigration as the baby-boom generation of the 1960s arrived onto a shrinking job market, reeling from the effects of painful post-EEC restructuring and poor macroeconomic management by the government.

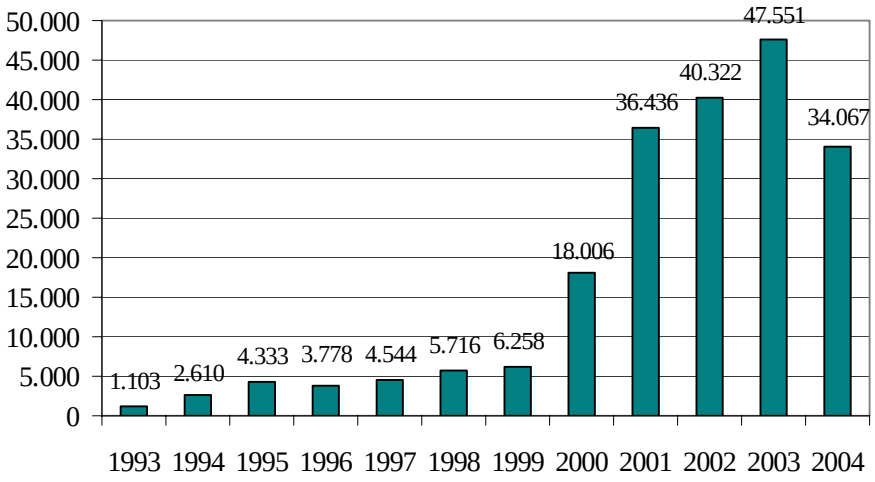
Amid all the errors and painful changes, some key positive decisions were made. In particular, successive governments of the 1970s and 1980s stepped up investment in education, especially in the third-level sector. Gradually the industrial jobs lost in the 1980s were replaced by high-technology jobs in the 1990s as the country became a base for significant inward investment from such sectors as the pharmaceutical, chemical and information technology industries. A favourable regime of low taxes and incentives, a well-educated English-speaking workforce, social partnership and industrial peace combined to create the conditions for the "Celtic Tiger" period, with rapid growth in jobs, which doubled to just over 2 million between 1986 and 2006. Unemployment fell rapidly in the 1990s, almost half of the more than 400,000 emigrants who left in the 1980s returned, women were absorbed in increasing numbers into the paid labour force. From the mid-1990s onwards, with the economy continuing to grow at rates of 7–8 per cent per annum, far in advance of any other in Europe, immigration increased rapidly (Mac Éinrí 2005).

2. Contemporary Developments

Ireland has not looked back since the 1990s. The favourable economic regime referred to led to a rapid growth in employment creation and ever-greater numbers of immigrants. The character of that immigration has gradually changed. While a public, political and media preoccupation with refugees and asylum seekers obscured the shifting realties on the ground, inward labour migration (see Figure 1) was already substantial by the late 1990s. This silent change is illustrated by the dramatic fact that in one year, 2003, the state issued 47,551 work permits to non-

EU migrant workers, the equivalent of more than twelve persons per thousand of the population.

Figure 1: Work Permits, Non-EEA Workers



Note: Those from the European Economic Area (EEA) – the EU, Norway, Iceland and Liechtenstein – do not need work permits. A separate but similar arrangement applies to Switzerland.

Source: Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment.

In May 2004, with the arrival of ten new accession states, Ireland joined the UK and Sweden in allowing unrestricted access to nationals of the new Member States to the Irish labour market. In truth, it would have been difficult to do otherwise as the Common Travel Area arrangement with Britain effectively means, official rhetoric notwithstanding, that Ireland has a very limited margin of manoeuvre in conducting its immigration policy and must largely follow its bigger neighbour.

Since then the number of migrants arriving in Ireland has continued to climb. Poles have now overtaken returning Irish migrants as the largest inward migratory flow (CSO 2006*a*) and a community of up to 100,000 Poles is becoming established in Ireland. They form part of an immigrant community which, according to the 2006 Census, constitutes 10 per cent of the population as a whole and approximately the same percentage of the labour force (CSO 2006*b*). Data from the Central Statistics Office show that migrant workers are present in every sector of the economy, occupy both low- and high-skilled positions and are distributed throughout urban and rural Ireland. Immigration per thousand of the population for the most recent period for which comparative figures are available, 2004, shows that Ireland had the third-highest figure in the EU, exceeded only by the very exceptional cases of Luxembourg and Cyprus (Eurostat 2006). Although migrants have yet to become

an organised political voice in Ireland, the election of two councillors in the towns of Portlaoise and Ennis in local elections in 2004 (all registered residents of the country can stand for and vote in local elections in Ireland) might serve as a portent of change. Moreover, migrant communities are becoming increasingly visible in the growth of ethnic media and other services and in the rapid increase in the numbers of migrant children in the Irish school system.

3. Responses of the State to Changing Migration Patterns

It has become such a cliché to speak of immigration into Ireland that its very recent nature has to be insisted upon when considering the state's response. Some authors (e.g. Lentin 2004) have argued that to speak of the recent nature of immigration to Ireland is to give succour to those who perpetrate a "blame the victim" perspective, by suggesting that Irish racism has somehow been "caused" by the arrival of immigrants in the recent past. Of course, there have always been some immigrants in Ireland – apart from the largest non-Irish ethnic group, the British, Ireland has received people from a variety of countries over the centuries and mid-twentieth-century Ireland already had small Chinese, Italian and Jewish communities, for example.

The fact remains that in the largely monolithic state already referred to, the official response to what we would nowadays call the challenge of diversity was limited. The most notable form it took was probably the state's refusal to adopt Roman Catholicism as a state religion, in spite of Church pressure to do so, and the unusual Irish public education system, which is state-financed but (in nearly all cases) confessionally controlled. Thus, there are Roman Catholic schools, but also Church of Ireland, Jewish and Islamic schools. Within the health system provision was also made for the protection of Protestant medical ethics in certain hospitals. Such arrangements came about because of the need to recognise Ireland's internal Protestant minorities and not for any broader purposes. In that sense it is probably correct to say that Ireland's failure to address the needs of ethnically diverse communities long predates the recent upsurge in inward migration. That said, migrant numbers were extremely modest until the mid-1990s.

The lack of infrastructure and policy may be compared with the very different situation in the UK. Yet it was not until the 1960s that successive British governments, in a country where immigration from the Empire and later the Commonwealth spanned several decades, began seriously to address such issues as racism, discrimination and integration. Even then, the first legislation passed was restrictive, not facilitative: the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act restricted the right to enter the UK which had been embodied in the 1948 British Nationality Act, whereas the first Race Relations Act was not passed until 1965. After the Commonwealth Immigrant Act of 1968 and the Race Relations Act of 1976, it was nearly a quarter century before further progress was achieved through the Human Rights Act 1999 and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000. Finally, the seismic effects of the Macpherson Report, of which the Race Relations

(Amendment) Act 2000 was but the most obvious, deserve specific mention. The murder of black London teenager Stephen Lawrence in 1993 and the botched police inquiry led ultimately to the acceptance that statutory bodies can follow policies that may be unintentionally discriminatory, by omission or by commission, and that it should not be necessary to prove malice or intention to discriminate on the part of an individual. Lord Macpherson defined institutional racism as:

> … the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people (Macpherson 1999).

Britain now has an impressive array of legislation as well as some effective policy in immigration and social cohesion, but it can scarcely be said that the record is unblemished or that the process has not been a painful, lengthy and unfinished one. The more recent Irish responses need to be seen in this light.

4. Recent Developments in Ireland

For all the reasons set out above, the policy and legislative landscape in Ireland is very different from the UK. The British approach stresses a combination of targeting and mainstreaming to address the needs of minority ethnic communities and the Race Relations (Amendment) Act of 2000 imposes a specific responsibility upon the public authorities by requiring "named public authorities to review their policies and procedures; to remove discrimination and the possibility of discrimination; and to actively promote race equality" (Scottish Council for Voluntary Organisations 2006). The mechanism used is therefore both formal and backed by the force of law. Of necessity, it also requires the development of comprehensive benchmarking indicators and an accompanying system of audits, milestones and measurable outcomes. Such monitoring and evaluation mechanisms are not "optional extras", but an integral part of the strategic planning process of British public authorities.

In Ireland there is, as yet, no equivalent legislation, nor is there a statutory definition of the concept of "institutional racism". Rather, Irish policy has emphasised a more voluntarist approach which, while using much of the language and terminology in use in other northern European countries, is not backed by statutory force. While this might be thought of as a far weaker alternative to the British perspective just outlined, that is only part of the story. It is also rooted in a very different political culture.

A notable feature of this culture is the consensus-based social partnership system in use in Ireland since 1987. This grew out of earlier systems of collective wage bargaining which had been used in one form or another throughout the post-war period. The Irish system became formalised during the 1990s into a series of pluri-annual social partnerships which began by trading wage moderation for tax

concessions and industrial peace. Ultimately the social partnership arrangement came to include a wide range of stakeholders representing not just the traditional triad of government, employers and trades unions, but also agricultural interests and sections of the community and voluntary sector. The latest such agreement, *Towards 2016* (this symbolic year will be the centenary of the 1916 Easter Rising in Dublin) is nothing less than a ten-year strategic plan for the period 2006–2015, embracing a broad series of economic and social objectives for the state and Irish society, including the management of diversity, a point which will be returned to (Department of the Taoiseach 2006).

The roots of the Irish model of social partnership arguably lie in Catholic corporatism of the 1930s and a desire (then and later) to privilege a managed consensus-based system over a system of adversarial industrial relationships. "Class war", after all, had to be avoided! In its current form it embraces most significant stakeholders in civil society, although its critics would argue that it is not based on a partnership of equality and that in important respects it has enabled a potentially more dynamic form of socio-economic critique of Irish development to be headed off through the systematic co-option of the main players and critics into the system (Meade 2005). This argument has force. It is noteworthy, for instance, that many of the weaker sections of civil society, including migrants and minorities, are either not represented directly in the social partnership process or have not done particularly well out of it.

The macro-level social partnership process in Ireland is paralleled by a micro-level emphasis on community partnerships since the 1990s, notably through the development of the Community Development Support Programme and the creation of community development projects (CDPs) across the state; these are currently administered through the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. This has involved the creation of state-financed local and community organisations, usually concerned with specific aspects of social inclusion or other relevant social issues, such as drugs awareness programmes, prisoner rehabilitation schemes, support for one-parent families and the like. Over time a plethora of such organisations has developed while other schemes have also been introduced, notably the Local Development Social Inclusion Programme (LDSIP) and RAPID (Revitalising Areas by Planning, Investment and Development).

Four general comments may be made about these developments. The first is that there is, if anything, an over-complex structure of programmes and initiatives, much of which is relatively short term and project-directed rather than concerned with core funding and a long-term, strategic approach.

The second is that few such projects have directly addressed the needs of migrants and minority ethnic groups, with the partial exception of members of the Travelling Community. Only one CDP (the Bosnian CDP) was created to address the needs of any part of the migrant population and in spite of numerous funding applications to

the various agencies no subsequent application was successful, although a number of other CDPs have employed staff whose brief included such communities.

The third comment concerns a layer of governance at what, compared with the two areas just discussed, might be called the mezzo-level: municipalities and local authorities. Top-down legislation and policy constitutes a necessary but not sufficient framework for action, but experience elsewhere in Europe would suggest that the integration of minority and migrant ethnic groups is best achieved at sectoral and local levels. In the Irish case the abolition of domestic rates, following the 1977 General Election, deprived the local authorities of a major revenue source and arguably (though it was not the sole factor) inhibited the development of a strong local government sector at a time when a rapidly developing country and society was facing many new challenges (Indecon 2006). This contrasts sharply with other countries, where effective integration has often been achieved through city-led programmes (e.g. Barcelona, Bologna, Glasgow).

Finally, it should be noted that although Ireland is a welfare state, statutory service provision is still much more limited than would be the case in other developed European economies. Moreover, the much remarked upon Celtic Tiger economy has been driven by many factors, including the form of social partnership just outlined, but a key element has been a low-tax corporate environment. Social expenditure, in percentage of GDP at factor cost, is one of the lowest in the OECD area (Adema and Ladaique 2005). The inevitable result is a greater degree of dependence on the voluntary sector than in neighbouring societies, but the voluntary sector is itself not well financed. The traditional provider of many such services, the Catholic Church, is in decline, apart altogether from the question of whether faith-based organisations are the most appropriate service providers. A US-style tradition of philanthropic giving has not taken hold as yet either, leaving the voluntary sector in a permanent struggle for funding. None of this is to denigrate the key roles played both by the voluntary sector and by faith-based organisations. Indeed, their very vibrancy, in the context of a society and culture where informal community-based networking still constitute a substantial form of cultural capital, may be one of the hopeful indicators of how bottom-up integration can be managed.

5. Emerging Policy

In considering the emerging Irish policy landscape, the following issues might offer a way of thinking about the subject:

- Defining integration;
- Policy and legislation;
- Support structures;
- Lacunae and emerging initiatives.

5.1. Defining integration

Integration as concept and practice did not receive any significant attention until the arrival of programme refugees in the 1990, notably the Kosovars who were brought through official channels in 1999–2000. The Refugee Agency had already been established by the government in 1991, working at the time under the auspices of the Department of Foreign Affairs and later absorbed into the Directorate for Asylum Support Services (now the Reception and Integration Agency) of the Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform. The first official report to address the issue, *Integration: a Two-Way Process*, adopted the following definition:

> Integration means the ability to participate to the extent that a person needs and wishes in all of the major components of society, without having to relinquish his or her own cultural identity (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 1999).

This definition, while well-meaning, does not sufficiently recognise the role of the state, nor the complexity of finding a balance between individual and communal identities and rights, within a clear context of core values and duties. Moreover it only applies to refugees and persons with leave to remain, reflecting the disproportionate public and political concern with that issue, while there was and is no integration policy for migrants in general and their families.

It would be fair to say that legislative and policy concerns have been primarily focused since that time on immigration, not integration, issues. A significant body of legislation and policy dealing with that topic is now in place, although much of it deals with rather specific issues such as carrier sanctions and arrangements regarding the new accession states that joined the EU in 2004. A comprehensive legislative draft (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 2006*a*) is now under consideration and will, if adopted, replace the major existing legislation, which dates in parts back to 1935, codify many aspects of immigration law previously governed by administrative controls, custom and practice, and introduce a number of new features. Among other provisions, the draft legislation provides for "long-term residence" of a maximum of five years (renewable) and proposes to restrict the right to stay for refugees and persons with leave to remain to as little as three years (renewable). While the current right of permanent residence for refugees is based on custom and practice and is not guaranteed by law, such measures are hardly conducive to integration. These proposals follow on the 2004 Citizenship Referendum which removed the automatic granting of citizenship to all Irish-born children (Lentin 2004). Many other aspects of the proposed legislation must give rise to concern, such as the proposal that persons with non-renewable work permits as well as asylum seekers would effectively be debarred from marrying in the jurisdiction.

The draft legislation makes only passing specific reference to integration. The preamble states that one of the aims of the legislation is to promote the successful

integration of permanent residents into the state, while recognising that integration involves mutual obligations for new immigrants and Irish society. The only other explicit reference to integration, in a detailed eighty-nine-page draft text, refers to the granting of long-term residence permits. Applicants for long-term residence must demonstrate a degree of integration and language competence.

In short, Ireland is some way, as yet, from engaging with the type of public policy debates about integration (e.g. Goodhart 2004) which have agitated, indeed convulsed, a number of other EU countries, notably Denmark, Germany, the Netherlands, Sweden and the UK. The hard questions – whether to introduce citizenship and induction programmes, whether language instruction should be compulsory or not, how to reconcile respect for diversity with core values, how to reconcile rights and entitlements, duties and obligations within society, have not yet been asked. One of the unfortunate side effects of this lacuna is that in the absence of an informed public debate and the perception that a choice has been made following due consultation, it may be difficult to build support for any kind of radical action or for any approach providing a basis for statutory action on integration.

5.2. Policy and legislation to date

One may, perhaps, distinguish between proactive integration policies of a more or less prescriptive kind, common in continental European countries (notably France, the Netherlands and the Nordic countries), and the more laissez-faire British approach embodied in Roy Jenkins' famous 1966 definition of integration "not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance" (Jenkins 1966). In practice this led in the British case to a greater emphasis on the "elimination of the negative" than on the "promotion of the positive". In other words, the state had a statutory duty to remove the barriers of explicit discrimination or marginalisation, but civil society would accomplish the task of integration.

The British "race relations industry" may be seen as an outcome of this process. At the same time, it could be argued that an almost naïve assumption was made that, left to themselves, differing ethnic communities would somehow "get along". It did not work out that way, for a variety of reasons beyond the scope of this paper.

Echoes of this kind of thinking may be seen in the Irish case. The one area where it may be said that progress has been achieved in integration-related matters is that of action on anti-racism and anti-discrimination. The Prohibition of Incitement to Hatred Act 1989 was the first legislation in this field in Ireland. The Act made it an offence to stir up hatred, whether orally, in writing or by any other means, against a group of persons in Ireland or any other country on account of their race, colour, nationality, religion, ethnic or national origins, membership of Travelling Community or sexual orientation. The Act also made it an offence to prepare or possess any material with a view to its being distributed, broadcast or published in

Ireland or any other country if the material was intended or likely to stir up such hatred.

Unfortunately it has proved ineffectual because the burden of proof required was such that only a small number of prosecutions were taken. While a review of the legislation was promised as far back as 2000 (Crosbie 2000) there has been silence since that time. Other legislation followed. In the fields of employment legislation and service provision, some notable advances occurred with the passage of the Equal Employment Act 1998 and the Equal Status Act 2000. These legislative provisions were later updated in the 2004 Equality Act to reflect the impact of the EU's Race Directive (2000/43/EC), the Framework Employment Directive (2000/78/EC) and the Gender Employment Equality Directive (2002/73/EC)

Irish legislation on anti-discrimination is, on paper, among the best in the EU. It identifies nine grounds for possible discrimination: age, gender, marital status, family status, disability, race, sexual orientation, religious belief and membership of the Travelling Community. While one might quibble with the term "race" it is clear that it would not be interpreted by the courts or policy-makers in the narrow sense of the word. An Equality Authority and an Equality Tribunal were established to give effect to the legislation.

Nonetheless, the legislation does not provide a comprehensive framework for action. Unlike the UK equivalent, it does not oblige organisations in the public or private sector to be audited for "equality proofing" or to develop indicators enabling such issues to be measured. Contractors in breach of the terms of the legislation might not, for example, find themselves debarred from tendering for public contracts. Most importantly, enforcement mechanisms on the ground are weak. In particular, the number of labour market inspectors, who monitor conditions in the workplace, remains very small, although a commitment has been given to increase this substantially (Department of the Taoiseach 2006).

6. Other "Voluntarist" Measures

The National Consultative Committee on Racism and Interculturalism (NCCRI) was established following the European Year Against Racism in 1997. It has developed a number of strategic anti-racist initiatives, conducts research, acts in an intermediary capacity between the statutory and non-statutory sectors (including migrants and minority organisations), conducts or commissions research and acts as a public forum for consultations. Although it has a limited budget and modest staff numbers, it has made a significant contribution to public debate in Ireland. Nonetheless, some of its critics would argue that it has in practice inhibited the emergence of independent and critical voices in the NGO sector and cannot as yet quite decide whether it is a quasi-governmental agency or a body more akin to an NGO.

The NCCRI's major contribution in recent years has been the formulation of a detailed and well-thought-out National Action Plan against Racism, which was adopted by the government in 2005. It has five principle areas of action:

1. Effective protection and redress against racism, including a focus on discrimination, threatening behaviour and incitement to hatred.
2. Economic inclusion and equality of opportunity, including a focus on employment, the workplace and poverty.
3. Accommodating diversity in service provision, including a focus on common outcomes, education, health, social services and childcare, accommodation and the administration of justice.
4. Recognition and awareness of diversity, including a focus on awareness-raising, the media and the arts, sport and tourism.
5. Full participation in Irish society, including a focus on the political level, the policy level and the community level.

There is much common ground between the Irish National Action Plan and the EU's Common Basic Principles (CBPs), first proposed by the Netherlands Presidency in November 2004 (Council of the European Union 2004). However, while it does provide a clear roadmap, it is not backed up by statutory provisions or enforceability and it has yet to be seen whether substantial resources will be allocated. Experience in other countries, including the UK, would suggest that a reliance on the creation of a "coalition of the willing" to achieve progress may not prove sufficient. Nonetheless the gradual implementation of the Action Plan should certainly enable considerable progress to be made. Moreover, the government's *Towards 2016* strategic plan singles out the integration of migrants as a key area for action and makes specific commitments in education, the provision of English as a second language and workplace regulation, already referred to (Department of the Taoiseach 2006).

7. Future Prospects

Much remains to be done. Severe underfunding of both statutory and voluntary service provision for immigrants and minorities is a pressing issue. There is a lack of indicators, targets and benchmarks of a kind that would enable the efficacy of service provision to be monitored and improved. For example, little is known about the numbers of EU workers and their families in the country at any one time, their levels of marginalisation and social exclusion. There is a chronic absence of any substantial degree of coordination or "joined-up" policy, with different agencies and government departments pursuing unrelated and sometimes contradictory roles.

On the plus side, and especially at local and/or sectoral levels, many interesting examples may be cited of specific targeted initiatives to assist migrants and minorities. One recent initiative by the Department of Justice involved a recruitment campaign for the Gárda Síochána (police) targeting ethnic minorities and changing the usual requirement that recruits had to be competent in the English

and Irish languages (Department of Justice, Equality and Law Reform 2006*b*). In another example, the 2006 Census was distributed in thirteen languages and contained a new (and controversial) question on ethnicity (CSO 2006*d*). There is much innovative good practice in the health sector, although progress in the key areas of education and training has been slower.

While foreign-born persons now constitute more than 10 per cent of the Irish population and their presence on our streets and in our workplaces and neighbourhoods is nowadays an unquestioned reality, they are all but invisible in a number of key sectors. The percentage of migrant workers in the major public services, with the partial exception of health, is exceptionally small (CSO 2006c). There are few migrants in the media or occupying other prominent public roles. Migrants themselves are becoming increasingly active in organising their own social, cultural and advocacy bodies but Irish civil society has largely failed to engage with them to date. There is anecdotal evidence, at the least, to suggest that some sectors of economic activity now reflect a two-tier structure in which migrants, often themselves highly qualified, occupy the lower tier but frequently encounter barriers when they attempt to move up the ladder.

The Irish attitude to date towards most migrants, especially those from other European countries, could best be summed up as one of largely benign indifference. This contrasts with attitudes towards the indigenous Travellers, which continue to be extremely negative, and to asylum seekers and refugees, especially of African origin. One cannot be sanguine about the relative absence of overt hostility towards the mainstream migrant community in an economy where unemployment is running at little over 4 per cent. Empirical evidence from field research suggests the emergence of a society characterised less by integration and a multicultural environment than by "islands of difference" outside the mainstream for the most part. As a society Ireland has yet to come to appreciate the very real value of investing in migrant integration.

One may, in conclusion, refer to a Canadian view of the role of migrants and migrant organisations in the process:

> … the settlement and integration "infrastructure" of virtually all countries relies heavily on migrant organisations for service delivery, advocacy and representation. Consequently, there is an interest by the state in the capacity of these organisations to serve their constituents. Communities that are rich in human capital tend to produce more effective settlement organisations than do poorly endowed communities. This has implications for Ireland (Burstein 2006).

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OPEN FORUM

Recognition of the Qualifications of Migrant Workers: Reconciling the Interests of Individuals, Countries of Origin and Countries of Destination*

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The capacity of workers to access job opportunities abroad can be seriously affected by difficulties in recognising the qualifications acquired in their home country. Therefore, recognition of qualifications is a key issue in ensuring wider labour mobility under more equitable conditions. It has consequences for foreigners on two different levels: their ability to enter one country for employment in their chosen vocation and the job they can expect to obtain. Lack of recognition of qualifications is a particularly acute problem for professionals from developing countries willing to work abroad as employees or service providers. This paper looks at what is meant by recognition of qualifications, the mechanisms aimed at facilitating recognition of qualifications at bilateral, regional and global levels, and how pertinent they are in addressing the challenges faced by countries of origin when these are developing countries.

While the bulk of migrant worker flows is comprised of low-skilled workers, in a number of OECD countries the arrival of highly educated migrants, an important share of which originates from developing countries,[1] is on the rise and is equal to or exceeds the number of low-skilled migrants.[2] Nonetheless, the capacity

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[1] Almost six in ten highly educated migrants living in OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) countries in 2000 came from developing countries (United Nations 2006).

[2] Migrants with tertiary education constituted just under half of the increase in the number of international migrants aged 25 or over in OECD countries during the1990s (United Nations 2006).

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of skilled and highly skilled workers to access job opportunities abroad can be seriously affected by difficulties in recognising the qualifications migrants acquire in their home countries. This is a particularly acute problem for professionals from developing countries willing to work abroad as employees or service providers. Recognition of qualifications has consequences for foreigners on two different levels: their ability to enter one country for employment in their chosen vocation and the job they can expect to obtain.

Developing countries are often undecided about the correct position to adopt towards this question. On the one hand, the lack of adequate recognition of qualifications may result in their workers being employed at a lower level than expected on the basis of their educational achievement, paid lower wages, and restrained in their mobility in the labour market and their career development. This represents not only a financial loss to migrants but also a loss in terms of the experiences they would be able to acquire abroad and transmit to their countries of origin upon their return, a phenomenon often referred to as "brain waste". The lack of educational recognition can impede access to higher education (often unavailable at home), while such training can also be in demand and of high value in the countries of origin. On the other hand, if developing countries argue for better recognition of qualifications for their nationals, such an approach can facilitate the recruitment of their professionals and students by receiving countries and generate a brain drain of human resources, which are needed at home.

For receiving countries, a good system of recognition of qualifications allows for a better use of the skills and talent of foreign workers and can increase their comparative advantages in certain professional fields. It also facilitates the social and economic integration of foreign workers. However, protectionist attitudes continue to exist among members of some professions ("closed shop" practices) or government regulators, and are frequently related to the fear of a competition for jobs between national and foreign workers. Further issues arising from allowing the entry of professionals trained below receiving country standards include the devaluing of diplomas and a decrease in the quality of services.[3]

Moreover, policy options such as the prevention of active recruitment in areas facing a depletion of skilled workers and the creation of local diplomas, which are difficult for country of origin professionals to trade on the international labour market, raise the awkward tension between the rights of individuals to leave their countries to seek better living conditions for themselves and their families, and broader public interest concerns. Migrant workers should benefit from adequate measures to have their competences assessed and recognised by other countries, while being given the possibility to embrace their own sense of responsibility to their communities through, for example, programmes facilitating their temporary

[3] Non-recognition can also be a temptation for permitting public and private employers to save money when they can hire well-qualified persons for a job without offering the salary these persons would be entitled to if their qualifications were fully recognised.

or permanent return and reintegration in the labour market of their countries of origin, or participation in consultancy and training activities.

Conflicting interests between host and sending countries and among different stakeholders (countries of origin and destination governments and within governments, among ministries,[4] employers, workers, professional associations, etc.) make the recognition of qualifications a sensitive issue. The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the discussion on how recognition of the qualifications of skilled workers from developing countries could be facilitated for ensuring wider labour mobility under more beneficial conditions for countries of destination, countries of origin and for migrants.[5] The paper examines what is meant by recognition of qualifications, how this question is addressed at bilateral and regional levels through mutual recognition agreements, and the existing multilateral standards and frameworks around the issue. Finally, it considers how international instruments could respond to the needs of countries of destination while better addressing the challenges faced by governments and nationals of developing countries.

1. What is Meant by Recognition of Qualifications?

Recognition of qualifications encompasses two main areas: academic and professional. Each process has a different aim. With regard to academic qualifications, this entails the capacity of an applicant to pursue further study and the appropriate level of study; with regard to professional qualifications, recognition determines whether the knowledge and professional skills of the applicant are appropriate to undertake a particular profession in the receiving country. In this context, the recognition of diplomas can be seen as one component of the recognition of professional qualifications.[6]

With regard to professional qualifications, a further distinction should be made between regulated and non-regulated professions. Regulated professions imply de jure professional recognition: either that the education leading to a professional activity or the pursuit of the particular professional activity is regulated by legal acts (i.e. laws, regulations, administrative provisions), or that the final decision on mandatory recognition is in the hands of professional or governmental bodies, or both.[7] This process implies not only the assessment of educational credentials but

[4] A conflict of interests may for example arise in a country of origin between a ministry of economics interested in remittances and a ministry of health concerned by potential shortages of health-care workers.

[5] This paper mainly focuses on mobility from developing to developed countries, where the difference in education systems and professional standards are generally widest, and recognition of qualification more challenging.

[6] However, in some countries the recognition of academic qualifications can satisfy both purposes directly, i.e. a diploma also entitles the person to perform a profession without going through additional professional training.

[7] The nature of regulatory bodies varies as well as their mandate. There can be a government body in charge of controlling whether the educational requirements are met for a specific profession.

also whether applicants have fulfilled additional requirements in their home country necessary for pursuing a particular occupation, which can include a period of practice in that profession upon completion of the education /training programme, testing of a specific knowledge or skill required for taking up a profession, and eventually membership of professional organisations. The professions that are regulated vary between countries, but are generally chosen based on consumer protection and public interest concerns. Many countries regulate professions that can have an impact on health or life or result in material or moral loss, such as medicine and pharmacy, veterinary medicine, architecture, law, transport, etc. (Rauhvargers 2002: 17). Non-regulated professions include those for which there is no formal requirement to seek any recognition, and in which professional recognition is made de facto with the employer having the final say in determining competency.

While considerable efforts have been deployed on the elaboration of frameworks for the recognition of foreigners' qualifications in regulated occupations, the creation of such structures for non-regulated professions/occupations is increasingly needed. Indeed, employers today are broadening their recruitment strategies, and are recognising the need to tap into a more diverse pool of foreign workers with various educational backgrounds. In order to do this, employers need to be able to rely on mechanisms that provide information on the value of the skills of potential workers who have educational backgrounds they are unfamiliar with (i.e. content of skills, educational and training institutions), and need to have a way in which to assess workers with similar credentials and achievements. These mechanisms are of particular interest for developing countries, which would like to extend the system of recognition of qualifications to low- and middle-skilled workers, who comprise the bulk of their labour force, and to have recognition mechanisms that focus on work experience and other non-educational aspects. Such an approach covering non-regulated professions and less-skilled workers, could take the form of the development of parallel systems on assessment of vocational training[8] and/or enabling employers to benefit from the knowledge acquired of education systems under the frameworks already in place for the recognition of regulated and academic qualifications by expanding their mandate.

Furthermore, many professions require continuing updating of professional knowledge, and employees are increasingly relying on tools outside the traditional national education system to broaden their expertise (e.g. internet, cross-border delivery and consumption of education services, work-based training, or international private certification such as Microsoft product user), which makes

Sometimes, governments delegate the responsibility for education and licensure registration to national professional bodies, or assume conjointly this responsibility.

[8] For example, there is no EU directive that applies to unskilled and low-skilled workers, but employers who want to check on the comparability of vocational qualifications within the EU and the wider world can go to the UK National Reference Point for Vocational Qualifications (UK NRP), which is managed by UK NARIC, a company contracted by the Department for Education and Science.

this process one of lifelong learning. In order to take into consideration all these new needs and developments, it is necessary to focus less on the process of acquisition and more on the output, and to elaborate new systems and standards for assessing qualifications and competences at any time of life by the development of a system that encompasses formal and non-traditional knowledge acquisition. Such a system that moves away from the concept of education to that of learning is likely to provide a more comprehensive picture of individual competence.

The greater variety of public, private, local foreign programmes, certificates and educational institutions has created an increasing interest between educational institutions and employers in relying on external quality assurance and accreditation programmes for the assessment of the quality of an institution and/or programme, as part of the strategy to address recognition of qualification issues at national and international levels. The growth in the need for accreditation and quality assurance of cross-border activities has led not only to the promotion of increased bilateral cooperation but also to an even broader internationalisation of these activities and the creation of a global market. At bilateral level, cooperation between recipient and provider of services countries' quality assurance (QA) and accreditation organisations, with exchange of staff, networking, exchange of good practices and expertise, joint assessment activities, and establishment of mutual recognition agreements, facilitates this process. Countries lacking well-developed QA and accreditation systems have also been able to benefit from assistance of foreign QA and accreditation agencies with the development of international activities and business education. This can be seen most notably in the fields of engineering, accounting and business education. Organisations such as the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business (AACSB) in the United States, or the European Quality Improvement System, offer their services in other regions of the world. International arrangements between educational and professional institutions have also emerged, and facilitate the recognition of degrees by accrediting institutions parties to the agreement (e.g. Washington Accord on engineering), while international networks facilitate the exchange of expertise and good practice (e.g. International Network for Quality Assurance Agencies in Higher Education – INQAAHE).

2. Cross-Border Education and Recognition of Professional Qualifications

The increase in cross-border supply of educational services, notably with the liberalisation of trade in higher education, highlights the fact that recognition of professional qualifications is even more of a transnational issue than it might at first appear. It not only encompasses cross-border movement of professionals, but also that of students, educational institutions and programmes, and service providers in the education field (e.g. teachers).

Education is one of the sectors included in the current negotiations under the World Trade Organization's General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). While

"services supplied in the exercise of governmental authority" are not covered by the agreement, there is considerable confusion about the exact meaning of these terms and consequently the education systems involved. Higher education services have benefited to date from limited commitments by WTO Member States; nonetheless, liberalisation of education services is a reality faced by many countries and will continue to occur regardless of the outcome of GATS. These developments have important implications, notably in terms of inequality of access and the creation of a two-tier system, diversity with the preservation of national culture and identity, the relationship between the state and market regarding funding and regulation as well as the quality of provision, and the presence of adequate frameworks for the national and international recognition of qualifications (UNESCO, 2004).

The linkages between the cross-border supply of educational services, the movement of professionals from developing countries and the recognition of their qualifications are indeed complex, and bring both challenges and opportunities. The three points below outline the issue of facilitating movements of professionals from developing countries.

1. Cross-border higher education raises the issues of quality and recognition of qualifications gained abroad or through a foreign service provider in the student's own country. This is important for facilitating further study, abroad or at home, as well as for access to work on the domestic and international labour markets, and access to further international recognition.

However, internationalisation of the provision of education services, the multiplication of actors (i.e. private, public educational institutions, traditional or for profit) from a variety of countries (and ruled by different systems in these countries), the different modes of delivery, and the greater diversification of qualification and certificates, render the exercise of monitoring the quality of the education provided by foreign service providers, and assessing the value of diplomas delivered, particularly challenging. Similarly, the competences of the foreign educational institutions that deliver the education services should be monitored, not only for the protection of students' interests but also with regard to further usage of the diploma in obtaining additional education or a job, and for the protection of the educational institutions, employers and the public. This will require having a good quality assurance framework and accreditation arrangements in place in the country providing and receiving cross-border higher education that is not exclusively focused on state-recognised public institutions, but that is also relevant for foreign (for the recipient country) and for profit forms of provision, and that intensifies international cooperation between the bodies in charge. It might also be advantageous for countries with limited resources to explore the possibilities of building their national capacity by pooling their resources and capacity at regional level (Vincent-Lancrin 2004). It is worth mentioning that UNESCO and the Council of Europe have elaborated a Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education, which specifies the requirements to be

met by transnational education providers to ensure the recognition of qualifications under the Lisbon Convention,[9] and the existence of UNESCO/OECD Guidelines on quality provision in cross-border higher education (OECD 2004*a*); see Section 4.1 on UNESCO).

2. Cross-border education services can increase the pool of highly skilled workers of a developing country (and thus the number of workers having tradeable skills on the international labour market), and assist in developing its tertiary education system.

Students can go abroad to study and gain access to higher education that might not be available at home; scholarships can be a key supporting instrument in this regard. Students can also benefit from courses offered by foreign institutions in their home country. However, lack of recognition can constitute a barrier as students will be unwilling to study abroad unless the foreign qualifications are recognised in their home country, and, in any event, they will be unable to do so if their basic home qualifications are not valid abroad. Twinning arrangements and partnerships with local institutions, which are sometimes compulsory, facilitate knowledge transfers between foreign and local institutions.

3. Cross-border education can facilitate recognition of qualifications of professionals and their access to the international labour market.

Professionals willing to work in a specific country can plan to obtain their diploma in this country to prevent future barriers linked to the recognition of their qualifications. In addition, a certain number of immigration countries have developed a "transmission belt" between student and employment status, where foreigners, on completion of their studies, are not required to leave the country but can modify on site their status and take up a job directly. Another way of achieving this is either to follow a course provided in the home country by an institution of the prospective country of employment, or by another foreign institution well-recognised internationally.

However, the potential to tap these opportunities is uneven among developing countries. Most student mobility occurs on the basis of students' own private funding capacities, and this can prove to be too costly for a large pool of students in a developing country. In this regard, the provision of foreign educational services in the home country offers the advantage of limiting the costs incurred to the tuition fee, lodgings and food expenses in accordance with the local cost of living. Moreover, unless developing countries have as a priority the promotion of foreign employment (e.g. for remittances, etc.), they should also ensure that foreign educational provision meets their own needs and quality requirements, and results in local capacities and resources spillover. Finally, where there are insufficient funds to pay for for-profit education (subsidies or solvent demand), it is unlikely

[9] As the UNESCO/Council of Europe Convention on the Recognition of Qualifications concerning Higher Education in the European Region, is often referred to.

that the foreign private institutions will be willing to develop their activities in the country, and labour market forces (trade) will have to be substituted or complemented by development assistance in education. In this regard, a supplementary problem related to the internationalisation of trade in education may arise from the potential conflict of interest in donor countries between their development assistance policy in education and their willingness not to interfere with the lucrative activities of institutions actively engaged in commercial cross-border education, with the result being a reduction or a limited involvement in higher education.

3. Need for Inter-State Cooperation and Regional or Bilateral Agreements

The recognition of qualifications can be conducted in an ad hoc and unilateral way. This means that the competent authority in the receiving country will compare the qualifications acquired by the applicant in his or her home country on the basis of criteria defined by the receiving country and assess some level of equivalence. This recognition is often granted to countries considered as sharing similarly rigorous criteria. Governments, academic and professional bodies in some countries have moved away from this unilateral approach and entered into bilateral or regional mutual recognition agreements (MRAs). The advantage of proceeding through a MRA is to develop commonly agreed criteria applicable in a consistent manner, and reduce the uncertainty of the outcome of the process. MRAs offer a framework for collaboration between regulatory bodies in countries of origin and destination, and create a division of labour that saves time and resources and builds confidence.

Recognition of qualifications is a long and tedious process, and has proved to be so even in regulated professions and trades in which barriers exist within one country (between provinces or states, for example in Canada and Australia) or between countries familiar with each other's education systems (USA-Canada; EU Member States).

MRAs are often connected with free trade agreements (FTA) because lack of recognition is considered a core impediment to trade in professional services. Most MRAs are concluded between neighbouring countries (mainly between developed countries), and are part of broader regional cooperation initiatives. They can also reflect a shared linguistic, cultural and historical heritage.

MRAs are negotiated at regional and bilateral levels. They take different forms. Some agreements on recognition stand alone, whereas provisions on recognition are sometimes part of a broader agreement on cultural exchange, cooperation, free trade or free movement. They cover educational qualifications for pursuing further study or recognition of professional qualifications for performing certain professional activities; they can be sector specific (in such a case, they often cover accountants, architects and engineers); they can be initiated by governments or signed by industry or professional bodies (e.g. Commonwealth Association of

Architects). The latter MRAs will be binding on states only if these bodies enjoy delegated governmental authority. Finally, they may cover only certain regions within a country (provinces, states).

Bilateral arrangements are the most common form of MRA (being government or professional body agreements), due to the differences in educational professional systems between countries. Their scope varies and ranges from promoting exchange of information and dialogue to automatic recognition of qualifications. Indeed, bilateral MRAs are sometimes limited to a statement that signatory parties should recognise "the education and qualification documents necessary for performing the employee's work"[10] or that issues relating to recognition should be pursued by the parties and are delegated to the relevant professional/industry bodies. Sometimes, a priority list is identified (e.g. in the FTA between New Zealand and Singapore, ten employment sectors have been selected, including engineering and the medical profession). Other arrangements reduce procedural requirements (Singapore-Australia FTA [11]) or facilitate the assessment of qualifications; the most far-reaching arrangements provide for automatic recognition (e.g. Trans-Tasman Mutual Recognition Act[12]). When an MRA only includes a partial recognition of the training or simply recognises the certifying authorities, it may include additional requirements set by the host country for granting access. Agreements between industry/professional bodies can include automatic membership of the counterpart industry/professional body in the other country, recognition of examinations undertaken in the other country, or agreements on the taking of eventual bridging courses prior to recognition.

MRAs to date exist mainly between developed countries with limited agreements either between non-OECD countries (principally found between Latin American countries), or between developed-developing countries, the latter being often part of regional trade agreements (e.g. North American Free Trade Agreement – NAFTA; Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation – APEC). In addition, when some framework exists at regional level, MRAs tend to address the issue of recognition of qualifications of nationals from states belonging to these groupings, and do not provide a uniform format under which the mobility of other foreigners to and within the region is facilitated. In view of the above, and that the greater the difference in education, examination standards, experience requirements and regulatory power to implement professional recognition between countries, the more difficult it is to establish a multilateral framework, bilateral MRAs might offer the best opportunities to facilitate migration between countries. They are

[10] E.g. Draft bilateral agreement between the Czech Republic and selected partnering Eastern European countries (OECD 2004*b*: 86).

[11] E.g. under Singapore Australia Free Trade Agreement, residence requirements for professionals, such as architects, engineers, accountants and auditors, have been eased or removed.

[12] Under the Trans-Tasman Mutual Recognition Act (TTMRA) 1997 between Australia and New Zealand, persons registered to practise an occupation in Australia are entitled to practise an equivalent occupation in New Zealand, and vice versa, without the need for further testing or examination. See http://www.coag.gov.au/recognition.htm#mra. For an assessment of the TTMRA, see http://www.pc.gov.au/study/mra/finalreport/mra.pdf.

more practical, as they can be tailor-made to resolve key issues related to two often quite different environments. Nonetheless, only few such agreements exist, and the bargaining power of developing countries to enter into such agreements with developed countries is often limited. MRAs will only materialise where there is a mutual interest in facilitating a movement of skills between the countries concerned, which is either labour market based, responding to a demand for skills needed in receiving countries or to broader trade patterns, or based on cultural or development cooperation objectives. Finally, there is no limitation on the number of bilateral agreements that one country can sign, and the involvement in some bilateral MRAs can lead to other bilateral agreements and thus extend the geographical coverage of recognition of qualifications from developing countries. In addition to bilateral and regional cooperation, developing countries can further benefit from initiatives carried out at multilateral level.

4. Standards and Frameworks at Multilateral Level

There is no worldwide legally binding instrument on states covering recognition of qualifications either from a horizontal (general) or a sectoral perspective (i.e. by profession). The international conventions covering primarily labour migration refer only incidentally to this issue and the pertinent provisions do not involve mandatory obligations.[13] The major international developments concern the implementation of UNESCO regional conventions on recognition of qualifications and other less formal international instruments elaborated under its umbrella, the framework and activities relating to GATS negotiations, and efforts of professional bodies to adopt international standards in their vocational field. The motivations behind such initiatives vary with a primary goal oscillating roughly between liberalisation (e.g. on the provision of services) and protection (e.g. of the quality of education or of professional practice, the right to education) reflecting the differences in the nature, mandate, and concerns of the constituents of these various institutions.

4.1. UNESCO conventions

Under the aegis of UNESCO, five regional and one inter-regional convention on the recognition of higher education studies and qualifications were adopted in the

[13] The 1975 ILO Convention on Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers (No. 143), refers in Art. 14(b) to a member that may "after appropriate consultation with the representative organisations of employers and workers, make regulations concerning recognition of occupational qualifications acquired outside its territory, including certificates and diplomas". The United Nations 1990 International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, stipulates as follows in Art. 52: "For any migrant worker a State of employment may: (a) Restrict access to limited categories of employment, functions, services or activities where this is necessary in the interests of this State and provided for by national legislation; (b) Restrict free choice of remunerated activity in accordance with its legislation concerning recognition of occupational qualifications acquired outside its territory. However, States Parties concerned shall endeavour to provide for recognition of such qualifications".

late 1970s and early 1990s. These include the convention covering Europe, which was revised in the 1990s, leading to the adoption of the Council of Europe and UNESCO joint Convention on the recognition of qualifications concerning higher education in the European region, Lisbon, 11 April 1997. This revised Convention is the most advanced of the six, as in addition to reflecting changes in higher education in Europe, it offers a new approach, moving away from a focus on recognition issues at the political level with an emphasis on information and networking at a technical level, while affording more important rights to migrants (UNESCO 2005).

The Council of Europe/UNESCO Convention requires the contracting parties "to recognize a foreign qualification of the same level, even if it has not been earned in exactly the same way unless a substantial difference can be demonstrated between the foreign and the appropriate host country qualification", and the onus is on the host-country authorities to establish this difference. In case of substantial differences in terms of content, profile and learning outcomes, partial or conditional recognition possibilities should be explored. Under the Convention, contracting parties are requested to identify or establish a national information centre, to be part of the European Network of Information Centres on academic mobility and recognition (ENIC), which are not only important for information dissemination but also provide a forum for policy and practice development. In addition, the Convention promotes recognition through instruments of a less binding nature. For example, Recommendations on Criteria and Procedures for the Assessment of Foreign Qualifications have since been elaborated. These cover assessment procedures calling for transparency, avoidance of unnecessary translations, and authentication of documents. They also identify complementary measures, which can be requested in case full recognition is not possible due to substantial differences (in learning outcome, quality of programmes/institutions, etc.), such as additional examinations or aptitude tests, and probationary periods. These recommendations can be useful tools for the establishment of equivalent procedures in criteria among parties to the Convention. Other tools elaborated for facilitating the recognition of academic qualifications and vocational training are two standard documents, the Europass Certificate Supplement[14] and the Europass Diploma Supplement, [15] which provide a format for including additional background information together with the qualifications to make them more easily understood by the employer or institutions outside the country awarding them (e.g. on the institution delivering the diploma, the programme, educational or grading system, and function of the qualifications).

[14] The Europass Certificate Supplement is delivered to those who hold a vocational education and training certificate; it adds information provided by the relevant certifying authorities to that already included in the official certificate (see http://europass.cedefop.eu.int/europass/preview.action?locale_id=1).

[15] The Europass Diploma Supplement, developed jointly with UNESCO and the Council of Europe, is issued to graduates of higher education institutions along with their degree or diploma.

To date, the UNESCO conventions are at different stages of development and implementation. They cover the mutual recognition by States Parties of qualifications issued by institutions that are part of the education system of Member States. They do not adequately cover qualification recognition and quality assurance relating to the new providers, new means of delivery and new qualifications in cross-border education. The conventions need to be revised to reflect these changes. They might also benefit for their implementation from the exploration by UNESCO on how resources and opportunities available in subregional groupings and integration processes (legal, human, financial and cooperation mechanisms) could be pooled within each UNESCO region covered by these conventions.

The fact that UNESCO's attempt to transform the regional conventions into a universal instrument has failed to date, reflects the difficulties of creating a global consensus on a legally binding instrument covering the issue of recognition of qualifications.[16] UNESCO's mandate, expertise and activities will nonetheless help in developing bridges between the regions of the six conventions, which, together with the existence of the global forum and the development of universal non-binding instruments (more easily adopted by governments),[17] will contribute to ensuring a global outreach and the adoption of a more universal approach.

One of the main windows of opportunity for UNESCO in addressing globalisation and higher education may well arise from its unique mandate to promote capacity building for quality assurance, qualifications recognition and accreditations in all regions of the world, in close cooperation with other organisations.[18] These activities could be of particular benefit to developing countries which need assistance in this field to tap opportunities in the global market and more particularly those arising from GATS Mode 4.

4.2. Recognition within GATS negotiations

The General Agreement on Trade in Services seeks to address trade liberalisation in services including those supplied through the temporary movement of service providers or Mode 4.[19] Some developing countries state that unless significant liberalisation occurs under Mode 4 the entire agreement will be of no benefit to them. This implies the removal of barriers to labour market access for their professionals, including that related to recognition of qualifications.

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[16] An attempt was made in 1992 during a joint meeting of the six committees in charge of overseeing the application and implementation of the conventions to transform these legally binding regional instruments into one Universal Convention on the Recognition of Studies and Degrees in Higher Education, but remained unsuccessful, and it was decided that efforts shall continue at regional level.

[17] Such as the International Recommendation on the Recognition of Studies and Qualifications in Higher Education, adopted in 1993 at the 27th General Conference of UNESCO.

[18] This mandate was given to UNESCO in 2003 through a resolution at the 32nd General Conference.

[19] GATS defines Mode 4 as "the supply of a service … by a service supplier of one member, through the presence of natural persons of a member in the territory of any other members" (Art. I.2-d).

GATS does not attempt to impose a framework for recognition of qualifications at multilateral level, but to put into place mechanisms that aim at facilitating the negotiation of arrangements and development of international standards, as well as guaranteeing the existence of a domestic framework for the assessment of qualifications in relevant occupations (those for which market access has been given). GATS Art. VII.1 allows Member States to recognise "education or experience obtained, requirements met, or licences or certificates granted in a particular country. Such recognition, which may be achieved through harmonisation or otherwise, may be based upon an arrangement with the country concerned or may be accorded autonomously". This provision permits a departure from the most-favoured-nation (MFN) principle (Nielson 2003: 9), as Member States do not have to offer the same treatment to all WTO Member States. The purpose of this provision is to enable members to make progress in improving their recognition of qualification systems by entering into bilateral and plurilateral arrangements, which are more achievable routes than multilateral (global) concessions because of the differences between countries in regulations and approaches. However, GATS wants to ensure the openness of such agreements and requires Member States entering into recognition agreements to give the opportunity to other interested Member States to accede to the agreement or negotiate a comparable agreement (Art. VII.2) (Nielson 2003: 4). In order to do so, it requests Member States to notify the WTO Council on Trade in Services (CTS) of current and new recognition measures.[20] The possibility to discriminate between WTO Member States is further limited by the implicit requirement that WTO members apply the same general standards and criteria on which they build their recognition framework to all other WTO members.[21] In addition, service providers from all WTO Member States should have the possibility of having their competences assessed as GATS requests members to have adequate procedures in place to assess the competences of professionals given access under a Member State commitment (Art. VI.6).

GATS nonetheless encourages multilateral coherence in the recognition area, even if pursued on the basis of a piecemeal approach at bilateral or plurilateral levels, by supporting the development of "multilaterally agreed criteria" (Art. VII.5). As a matter of fact, in the framework of GATS discussions, multilateral guidelines on accountancy have been established, which contain sections on the conduct of negotiations, the form and content of a MRA, the process to be followed by individual applicants for facilitating entry into a MRA and their access to third parties. These guidelines are non-binding and are to be used by States on a voluntary basis. Further, under the framework of Art. VI.4 on domestic regulations, which requires members to ensure that measures relating to qualification

[20] However, if MRAs are negotiated by professional bodies without the support of government authorities, they may not be binding for the state, and not covered by the transparency and accession obligations of Art. 7.

[21] "A member shall not accord recognition in a manner which would constitute a means of discrimination between countries in the application of its standards or criteria for the authorization, licensing or certification of services suppliers …" (Art. VII.3).

requirements and procedures, technical standards and licensing requirements do not create unnecessary barriers to trade, disciplines on Domestic Regulations in the Accountancy Sector have been adopted to ensure that national regulations covering accountancy meet these requirements.[22] These guidelines and disciplines could be extended to other professions and lead to the development of guidelines for the elaboration of MRAs generally. However, efforts to extend the guidelines and disciplines to other professions or sectors or to establish general (horizontal) principles have been unsuccessful to date.

Suggestions for maximising mechanisms to improve recognition of qualifications under GATS include requests for information on available recognition procedures under Art. VI.6 and eventually for their improvement; better implementation of Art. VII.4, especially on prompt notification of MRAs under negotiation; and, inclusion of clear avenues for accession and the provision of the texts of MRAs. Some commentators propose the establishment of a WTO multilateral agreement on MRAs under Annex 4 of the WTO Agreement (which will therefore be legally binding), covering general rules and principles and allowing for bilateral and sectoral commitments to be attached, and the enforcement of transitivity rules across bilateral and regional MRAs.[23] Developing countries might have difficulties in echoing their voice in such standard-setting activities due to a lack of technical and financial capacity for the evaluation of proposals and consultation between key stakeholders to develop a position, or for lack of funding for participating in international activities in these fields. While GATS does not contain provisions on facilitating developing country participation in standards-setting activities, this could fall under Art. IV of GATS, as it could be seen as a means of strengthening their domestic service capacities and enhance their export opportunities.[24]

4.3. Efforts by professional bodies to adopt international standards

International professional associations can play a positive role in advancing international recognition of qualifications by setting standards and methodologies for QA, accreditation and qualifications, as well as encouraging communication between professional organisations at international level on professional qualifications.

[22] These disciplines are not yet effective; they will enter into force at the end of the current round of negotiations.

[23] See Kalypso Nicolaïdis (1997) on transitivity, e.g. if party A recognises the qualification of party B, and B has an agreement with C, A could also recognise the qualifications of C.

[24] See UNCTAD (2005: 25). Art. IV alinea 1 on Increasing Participation of Developing Countries reads as follows: **"**The increasing participation of developing country members in world trade shall be facilitated through negotiated specific commitments, by different members pursuant to Parts III and IV of this Agreement, relating to: (a) the strengthening of their domestic services capacity and its efficiency and competitiveness, *inter alia* through access to technology on a commercial basis; (b) the improvement of their access to distribution channels and information networks; and (c) the liberalisation of market access in sectors and modes of supply of export interest to them.

Several professions for which there is an international labour market have already developed their own international standards in their vocational field. The International Union of Architects adopted the UIA Accord on Recommended International Standards of Professionalism in Architectural Practice in 1999 and related policy guidelines [25] to define good practices and provide guidance for governments and agencies willing to enter into MRAs. In the engineering field, the Washington Accord (1989) facilitates recognition of equivalence between accredited engineering degree programmes by accrediting professional institutions party to the agreement, while the Sidney Accord (2001) covers recognition of engineering technology programmes. To complement the process of academic requirements, two respective fora, the Engineers Mobility Forum and the Engineering Technologists Mobility Forum, have been set up to deal with career development and licensing and certification. The international actuarial professional body has completed a process of setting international standards for training and practice. The International Bar Association (IBA) has provided WTO with Standards and Criteria for Recognition of the Professional Qualifications of Lawyers in the framework of GATS (including certain recommendations regarding the contents of mutual recognition agreements). [26] In February 1999, the Intergovernmental Working Group of Experts on International Standards of Accounting and Reporting (ISAR) adopted its Guidelines on National Requirements for the Qualification of Professional Accountants (including a model curriculum). The model curriculum is being finalised in coordination with the International Federation of Accountants (IFAC). Finally, the International Federation of Surveyors (FIG) established in 1998 a task force to explore the area of Mutual Recognition as a mean for liberalisation of market services. FIG is now attempting, *inter alia*, to develop a methodology of implementing MRAs, investigating barriers to the adoption of MRAs and solutions, and investigating the indicators that demonstrate the quality of surveying education in different countries (Plimmer 2003).

While there is increased mobility in health professionals from developed and developing countries, there are no such international standards agreements in place. The reason for the absence of agreement in this area can be derived from the general assumption that the more commonality there is in membership of international bodies (level of development of professions in the home country, core values, etc.), and/or the less sensitive a profession is in terms of consumer protection and safety, the more an international standard-setting approach is likely to succeed.

[25] Including a "recommendation on a mutual recognition agreement covering MRA negotiations, form and content".

[26] IBA was involved in assessing the "suitability of applying to the legal professions the WTO disciplines for the accountancy sector". See the IBA resolution to the WTO of the same name (adopted at the IBA Council Meeting, San Francisco, September 2003), and for a comprehensive review of IBA resolution, Terry (2004).

The impact of these standards on facilitating mobility by supporting convergence of standards through their translation unilaterally in the domestic context or utilisation as a reference in MRAs is difficult to judge. Furthermore, the degree to which they represent an international effort and shared view can sometimes be called into question with the limited or absent involvement of professional bodies in developing countries (either because they do not exist or are not a member of these international bodies) and the general representativeness of their constituency.

This situation might advocate for the opportunity for a more formal status to be given to certain international professional bodies, on the basis of an assessment of the representativeness of their constituency. This would ensure that the views of professional bodies are taken into account while at the same time reflect the interests of countries at different levels of development, including developing countries.

5. Recommendations for Enhancing Recognition of Professional Qualifications

Developing countries have limited resources to engage in activities relating to recognition of qualifications. Creation or upgrading of a national system facilitating international recognition (regulatory framework for the activities of professionals, QA and accreditation, creation and/or support of professional bodies), negotiation and implementation of MRAs, or participation in multilateral initiatives, all require human and financial resources and considerable expertise. In addition, the facilitation of recognition is not always of interest to them, or not in respect of all professions. For this reason, it seems that a bottom-up approach starting with the identification of recognition of qualification priorities would bear the most fruit. This could be part of an integrated strategy on labour emigration, human resource development and planning and poverty reduction.

Technical cooperation assistance should be offered to developing countries to assess the situation of their labour force at national level and assist in defining recognition of qualification priorities. This assistance should include identifying skills supply and skills deficit in areas important for development (education, health, etc.) or other skills for which the country could have a comparative advantage in training their nationals for external demand and facilitating their recognition.

Governments should focus on supporting the creation or upgrading of their national regulatory frameworks for higher education and professions, including academic and professional body activities, as well as negotiating mutual recognition of qualifications agreements in these areas. Such labour force assessment would assist in better planning of human resource development and educational needs for satisfying internal demand, taking into account the labour migration dimension.

Finally, the link should also be made with poverty reduction, through an analysis that includes the respective impact on development of skills emigration and remittances inflows, and the elaboration of policies and programmes supporting the contribution of professionals from diasporas to the development of their home countries, including the transfer of knowledge and know-how, investments and development of entrepreneurial activities (through measures facilitating temporary return, e.g. consultancies; permanent return; or a virtual contribution, e.g. e-education). The underlying principle of such national strategy should be of recognising migrant workers' right to benefit from adequate measures and possibilities to have their competences assessed and recognised by another country, while giving them the possibility of embracing their own sense of responsibility to their communities.

This national strategy should be elaborated in coordination with many stakeholders (government, professional bodies, migrant associations, etc.) and create linkages between various policy areas: quality assurance and recognition policy, national education policy, emigration policy, trade policy and development policy. The existence of such a strategy would be particularly helpful in identifying international technical cooperation and development assistance needs, particularly in education, which could be addressed at bilateral or at multilateral level (and reflected in other relevant frameworks such as, for example, National Poverty Strategy Reduction Papers, GATS Art. IV). It would also help to have a coherent national policy and position on the issue of recognition and professional mobility to defend in negotiations and discussions taking place at regional and multilateral levels, as different ministries may take the lead in formulating these agendas (trade, education, foreign affairs, emigration ministries, etc.).

Developed/destination countries: developed countries should explore possibilities with professional bodies and educational institutions, to allow whenever possible the recognition of qualification requirements to be satisfied in countries of origin, to diminish the costs associated with recognition for migrants and to guarantee that they can obtain employment upon arrival.[27] This strategy could include the creation of joint programmes and franchises in countries of origin to train professionals directly according to host countries' requirements, vocational and language training, etc. The implementation of such a strategy would also prevent the situation of having migrants already in the destination country when their qualifications are not recognised, with the result that they are unable to access employment and are faced with return to their home country.

When part of the recognition requirements have to be completed in the country of destination, developed countries should try to keep the costs of the recognition process reasonable and accessible to nationals from developing countries, and, when complementary measures are required, to ensure that the infrastructure to

[27] Sometimes the "critical mass" in one country is not sufficient to act in this direction, in this case the strategy could be regional (e.g. establishment of one "hub" per region where requirements could be satisfied).

satisfy these measures is in place (e.g. sufficient language courses). They should also facilitate access to training/higher education in their country through scholarships, favourable visa policies (for higher education and vocational training),[28] and adjust their immigration frameworks in such a way as to enable migrants from developing countries to take up employment after completion of their studies. Finally, transparency and timeliness of the procedures are key factors, especially for temporary employment and service provision.

Policies should not be limited to facilitated entry, but should provide the possibility for foreigners to benefit from the same opportunities as nationals to upgrade their skills and advance their careers. This is also important with regard to some professionals who might enter a country to take up employment in another vocation, either because they failed to have their qualifications recognised (no existing framework, or a negative decision) or decided not to go through the process as it was beyond their financial means at the time of emigration. The possibility for them to complement their studies and to access vocational/professional training (to secure recognition) should be available to them locally to combat brain waste, facilitate their mobility within the labour market and fight unemployment of foreigners.

A better linkage between immigration, training and labour market policies could also take the form of the exchange of information between a number of pertinent actors (immigration policy-makers, higher education institutions, QA and accreditation bodies, professional bodies, employers and labour market observatories) with a view to drawing up proper criteria for the assessment, procedures and supportive measures for the recognition of professional qualifications in line with the objectives of immigration policies and labour market needs.

Other barriers from immigration policy include the existence of quotas limiting the numbers of migrant workers who can be admitted into the country; the imposition of an economic needs test (prior check of availability of local workers or nationals from a regional grouping (e.g. EU) before being authorised to recruit a person from abroad); and restriction of the exercise of certain professions to nationals or members of a regional grouping. A further limitation can be employers' and the general public's negative perception towards foreign workers, which can limit their ability to obtain a job offer. For these reasons, recognition of qualifications of professionals should be integrated into broader discussions on immigration

[28] For example, under German immigration law, foreigners are authorised to come to Germany for one year in order to gain work experience or complete their vocational training to enable them to qualify, with a view to meeting the legal requirements for working in Germany as a skilled migrant. Another possible route is to resort to bilateral training agreements, which exist in many OECD countries, and make them more friendly to developing countries (in terms of access, requirements and opportunities), in particular by including the possibility of gaining work experience, or accessing training as required under the recognition of qualifications (or work permit) system in place.

admission policy (and the goals pursued: economic, social, diplomatic, etc.) and integration policies (and the promotion of a more tolerant and cohesive society).

With regard to brain drain, high-income countries should refrain (directly or through recruitment agencies) from actively recruiting skilled personnel in countries that are already experiencing skill shortages or, more positively, support the formation of human capital (United Nations 2006) in those countries through development assistance or by encouraging employers to invest in this area.

Developed countries should also facilitate circular migration to enable the transfer of knowledge and technologies and the creation of business activities in the home country. This can touch upon such areas as the rules for granting double nationality and the possibility of foreigners going back to their country while keeping their immigration status in the receiving country. The development of business activities from members of the professional diaspora could also be supported through co-development programmes or private sector initiatives and other means (i.e. cash, support in kind, expertise).

Finally, developed countries can help developing countries to identify their qualified population by undertaking quantitative and qualitative surveys (skills mapping) of this population, and sharing information collected by their national statistics institutions which are disaggregated by country of origin.

Private sector: coordinated efforts between governments and the private sector for the development of national skills standards and recognition systems are necessary. In some countries, regulatory activities fall under the competence of professional bodies, while at international level governments can intervene in their field of competence when negotiating MRAs, and can include the issue of recognition in other international agreements (e.g. trade agreements). In order to ensure that the agreement corresponds with standards set by professional bodies and is acceptable to these professional bodies, consultation should take place. International professional bodies could play a positive role by providing their expertise and practical experience, including on the implementation of MRAs (which are prevalent for professional recognition) in fora such as the WTO and UNESCO. They could also provide an interesting testing ground for new standards and measures that these organisations want to introduce to promote mobility of professionals, ensure quality and facilitate support at national level by professional bodies. The possibilities for international professional bodies to participate in the activities of international organisations relating to recognition should be encouraged, as should ensuring that their constituency is representative and that it includes developing countries.

International cooperation is necessary to improve the portability of qualifications and the mutual recognition of degrees and certifications at bilateral, regional and multilateral levels. Bilateral mutual recognition agreements are hard to achieve and require resources for their negotiation and implementation. They entail an interest

in their conclusion from both parties, which can arise from economic, cultural and historical links, and developing countries have little power of leverage to initiate such negotiations in the absence of these motivations when there is no demand for such professions in the receiving states that cannot be satisfied internally. However, when shortages exist, destination countries usually relax or redefine their criteria to access the pool of foreign workers, and often in a unilateral manner without the conclusion of MRAs (as in the case of nurses). Unilateral approaches usually benefit those countries with more familiar training and professional systems. For developing countries, entering into a bilateral framework can therefore be the key to tapping into the labour market of developed countries.

It may be beneficial to include MRA initiatives in existing bilateral/regional frameworks for inter-state cooperation and development assistance, in order to provide for exchange of expertise and for the necessary human and financial resources for their negotiation and implementation (when these issues are not/cannot be directly covered in the MRA), as they are usually unavailable in developing countries. At regional level, developing countries can benefit by promoting recognition issues in existing regional and inter-regional frameworks of cooperation (e.g. ACP-EU for the African, Caribbean and Pacific group of Member States).

In order to enhance the recognition of the qualifications agenda at global level, synergies should be created between the activities of international organisations, which are carried out in this field from various angles: agencies with a portfolio in education, trade, or migration and development, such as UNCTAD, the World Bank, WTO, IOM and UNESCO.

There is also a need to clarify terminology to avoid confusion in terms of quality assurance, accreditation, registration, licensure and qualifications recognition, and these terms are often interpreted differently by countries and not used in a consistent way within the specific bodies mandated to undertake the activity in question.

International standards relating to recognition of qualifications and professional practice should be as much as possible centred principally on the issue of social risk and consumer protection in cases of malpractice (with the limitation of restrictions to these considerations). Developed countries usually have higher standards than developing countries in this area. A proper balance should therefore be found in the development of international standards. If these standards are set at too high a level, they will represent a considerable amount of resources to be invested by developing countries to upgrade their systems to the level in question (to the detriment of other social and economic priorities), which might be beyond their means, while they may still not be in accordance with real local needs. On the other hand, standards that are too low will undermine their credibility in developed countries. In addition to supporting developing countries (governments, professional bodies) to participate in the elaboration of such standards, some

derogation, or acknowledgement of the particular situation and capacity of developing countries, should be reflected to allow for their progressive adoption in these countries.

Finally, the internationalisation of quality assurance and accreditation bodies' activities might require the setting of an international framework for ensuring the quality of services delivered. A possible solution could be the creation of a meta-accreditation system of national agencies by a supranational clearing house based on certain standards as suggested by Dirk Van Damme (2002), but this idea found considerable resistance from these agencies on the grounds of breaching their national legitimacy and that a universal set of standards of professional quality is impossible to achieve. Another way forward would be to promote the development of truly international and relevant quality assurance and accreditation schemes looking at what has already been developed by certain professions in those cases in which there is a real global market.

6. Conclusion

In a world characterised by high mobility of skilled labour, human capital formation should be increasingly seen as an international and not only a national policy concern.[29] The creation of a global mechanism to support a more equitable distribution of the costs and benefits of labour mobility, between who pays (for education and training) and who benefits (by retaining the persons concerned), and to consider these two dimensions both from a public and private sector perspective should be worth exploring. In June 2006, a global alliance on health workers, which could be a possible model for such a mechanism, at least in other sensitive sectors, was established in partnership with some international organisations, development agencies, private foundations and NGOs, with the support of a number of governments. This is a concrete example of what can be achieved if the pertinent stakeholders work together to take advantage of opportunities when the time is ripe, which can truly result in benefits for origin and destination countries and for the migrants themselves.

[29] This is also one of the recommendations figuring in the UN background document elaborated for the High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development, September 2006. See United Nations (2006).

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OPEN FORUM

Managed Multiculturalism in Finnish Media Initiatives

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This paper focuses on Finnish mainstream journalism featuring multiculturalism. Three different initiatives are analysed with a qualitative text method founded on discourse and frame analysis. Finnish mainstream journalism took a multicultural turn in the mid-1990s, two decades later than in neighbouring Sweden where similar initiatives were launched in the 1970s. The paper takes a critical look at the power relations these initiatives assert or transgress, how multicultural discourses position various actors in society, and how the mainstream media encounter cultural and ethnic differences in a changing demographic situation with a positive intention.

Multiculturalism is a heterogeneous concept that is used in a variety of ways in public, authoritative and academic debates. On the one hand it can refer to policies of a group of states such as the European Union, a single state, or a local authority – on the other hand it is an empowering element of minority groups and NGOs. Often, as in Finland for example, these two main definitions interconnect. However, multicultural discourses should first be treated as political: political and social claims at various levels of policy are made in reference to "multiculturalism".

Discourses and their prevalence change over time and adjust to various local settings. Multicultural discourses appeared in Europe, the United States, Canada and Australia from the 1960s–1970s onwards, but with different emphasis. These discourses diffused firstly from the United Kingdom in the late 1960s to some other countries experiencing immigration, such as Sweden (early 1970s). In Finnish administrative texts the term multicultural has only appeared since the 1990s (Lepola 2000: 198, 203).

Media policy is one field where multicultural discourses are used and disseminated. National broadcasters have been the most salient actors and the multicultural programming of the BBC has been an example to most European broadcasters. The European Broadcasting Union (EBU) has taken multiculturalism as one of its key

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areas, for example by granting the annual Prix Europa Iris prizes for the best multicultural programmes.

Generally speaking, the motivation for the recognition of ethnic minorities and immigrants in the media has shifted from assimilationist and integrationist positions towards pluralist, multiculturalist and anti-racist positions (Cottle 1998: 297). In the 1960s broadcasters aimed at "educating" the host society's customs to the new immigrants in the spirit of assimilation and later, less obviously, in the spirit of integration. This is what Sarita Malik (2002: 57) calls classic "public service broadcasts" designed to help integrate the newly arrived immigrants. Furthermore, some broadcasters wanted to present news from the countries of origin to maintain ties with the previous locations. This demand, however, ceased since the access to satellite television increased in the 1980s and transnationalisation of media use became more common. A similar development can be traced in Sweden (Andersson 2000; Etzler 2004). In Finland the development to regard immigrants as audiences began later, in the 1990s, with the multicultural framework.

These developments reflect dominant ideologies towards immigration, although Europe has never been unanimous on issues of migration and refugees. This is currently well illustrated in the difficulties and discussions on the harmonisation process of asylum issues in the EU. In the 1960s and 1970s the guest worker scheme on the one hand and assimilationist policies on the other were dominant frameworks for dealing with immigrants. Germany with its *Gastarbeiter*, at one end of the spectrum, aimed at keeping contacts with the country of origin so that migrant workers could easily return after their labour was no longer needed. Sweden, at the other end, wanted to make a distinction from the German model and adopted the concept of *invandrare* (immigrant) instead of *utlänning* (foreigner) in the 1970s to emphasise that the people who came to work in Sweden were allowed to stay in the country (Hulten 2003: 17). The Finnish case of multicultural discourses in the media can be characterised as following the Swedish example from the "multicultural turn" in the 1990s onwards. The number of immigrants began to rise in the early 1990s. However, the proportion of foreign born population in Finland is still smaller compared to other Nordic countries.[1] It took five to ten years for the Finnish media to react to the social change with projects of "good practice". In the late 1990s newspapers began to publish special "immigration" series and in 1996 the Finnish Broadcasting Company started *Basaari*, a multicultural programme with a similar format as the Swedish Mosaik (by the public broadcasting company SVT). Finnish multicultural initiatives in the 1990s and early 2000s were mainly journalistic. However, a new shift has been experienced in the middle of 2000 when the Finnish Broadcasting Company YLE1 presented the entertainment show *Ähläm Sähläm* in summer 2006, MTV 3 the

[1] Foreign population percentage of total population per year: Finland 1990 (0.5), 2002 (1.9); Norway 1990 (4.5), 2002 (6.5); Denmark 1990 (3.5), 2002 (6.0); Sweden 1990 (9.2), 2002 (11.8). Population Register Centre, http://vaestorekisterikeskus.fi (Accessed 27 April 2007). Migration Policy Institute, http://www.migrationinformation.org (Accessed 27 April 2007).

drama-comedy series *Mogadishu Avenue* in late 2006 and YLE1 the drama series *Poikkeustila* in early 2007. All these new series fall into the fiction category. This paper analyses specifically the early journalistic initiatives: three empirical cases are selected from YLE1; the only nation-wide Finnish-language newspaper, *Helsingin Sanomat*; and a local newspaper, *Aamulehti*, which received publicity in early 2000 with the first *Immigrants' Page*.

Initiatives for more balanced media coverage have taken place at international,[2] national and local levels. The range of these balancing enterprises is vast, however they can be divided into those taking place within mainstream media and those focusing on the various ethnic minority media.[3] The "good practices" of the mainstream media fall mainly into three categories: recruitment programmes, consulting guidelines, and special programmes and pages.

The aim of the initiatives is to balance the negative and stereotyped image of minorities present in the everyday coverage of the media. This bias is reported in a number of research publications (e.g. ter Wal 2002, on Finland see Raittila 2002, 2005, 2007; on Swedish-language media in Finland see Haavisto 2003) and also acknowledged in most media organisations. Minorities tend to be either mis-recognised or non-recognised in the routine news flow.

Finnish research on media coverage of immigration and ethnicity concludes that new immigration abounds in negative images of flood and illegitimacy (Horsti 2002; 2005; Raittila 2002; 2005; 2007). However, it is done in a fairly subtle way, which cannot be compared with the "moral panics" of the UK in the 1970s or to the situation in Italy and Spain in the 1990s (ter Wal 2002). Mechanisms of construction of threat are similar, but the volume is lower.

Multicultural media initiatives form a less researched area within the study of ethnic relations and the media, although studies on the representation of ethnic minorities often conclude that the mainstream media should develop strategies to facilitate minorities' access to the profession and increase the scope of representation in the media. The existing research focuses on the production and institutional context, largely on television (see e.g. Cottle 1998; Sreberny 1999; Leurdijk 2006; Malik 2002).

Due to criticism of unbalanced coverage of ethnic minorities in the mainstream media, increased multi-ethnicity of the audience, and developments in other European media organisations, the Finnish mainstream media have increasingly had to consider multicultural policies. This paper seeks to throw light on the media texts of multicultural initiatives. The focus of the empirical research is on the (re)construction of identities. Is multicultural journalism questioning the more

[2] A list of international initiatives to promote good practice in reporting is presented in ter Wal (2002: 19–22).

[3] On minority media projects see www.multicultural.net for the European Manifesto on Minority Community Media (Accessed 23 January 2005).

powerful position of the majority Finns or are they supporting and re-establishing the existing power relation? How do the mainstream media deal with minorities with a "positive" balancing intention? How is the majority Finnish society represented?

1. Origins and Uses of Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism as a policy and ideology emerged from the context of both assimilation and segregation in Europe. On the one hand it emerged as a critique of assimilation policy and on the other as a critique of new racism. As the Swedish anthropologist Ulf Hannerz (1999) points out, multiculturalism is a heterogeneous concept, which is used to refer to various aspects of ethnically plural societies. He suggests that we may see multiculturalism as another conspicuous late twentieth-century form of "culturespeak". How has multiculturalism then grown to such extensive discourse? Hannerz (1999: 397) links multiculturalism to its American roots, which define it from the bottom up. For him it is essential to recognise the social activity and the questions of power and empowerment. He does not refer to cultural diversity as such, but to conscious construction of cultural difference and collective identity. This is the interpretation of multiculturalism that is cultivated among minority communities and anti-racist organisations.

In addition to these American roots there are Australian, Canadian and European roots to the concept based on a top-down policy where multiculturalism is a state policy inculcated into citizens through programmes for tolerance (Stratton and Ang 1994). In most social contexts, as in the Finnish context, these tendencies are interconnected. NGOs and minority organisations are aware of the policies and it may be of mutual interest for the state, media, municipality, minorities and NGOs to create ethnic minority organisations based on ethnic and cultural "imagined" borders. In Finland multiculturalism is generally understood as a state policy. In administrative texts, multiculturalism refers to multiplicity of separate cultures (increased by immigration). However, the discourse is not only apparent in the context of "culturespeak" but is affiliated with the idea of an equal society. The Finnish administration therefore considers multiculturalism as a strategy to manage diversity and promote the image of a just and equal society. In this situation the role of the minorities is to maintain and preserve cultural characteristics (Lepola 2000: 210).

One of the basic dilemmas of the concept of multiculturalism lies in the notion of "culture". Both new racism and multiculturalism highlight difference and culture. Hostility to the "other" is no longer argued on the basis of the "superiority of the white race". Instead, new racist discourse claims that "different cultures are irreconcilable" (e.g. Guillaumin 1993). French sociologist Alain Touraine (2000: 116) argues the racism of cultural difference[4] plays the same role in our culture that

[4] The "new" cultural racism has been conceptualised as new racism (Barker 1981) and as terms of culture, such as cultural racism and cultural difference (Guillaumin 1993).

the racism of natural inferiority played in the culture of industrial society. The crucial difference between bottom-up multiculturalism and cultural racism, of course, is equality. Multicultural ideology claims "all different all equal", but new racist discourse constructs a hierarchy between cultures, as racism did between "races".

In this paper I understand multiculturalism as a set of discourses which have different political, social and economic motivations. The motives for multicultural discourses may be basically managerial, corporate, conservative or resisting. British academics Stuart Hall (2003: 233–34) and Gregor McLennan (2001: 395) conceptualise multiculturalism in the plural. McLennan identifies four multiculturalisms as the most dominant: conservative, liberal, corporate and critical multiculturalism. Hall makes a similar distinction although he conceptually separates the concepts of multicultural (adjective to illustrate social characteristics of societies) and multiculturalism (substantive to indicate strategies used to manage social problems). He writes about conservative, liberal, pluralist, commercial, corporate and critical or "revolutionary" multiculturalism.

An Australian anthropologist, Ghassan Hage (2000: 18), argues that both racist discourse and multicultural discourse share a conception of a nation where whites dominate. "[This] White belief in one's mastery over the nation, whether in the form of a White multiculturalism or in the form of a White racism, is what I have called the 'White nation' fantasy. It is a fantasy of a nation governed by White people, a fantasy of White supremacy." The nation is a space structured around a White culture where non-white "ethnics" are national objects to be moved or removed according to a white national will. They are managed and governed according to either racist logic or to multicultural logic.

Hage writes from the Australian perspective where the issue of difference is strongly colour and "race" [5] oriented. As a country with a long history of immigration, Australia has made the difference between welcome and unwelcome immigrants much longer and much clearer than European countries. In Finland, the public discussion has only recently clearly spoken about the division between welcome immigration ("labour immigration") and not so welcome migration (asylum seeking, family reunification). Furthermore, colour is not the main attribute that is used to make the difference in multicultural debate. The debate is more focused on Finnishness: values, identity, nationality, language and culture. In everyday language, ethnic difference is presented in the form of "nationality" or "ethnicity", such as African, Russian, Somali, etc. – it does not matter whether the person is Finnish by nationality. Moreover, a more general "immigrant" is used to highlight difference in appearance or skin colour, often meaning just non-Finnish – non-white. However, whiteness in not the first issue: Finns do not refer to themselves as whites but as "Finns" (*suomalainen*) when they want to make the

[5] With the term "race" I refer to socially constructed "races", not claiming that races as biological categorisations exist but that races as social constructed categories do.

distinction between "us" and "them". This does not mean that Finland would be colour blind: most racist crimes are directed against visible minorities, especially the Somalis.

Russians and Estonians form the largest language and ethnic minority groups after the national minorities of Swedish-speaking Sami and Roma. The general attitudes towards Russians and Estonians are the most negative of all. In addition, their media representation is the most problem-oriented. It should be recalled that Finland took independence from Russia in 1917, and nationhood and national identity were constructed on the one state – one nation principle. As the main immigrant and deviant groups are white, discussion of multiculturalism is focused on Finnishness.

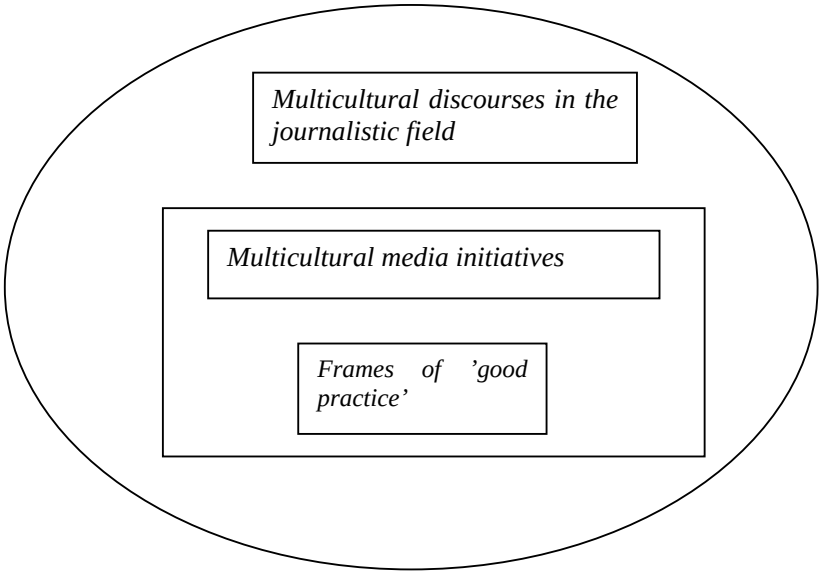
In spite of this, Hage's arguments are useful in the Finnish context if we analyse multiculturalism as a policy of an institution dominated by the majority. In both Australia and Finland the state uses multicultural discourse to manage difference (Lepola 2000: 210). Hage claims that the multicultural policy reproduces the dominant white position. Finnish sociologists Outi Lepola (2000: 211–14, 232–35) and Leena Suurpää (2002: 50) claim basically the same in the Finnish context: minorities need to show or hide their differences according to the majority will. Multicultural policies require cultural difference, but only within certain limits. Immigrants are required to build a sense of "internal" ethnicity.

2. Frame and Discourse as Analytical Concepts

The empirical analysis is based on qualitative and critical methods of frame and discourse analysis. Three cases of multicultural initiatives in Finnish journalism are scrutinized. The analysis focuses on texts and visual images. The aim is to discover how these texts (re)construct certain identities, positions and representations of both immigrants and majority Finns and Finnish society. The intention of this type of journalism is positive and therefore it is specifically important to analyse the possibilities for social change. Are these initiatives capable of balancing the negative bias in mainstream journalism?

In this paper I use the concept of discourse in a more general sense: multicultural discourses are speech acts used to represent and construct ethnically diverse society from different social positions. These discourses compete with other discourses which may be racist or nationalist. The concept of frame is used here as a more precise analytical tool. This relationship is illustrated in Figure 1. In the analysis I ask: How do the multicultural media texts frame Finnishness and ethnic difference? What types of frames are used to represent diverse society with a "positive" motivation?

Figure 1: Discourses and Frames in Multicultural Journalism



The concept of frame was operationalised in media studies for the first time in the 1970s, when it was adopted from social psychology. Todd Gitlin (1980: 7) highlights the cognitive aspect of the concept and this emphasis makes it useful for the study of ethnic relations. Attitudes and the journalistic language that reproduces them are mainly a reflection of social and cultural history and context as well as professional routines. As Gitlin defines:

> Media frames are largely unspoken and unacknowledged, organize the word both for journalists who report it and, in some important degree, for us who rely on their reports. Media frames are persistent patterns of cognition, interpretation, and presentation, of selection, emphasis, and exclusion, by which symbol-handlers routinely organize discourse, whether verbal or visual.

Frame analysis (e.g. Entman 1991; 1993; Gamson and Lasch 1986; Pietilä 2005: 203–12) aims at specifying the existing media frames in the texts. The analysis is divided into reasoning devices and framing devices. Reasoning devices answer questions such as what is defined as a problem, the cause of the problem, a solution to the problem, and what moral claims are being made (Entman 1993). The analysis of reasoning devices, that is the analysis of the narrative structure of a series of news, is mainly operationalised in case studies of a particular news event or theme. In this analysis the focus on framing devices is more appropriate. Framing devices are linguistic and visual elements that construct a particular frame. The analysis pays attention to metaphors, verbs, comparisons and adjectives. What is included, what is excluded, what topics are stressed, which social actors are

presented actively and which passively. Verbal descriptions of actors and events are equally important to visual images.

3. The Frames of "Good Practice"

I analyse three cases[6] of multicultural initiatives from the Finnish media:

1. A weekly multicultural broadcast, *Basaari* (YLE1) over one year, 2000–2001.[7]

2. A monthly *Immigrants' Page* in a regional quality daily *Aamulehti*, over one year, 2000.

3. A series of newspaper reports, "Multicultural Metropolitan Region", in the national quality daily *Helsingin Sanomat*, seven parts in 1999.

The turn of the century was a relevant period in the development of multicultural initiatives. The number of foreigners increased and there was public discussion on asylum policy. This was the period of launching multicultural initiatives in Finnish journalism. *Aamulehti* was the first broadsheet paper to launch an *Immigrants' Page* in December 1999. This stirred a debate among ethnic minorities and other newspapers. The largest-circulation paper, *Helsingin Sanomat*, decided not to publish a separate page, claiming that it would create a ghetto for minority issues (see e.g. Meriläinen 2006). Instead it published a series of stories focusing on ethnic minorities. This selection forms an extensive example of multicultural journalism at that particular time and place.

The empirical material is diverse in many ways. The *Immigrants' Page* and the *Basaari* programme on YLE1 are mainly edited by journalists with immigrant backgrounds. The main editor and producer are ethnic Finns holding a position in the media organisation, while the contributing journalists are freelance. The series on ethnic groups, "Multicultural Metropolitan Region", is on the contrary basic journalism. However, using such a variety of cases gives the opportunity to see which frames or strategies for intentionally "positive" reporting recur from case to case.

As its name suggests, the *Immigrants' Page* is based on the division between the "immigrant" and the "dominant society or culture". The most prominent category in the page is the "immigrant" (as opposed to the Finnishness category). Most of the stories are organised so that immigrants form one distinct group that operates in a dominant Finnish culture and society.

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[6] Both *Basaari* and the *Immigrants' Page* have had a lot of positive attention from other media organizations. *Basaari* has received a number of awards over the years, the most notable being the Bonnier Awards for Journalism in 2002. The editor of the *Immigrants' Page*, Maila-Katriina Tuominen, was the recipient of the Suomen Kuvalehti Journalism Award in 2003.

[7] Themes and interviewees were analysed from the whole year. One programme was analysed with close discourse and visual analysis.

The page reproduces and constructs "immigrant discourse". Certain themes such as unemployment and non-integratedness are examples of this discourse. These problems are generally connected to "the immigrant" – and therefore continue to reproduce the negative representation typical of basic journalism. Although the page uses immigrant sources instead of authoritative sources, the themes do not differ from mainstream journalism.

The media in general often use the terms "immigrant" or "foreigner".[8] This is especially true with themes discussing the Finns' relationship with minorities or the processes of law and authority regarding minorities (Raittila 2002: 76). Lumping all immigrants, foreigners, refugees, etc., into one group constructs distance, which is also a fundamental part of racism. The "other" is someone who is not "us".

The "Multicultural Metropolitan Region" serials, on the contrary, is based on ethnic differences. Each piece introduces one ethnic or national group in reference to statistics and cultural minority associations. The journalist's point of departure represents an authoritative and managerial look at minorities. Although representatives of certain "cultures" or nationalities are interviewed and photographed for the stories, the main emphasis lies in statistics. Moreover, organised sources, such as cultural associations' representatives, are the main informants.

Below I present three different frames that have been used in all the cases to approach issues of immigration on intentionally "positive" terms.

3.1. Ethnic Reflection

The multicultural initiatives analysed here have created a public sphere where journalistic practices are valued by different standards than those of "basic journalism". Ethnic minorities, their viewpoints and voices, are given priority over the sources that generally dominate the media content. Therefore it is important to ask what type of agenda is constructed: what is being discussed and with whom? Authorities such as local officials, state officials and the police are absent as sources. The space is given to minority voices. However, although authorities do not speak, they are talked about. They exist as the subjects in stories. The immigrants direct their speech to the authorities and to the "majority Finns". The initiatives clearly are not *for* the minorities as audiences but *about* the minorities for the majority Finnish audience. The following extract illustrates how the writer directs the speech to the "Finns", and how the writer makes a distinction between Finland belonging to the Finns and those who are "guests" ("*Your country"*, *"those people"*).

[8] Raittila's (2002: 76) study on the majority of Finnish newspaper reporting on "ethnic issues" in 2000 shows that one-third of the stories discuss "immigrants" or "foreigners" without reference to specific ethnic categories.

> I have a message to the Finns: thank you very much that we have been allowed to live in your peaceful country. In spite of this I wish understanding and open mindedness toward those people who have not been born here, but forced to come here (*Aamulehti* 15 December 2000).

It is quite surprising that the majority of stories deal with Finnish society and "Finnishness". Multicultural initiatives are used for the identity (re)formation of the majority white Finns. The immigrants are used to create *an ethnic reflection* of "us". Certainly this setting may empower the minorities. Journalists seem interested in the other's views, they do interviews. Voice and access are given to the often marginalised. However, a typical feature is that the interview shifts to "us". The immigrant talks about Finland and the Finns, answers the implicit question: What do you think of "us"? The immigrant could discuss Finnish society in a critical way or demand answers from the authorities. However, interviews are most often limited to a superficial stereotypical level. For example, in various reports we can read how the Finns are silent in the bus, dress badly, or are shy. The Finnish language and the weather conditions are referred to as an enormous difficulty. Despite these difficulties in accommodation, Finland is presented as a haven of well-organised systems and safety.

Identity talk and measuring the stage of integration are other themes used to support the frame of ethnic reflection. Finnish culture is presented as a static category against which immigrants reflect their identities. The following extracts illustrate the construction of a unified "Finnish culture".

> A Colombian woman says in a headline: "I melt into this culture". (*Aamulehti* 12 May 2000.)
> A Somali interviewee says: "We have to adapt to this culture". (*Helsingin Sanomat* 17 July 1999.)

This programme is filmed by the lake while the interviewee's daughter of about 12 years old swims and plays around in a bathing suit:

> I like the sun, but it is difficult for me to sunbathe like the Finns in a bathing suit, half-naked. I still have an Indian upbringing, a base that I do not dare to do that. I am not comfortable with undressing and sunbathing. That feels abnormal and embarrassing. But I do not mind if the Finns do it. It is their culture. I do not mind. I should sunbathe as well. There is the long winter with no sun. There is the need to get sun for the skin, but I cannot **yet** do it (YLE1, 4 December 2000).

Finland is presented as a hard place for a foreigner, but still "becoming a Finn" is offered as the main goal, as in the latter extract (*I should sunbathe as well, but I cannot yet do it*). Finland is never seriously criticised, and even mild criticism is often softened as in the following extracts:

> She is grateful that her children have been able to grow and go to school in a safe environment (*Aamulehti* 15 December 2000).

The image of Finnishness that is presented in the stories is safe, honest and well organised on the one hand, and boring, quiet and dull on the other.

> In Finland one cannot pop in and visit friends just like that. You have to make an appointment beforehand. Here people do not know their neighbours. No-one greets me (*Aamulehti* 6 December 1999).
>
> In Finland people do not smile, and the beer is bad – the Estonians of Helsinki blame the Finns (*Helsingin Sanomat* 14 August 1999).

The reflection offered for the (imagined) white Finnish audience is somewhat peculiar. The Finnishness that is constructed and repeated in all cases reflects a fantasy of a hiding place where the Finnish people can be homogeneous and safe. This is an image an average Finn probably likes to cherish. One of the first analyses of the media coverage of immigration notes that the main argument against granting asylum follows the logic of non-guiltiness (Luostarinen 1992: 134): Finland does not carry the burden of colonialism, but has itself been "colonised" by Russia and Sweden in its history. Because Finland is a small and peripheral country it has no obligation to help the "other". This image is in sharp contrast to the self image created in neighbouring Sweden's media coverage on immigrants. Ylva Brune (2004: 363) argues that the Swedish press represents female Muslim women as subordinate, which highlights "the equality" of white Swedish society. Sweden is presented as a Dreamland that can save "the subordinate".

3.2. Super-Finnishness

Although the ethnic reflection presented in multicultural texts makes Finland and Finnishness seem like a dull and boring identity, the tolerance towards the "other" increases when they work hard to *become* a Finn. The media overemphasise the goodness, the industry, or the modernity of ethnic minorities. Often it is done in a way that stresses the *exceptionality* of the person interviewed. For example, a story about a Somali woman who dresses like an ordinary Finn, studies at university and aims at a political career is framed according to an underlying expectation of "subordinated Somali women". The assumption that Somali women are subordinated by their men is implicit in the text. A report about a Finnish woman would not include the following lines. "*Contrary to what many believe*, she is a housewife, mother, and a busy woman in politics and at the University of Helsinki." "*She breaks the barrier*." On the one hand, the story constructs a "positive" image of an immigrant (she is just like "us"!). On the other hand, while doing so the story implicitly reproduces the stereotypical representation of a primitive Somali woman.

The industry of immigrants is stressed in the following extracts. This reflects the need for counter-argument against the "lazy foreigner" stereotype.

> I sent at least a hundred job applications. I attached my CV and reference of the past 15 years. I was full of optimism (*Aamulehti* 17 March 2000.).
> An entrepreneur does not have free time (*Helsingin Sanomat* 3 October 1999).

The multicultural television programme *Basaari* favours presenting minorities in stereotypically "Finnish" settings and actions. Certainly the medium creates appealing opportunities to *show* Finnishness – to illustrate the "similarity" of "them". For example, *Basaari* filmed immigrants fishing and performing the *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic. The norm is stereotypical Finnishness: it is the goal not yet achieved and a characteristic that is celebrated when achieved.

3.3. Exotic Otherness

Exoticising and orientalising the stranger is an old colonial practice to set a place for the other in the Western mind. This frame tends to establish stereotypical categories in which certain nationalities are allowed to exist. For example, the series "Multicultural Metropolitan Region" is basically constructed of these categories. Kurds are presented as kebab-workers, Latin American immigrants are presented in the context of sports. Constructing categories, even if they are "positive" spaces for existence, limits the scale in which the categorised person is allowed to exist. For example, discussing Russians and Russianness in the exotic context of a luxurious restaurant setting, gives an opportunity for the reader to safely enjoy certain aspects of Russianness without confronting other aspects of it. The reader is a tourist who selects the enjoyable parts of Russianness. Ethnic restaurants represent similar spaces for the consumption of "otherness" in a city context: one may make a journey to the exotic otherness, no matter how negatively one reacts to ethnic minorities in other contexts.

Theorists of multicultural issues often criticise the emphasis on culture. When culture is defined in terms of tradition, when it is understood to be something from the past that needs to be preserved, it becomes difficult to change. Another danger is that the difference of a group can be limited to a certain stereotype from which no deviation is allowed. An ethnic group may exist, but only as a preserved creature. Racism sees difference as static: social race, ethnicity or culture cannot be changed. (Castoriadis 1997: 25; Guillaumin 1993; Wetherell and Potter 1992: 128–39.) Moreover, multiculturalism is often associated with celebration of culture. Hannerz (1999: 399) connects this aspect of multiculturalism with cosmopolitanism, and states that multiculturalism and celebrationism may at times form a kind of symbiotic relationship. Certain parts of a culture may be celebrated from a distance, safely.

There is a strong tendency in Finnish journalism and society to choose only some aspects of immigrants and celebrate them, as the exoticising of ethnic minorities in multicultural media initiatives shows. This is one strategy that seeks to represent "tolerance" in the mainstream media.

However, it is essential to realise that tolerance for one aspect of a culture or process of immigration does not assume tolerance for other aspects. For example, we may celebrate Gypsy music in a concert hall but not Roma asylum seekers. We may enjoy a story of a kebab business but not visible signs of Islam. This is a type

of cosmopolitan or commercial multiculturalism and it gives an opportunity to shop for enjoyable features of otherness while rejecting other features. In this frame the white Finnish audience is seen as a consumer: difference is made into a fetish that can be consumed and enjoyed by the powerful.

4. Managed Multiculturalism and Finnish Nation Fantasy

The common feature in all frames constructed in the initiatives for multicultural journalism is that culture is presented as rather permanent. While the frame of *Exotic Otherness* presents immigrants as conserved representations of ethnicity, the frames of *Ethnic Reflection* and *Super-Finnishness* present Finnish culture in a stereotypical and static way. The notion of a "Super-Finn" enables the immigrant to "change" his or her culture (therefore it is not definite) but actually by emphasising it, like the modernity of a Somali woman, the media implicitly reconstructs the stereotyped definition of the "other", here the subordination of Somali women.

Both the *Immigrants' Page* and the multicultural programme *Basaari* use journalists with immigrant backgrounds. The media in which these initiatives appear, however, are dominated by ethnic Finns. One goal of using immigrants as journalists is to give access to new perspectives and professionals. This could promote multiculturalism in Hannerz's sense: promote social activity and empower the marginalised. Successfully, the *Immigrants' Page* gives space for genres which are not common in current Finnish newspaper journalism. It presents poems, children's school essays and blurbs on activities.

Basaari, on the other hand, concentrates on personal profiles of immigrants. These types of individual stories are a deviation from the norm. Finnish journalism tends to present immigrants through administrative discourse: through statistics and unified cultural representations (Horsti 2002; Raittila 2002). As a medium, television can illustrate the life of an immigrant in its visual images. For example, we see how a woman of Indian origin cuts wood for her home, watches Hindi films, and goes to the lakeside with her daughter. Seeing and hearing the life and story of the woman allows us to build up a moral closeness. By presenting the lives of immigrants, the media offer substance to reduce social distance and nourish feelings of mental and moral proximity and experiences of fellow-feeling.

All the journalistic cases analysed construct divisions and categories. They construct, reconstruct and reflect certain social identities, and some of these identities are defined as "cultures". The most prominent and apparent "culture" in the analysed cases is Finnishness. It is interesting that it is the dominant "culture" – the imagined and stereotypical "Finnish culture" – which is highlighted to such an extent in these multicultural media projects. This is especially true in the media projects that include immigrants in the journalistic process. They reflect their identities and "cultures" against the Finnish "culture".

Framing multiculturalism in terms of separate and permanent "cultures", leads to certain problems. Firstly, this analysis shows that "cultures" are not presented as equal. The Finnish "culture" is presented as the norm or the goal. Secondly, the "culture" is rather definite: one belongs to a certain culture and there is no deviation from it. Thirdly, these "cultures" can be understood as borders of strangeness. The dominant "culture" (the "norm" or the "non-ethnicity") represents normality and the "ethnicities" – the "strange" cultures – are preserved into clusters of tradition, exoticism and privacy. The research material supports the idea that public domain should be "Finnish" – hard work, knowledge of Finnish language and giving up "ethnic" signs are celebrated. Difference – religion, ethnic signs, language – is preferably limited to the private sphere.

According to these empirical data, multicultural discourses can select the favourable and recognisable aspects of the "other" and at the same time reject certain aspects. Immigrants and other "non-Finns" are positioned in the media in the sphere of indifference or in the sphere of strangeness. They may "gain" or "earn" some qualities of "sameness", but it is never the same as being born in the Finnish majority. As Hage (2000: 64) argues in reference to Pierre Bordieu's analysis of aristocracy, the very fact of the acquired capital (like qualities of Finnishness in the frame of Super-Finnishness) being an accumulation instead of being natural and inherited leads to its devaluing. The media – with its sources, practices and the larger socio-cultural context – select and negotiate which aspects fall into the sphere of indifference, strangeness or sameness.

As discussed above, "multicultural" journalism analysed in this paper constructs stereotypical "Finnishness" in the texts. Furthermore, the stories construct an imagined and implicit audience, they carry an implicit notion of the audience framed as xenophobic or intolerant Finns. The stories therefore not only construct borders between "ethnicities" and the "majority" and categories within "ethnicities", but also within the "majority" – "the Finns". The texts implicitly construct an imagined "tolerant and multicultural" Finn who is educating the "xenophobic Finn" who in turn has not yet realised the new strategy of "managed multiculturalism". It is exactly the fantasy of the "Finnish multiculturalist" (cf. the White multiculturalist in Hage 2000) which is played out in these initiatives for more balanced reporting.

Although "multiculturalism" has such a heterogenic variety of meanings in managerial discourse in Finland, some principles seem to hold. "Cultures" are understood as being the components of a "multicultural society" in which the majority Finn's managerial role is not questioned.

The initiatives analysed in this paper are "sense-making" – framing multiculturalism in a particular generic fashion. Journalism generally treats immigrants and ethnic minorities as an anomaly. By silencing and letting the authorities speak on their behalf, the media reconstruct the separation between "us" and "them".

The challenge of these initiatives for "multicultural journalism" lies in their ability to create new professionals, genres, discourses and dialogue, and to disseminate them to mainstream journalism. They could be laboratories for innovations in journalism. Multicultural journalism should have the empowering principle, but it should be promoted so as not to create stereotypical ethnic clusters. The media should encourage the political will of ethnic minorities. They should give access to multiple multicultural perspectives at the structural level of news production. At the moment, the initiatives for multicultural journalism are merely superficial manifestations of the ethnic Finns' managerial dominance. The journalism analysed here is not an act of empowerment from the margins – an act of the "ethnic will" (Hage 2000: 109–10). Rather it is an act of managed multiculturalism. The analysed "multicultural" media projects are managed by ethnic majority Finns within the mainstream media. Although some of the writers are journalists with an "ethnic" background the editors and producers are generally well-established Finnish journalists.

Enterprises' good practice reflects the current situation in Finnish society and its journalism. Ethnic minorities are recognised, problems in journalistic practices such as lack of immigrant sources are recognised. However, these initiatives are connected to ideas of assimilation and segregation. Strangers are either encouraged to assimilate with the dominant "Finnishness" or pushed back towards the sphere of indifference with stereotypical categories or exotic qualities. The current situation could be characterised as a transition from homogeneous reporting to multi-ethnic reporting.

Journalism could be a powerful part of social change: it could promote discourse that would construct an equal and diverse society. Instead of stereotypical notions of "culture" – such as most of those presented in the empirical material analysed in this paper – this transformation requires a shift to a more societal culture, which the Canadian scholar of political philosophy Will Kymlika (1995: 76) uses in his definitions of multiculturalism. Culture or ethnicity is not only shared memories or values, but also common institutions and practices. This means that there should be more space to move between the private and the public. If categories – traditional "cultures" for example – did not dominate, a more open and flexible identity could become possible. Culture should be embodied in everyone's social life, in institutions such as the media .

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