



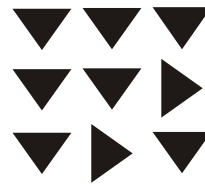
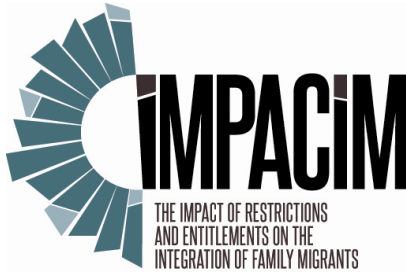
The Impacts of Rights on Family Migrants' Integration in Europe: Literature Review

FRIEDRICH HECKMANN & DORIS LÜKEN-KLABEN

European forum for migration studies, Institute at the University of Bamberg

October 2013





european
forum for
migration studies
(efms) ®

The impact of rights on family migrants' integration in Europe: Literature Review

Friedrich Heckmann and Doris Lücken-Klaßen: efms@sowi.uni-bamberg.de

european forum for migration studies (efms)

Institute at the University of Bamberg

<http://www.efms.de>

Project website: www.compas.ox.ac.uk/research/welfare/impacim

A report prepared as part of the IMPACiM project.

October 2013

With financial support from the European Commission



Table of Contents

Contents

1.	Introduction	1
2.	The Concept of Integration	3
3.	The rights of immigrants: equality for whom?.....	7
	3.1 The ‘denizen’ and the ‘universal personhood’	7
	3.2 The sovereign state, migration control and welfare policies	11
	3.3 The ‘liberal paradox’ of the emerging migration state	11
	3.4 Welfare state policies and integration	12
	3.5 Equality and discrimination	14
4.	Family migration: Who comes?.....	18
5.	Family migration and migration control in a European and national context	21
6.	Family migration and integration	26
7.	“Impact” of post entry restrictions on integration outcomes.....	28
	7.1 Employment	28
	7.2 Education	29
	7.3 Welfare benefits	30
	7.4 Health	31
	7.5 Housing	32
8.	Conclusion.....	34
9.	References.....	36

1. Introduction

Family-related migration is a crucial immigration channel to Europe. Family migration was already happening on a relatively small scale during the period of labour recruitment in the 1960s, but after the halt of recruitment in the 1970s, processes of family reunion and family formation occurred on a large scale and have become a major source of immigration, if not *the* dominant mode of legal entry into European Union states in general (Kraler 2010, 98). Thus, family migrants' immigration as well as their integration is of concern for European societies.

The integration of family migrants depends, on the one hand, on the actions and efforts of migrants themselves; on the other hand, it depends on the legal, economic and social conditions they meet in the new society. The European project "The Impact of Restrictions and Entitlements on the Integration of Family Migrants" (IMPACIM) focuses on the second aspect: the project notably deals with legal rights that family migrants meet upon entering the new country and is interested in the link between these rights and the integration process.

In this project the focus is particularly on the question whether restrictions of rights for non-EU family migrants hamper the (post-entry) inclusion into society and affect family migrants' economic, social, cultural and political integration – and whether entitlements encourage integration. The project maps the different legal and political inclusion patterns in four European countries as well as their rationales. Geographically, the project covers the European Union, focusing specifically but not exclusively on four EU Member States with differing migration histories and integration philosophies: The United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Spain and Germany.

Academic literature considered for this review comprises theoretical debates, descriptive analyses and empirical research evidence. It also includes grey literature, e.g. working papers and research carried out by non-academic institutions such as NGOs and trade unions. A cross-disciplinary approach has been chosen for the review; academic disciplines consulted include sociology, political science, law, economics, cultural anthropology and others. The emphasis lies on recent literature from the year 2000 onwards. The bibliography was

compiled using a variety of databases¹, and with all searches, key words as well as key word combinations were used, for example “family migration”, “family reunification”, “family migrant” or “civic participation – migrant”. The search was conducted in four languages: Dutch, English, German and Spanish. Each team produced an individual (unpublished) literature review for this work package, with accreditation given as Oliver (2012) for the UK version, the Dutch version as Ivanescu and Suvarierol (2012) and the Spanish as Stanek and Brey (2012). The literature review for Germany (by Lüken-Klaßen 2012) has been directly integrated into this work package.

Since “integration” is a somewhat contested concept, the IMPACIM team suggested to make a proposition for a common understanding of integration. This is done in section 2. Before discussing the literature around family migrants and the rights and restriction of rights (and consequences) in sections 5, 6 and 7, the project’s topic is placed into the broader context of debates about the rights of immigrants in general, particularly in comparison to citizens (section 3). Section 4 covers literature around specific categories of family migrants.

¹ Among those consulted were online databases such as <http://scholar.google.com>, library catalogues (e.g. of the universities of Bamberg (OPAC), Maastricht, Oxford (SOLO) as well as the Bavarian ‘Bibliotheksverbund Bayern’, electronic archives of international journals (especially sociological ones) as well as targeted searches on websites of relevant institutions such as the OECD and the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (BAMF).

2. The Concept of Integration

The need to ‘integrate’ immigrants stems from a combination of moral and political obligations – including loyalty to fundamental democratic principles and respect of human rights – and self-interest, since social cohesion cannot be secured if a substantial part of the population is marginalised and socially excluded (Arango 1999, 233). Even though there is general agreement in Europe on the importance of integration, it is often not defined what ‘integration’ is about. This section provides an exploration and definition of the complex – and contested – concept of ‘integration’ as we suggest to understand it in the IMPACIM project.

As a general sociological concept, **integration refers to stable, cooperative relations within a social system** which has distinct borders to its environment. It is a process which refers, on the one hand, to the strengthening of relations within a social system, and, on the other, to the inclusion of new members to a group. Within ‘the whole’, there can be differing degrees of interconnectedness and differing quality of relations; the more a social system is integrated, the more closely and the more intensely its constituent parts (e.g. groups or individuals) relate to one another. Functionalist theory sees integration as one of the functional prerequisites of any social system to insure its survival. The process of integration can be analysed from a micro perspective, examining for instance the integration of groups and individuals *in* a society, as well as from a macro perspective, examining the integration *of* a society as a whole. For the latter, the term ‘social cohesion’ has become widely used in recent years.

In the context of immigration, the concept of integration can be taken to mean the **inclusion of new populations into the existing social structures and economic activities of the receiving country**. This process affects both, the recipient society and the migrant. It is, thus, not a unidirectional, but a **two-way process**, requiring efforts and changes from both sides. This aspect is also emphasised in the Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the European Union (CBPs) which were adopted by the Council of the EU in 2004. The first principle defines: “Integration is a dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States” {Council of the European Union 2004, 19}.

A variation on this definition of integration as inclusion into existing structures and economic activities which reflects that dynamic, two way process is to use the term to mean ‘*processes of interaction* between migrants and the individuals and institutions of the receiving society that facilitate economic, social, cultural and civic participation and an inclusive sense of belonging at the national and local level’ (Spencer 2011, 203, italics added).

In the process of integration, four dimensions can be differentiated: (a) structural integration, (b) cultural integration, (c) social integration and (d) identificational integration (europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms) 2006; Heckmann et al. 2001).

(a) **Structural integration** means the acquisition of rights and the access to membership, positions and statuses in the core institutions of the receiving society by immigrants and their descendants, i.e. into the economy and labour market, education and qualification system, housing market, political system as well as acquiring citizenship. The structural integration is connected with the opportunity to establish relevant social relations and to win cultural, social and economic capital.

(b) A precondition for successfully interacting in society is the transmission to and acquisition of knowledge, cultural standards and competences by an individual: rights can be used and positions and statuses can be gained only if the immigrants can actively participate in learning and socialisation processes. In relation to these preconditions of participation, integration refers to processes of cognitive, cultural, behavioural and attitudinal change – **cultural integration or acculturation**. This change primarily concerns the immigrants and their descendants, but it is an interactive, mutual process that changes the receiving society as well.

(c) Membership of immigrants in the new society in the private sphere is reflected in peoples’ private relationships and group memberships (social intercourse, friendships, marriages, voluntary associations): that is, in their **social integration**.

(d) **Identificational integration** refers to the identification of an actor with a social system, i.e. the identification of the immigrant with the new society and a sense of belonging to it. Identification has cognitive and emotional sides and results in a “we-feeling” towards a group or collective. It is noteworthy that local

identification often occurs before national identification, and often (but not always) is stronger than national identification.

To **summarise, integration means** the acquisition of rights, access to positions and statuses, a mutual individual learning process, the building of social relations and the formation of feelings of belonging and identification by immigrants towards the immigration society and reciprocal identification by the receiving society towards them. Integration processes in the different domains are not mutually exclusive – acquisition of rights, for instance, may impact on integration processes in other domains – but these impacts are as yet under-researched. Integration processes in the different domains do not necessarily proceed at the same pace so that it may be possible to be well integrated into the labour market, for instance, with little social integration or sense of belonging in society. A “successful” or progressing integration process could also be characterized by increasing similarity in living conditions and ethnic-cultural orientations between immigrants and the native population, and a decrease in ethnic stratification.

Within this perspective, barriers on the side of the receiving society can severely hamper the integration progress. In particular, barriers to integration include prejudice and discriminatory behaviour (as unjustified unequal treatment of immigrants) in interpersonal encounters (‘individual discrimination’), legal barriers or rules of institutions that bar participation and membership of immigrants (‘institutional discrimination’), and a lack of support by state and civil society enhancing the integration process (‘structural discrimination’) {europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms) 2006, 19}.

While the above definition reflects the understanding of much of empirical research in Germany, it must be noted that the definition of integration and analytical attempts dealing with this phenomenon have changed over **time**, and **differ between disciplines and countries**.² As an illustration we look at the UK and the Netherlands. For example, in relation to the UK there has been a relative neglect of using “integration” as a concept, “due to its historical resonance with assimilation (Spencer 2011). There remains an ongoing tension in how the integration concept is used in the UK, oscillating between a descriptive analytical dimension and a normative dimension on the other hand (Johnson and Tatum 2010). And although there has been a recent shift in focus on integration, the overriding focus of debates tends to be on ‘minorities’ rather than immigrants ... and this is reflected in

² For more information on the variety of definitions see Heckmann et al. (2010)

statistics and monitoring, which has developed into ethnic monitoring frameworks ...” (Oliver 2012, 6).

The Netherlands is another example where there has been a shift in the meaning of integration in the political and public discourse. As Entzinger et al. (2011) notes, “We notice a shift from the multiculturalism of the 80s and 90s toward an assimilatory approach demanding adaptation to mainstream Dutch values and beliefs. Thus in time we notice a changing focus on different dimension of integration: a focus on structural integration made its way to an emphasis on the socio-cultural dimension with more importance accorded to similarities and differences between the native and migrant populations in terms of values and beliefs” (Ivanescu and Suvarierol 2012, 9).

3. The rights of immigrants: equality for whom?

When examining the kinds of rights and restrictions family migrants are confronted with upon arrival we need a broader perspective than just looking at the conditions for this particular group of immigrants. This section undertakes to understand why there are, and under what conditions, certain legal restrictions for immigrants after having entered the country. The theoretical discussion in the literature is mostly about rights for immigrants in general, not for family members in particular.

If we conceive of citizenship as a membership status in a nation state, the question is what rights are given to persons who are allowed to enter the territory of a nation state, but who do not possess this membership status, i.e. are foreigners. Much of the literature is on the debate, whether differences between rights for members and non-members have decreased and are becoming less and less relevant, or are still relevant, and how to explain this. IMPACIM is particularly interested in the question of implications and consequences of rights for migrant integration.

We start with theoretical positions claiming that due to the expansion of rights – a rights’ revolution for immigrants - citizenship is not important any more for integration.

3.1 The ‘denizen’ and the ‘universal personhood’

The legal status of immigrants that may be relevant for integration can be expressed as the difference between the rights of migrants and non-migrants. ‘Denizen’ and ‘universal personhood’ are terms that are meant to designate the status of foreigners whose rights approach those of citizens.³ Hammar (1990) and Soysal (1994) argue that indeed the differences between the rights of citizens and non-citizen legal residents have become minimal in modern democratic states. The research undertaken in IMPACIM shall enable closer examination of the validity of these theories.

Historical reconstruction illustrates the issue:

“Since the inception of the nation-state in Europe and even beforehand in the powerful European cities, the population of the city or the state was divided into

³ In this text we not discuss aspects of the Europeanisation of citizenship within the European Union.

citizens, i.e. full members of the political community, citizens without full citizenship rights and others, who had come from another city or state, i.e. foreigners or aliens. ... How should they deal with persons who crossed those borders and stayed for longer than a short trade visit or as a temporary refugee?” (Groenendijk 2006, 385).

Some migrants were regarded as an economic or demographic asset, others could not be refused entry and residence because of cultural or religious ties or simply because cities lacked the resources to repel unwanted migrants. A major political issue of the nation-state thus became “the principles and practices for incorporating aliens and strangers, immigrants and newcomers, refugees and asylum seekers, into the existing polities” (Benhabib 2004, 1). States and cities found different solutions for this issue. In 18th century England the term *denizen* was used to describe a status approximately halfway between a citizen and a non-citizen, a status that could be obtained by a foreigner on the basis of his residence in the country (Groenendijk 2006,385).

Tomas Hammar (1990,14), who has introduced the term into the modern integration discourse, believes that the old usage of the term **denizen** as privileged aliens who are not full citizens could be extended to the situation of certain groups of foreign citizens in immigration countries. He explains:

“...the term denizen will be used here for persons who are foreign citizens with a legal and permanent resident status. This means that although they are not citizens of the country in which they have their domicile, they have been given the right to stay there permanently (with reservations only for exceptional situations, e. g. serious threats to national security). Those foreign citizens, whose permits expire and must be prolonged after a certain time period, are not denizens. And those who are naturalized and have become dual citizens, are no longer denizens either...” (ibidem, 15).

Hammar applies the term to migrant workers who came to Western and Northern Europe in the 1960s and 1970s for temporary work, but were still in the country after twenty years and had been given substantial rights: free access to the labour market, to the social security system and a safe residence status. Hammar is interested particularly in political rights and finds that in some countries these denizens were given substantial political rights as well. T. H. Marshall in his famous analysis of the development of democratic rights had seen a sequence of civil, political and social rights. Yet Hammar observes: “While citizens of

European states were first given civil, then political and finally also social rights, as we have seen here, foreign citizens have obtained access to the same rights in another order and not to the same degree” (ibidem, 54).

One explanation for the reverse of Marshall’s order might be that political rights are considered to be more connected to membership of the state. From a sociological perspective the denizen has achieved a status very similar in practical terms to that of a full citizen. The rights that denizens enjoy have not been given as human rights, granted to all human beings without consideration of their state membership, but as membership rights that in the past were reserved to full members only (ibidem, 53). The sense of membership has been expanded beyond the formal status.

How can the expansion of rights be explained? Hammar argues that it is the principle of equality “...which makes it costly to treat foreign residents differently from citizens in the long run. In doing this, dual standards are established, for instance in working conditions, housing and education” (ibidem, 54). This would also mean an acceptance of a class system without social mobility and which saw those with foreign citizenship at the bottom. This would be against the idea of equality, of the welfare state and democracy⁴.

A very **important implication** of Hammar’s analysis is his concept for the expansion to non-citizens of both political voting rights and the right to be a candidate for elections. Not only the principle of equality, but also the principle of the American Revolution (“No taxation without representation”) would justify this step. Hammar, however, states the following reservation for his analysis:

“... the prerequisite for this new policy is that immigration is stopped or at least strictly limited, and it is therefore largely after the general termination of labour recruitment in 1973-74 that social and political rights have been granted to foreign residents” (ibidem).

Yasemin Soysal (1994) agrees with Hammar on the decreasing importance of citizenship for the rights of immigrants. The basic line of her argument, however, comes from human rights and globalization theory. Her main hypothesis is:

“A new and more universal concept of citizenship has unfolded in the postwar era, one whose organizing and legitimating principles are based on **universal**

⁴ This addition should make it clear that ‘costly’ is not meant in a narrow economic sense.

personhood rather than national belonging. To an increasing extent, rights and privileges once reserved for citizens of a nation are now codified and expanded as personal rights, undermining the national order of citizenship” (Soysal 1994,1).

Soysal sees a trend for a “deterritorialized notion of persons’ rights (ibidem, 2). She calls this a postnational model, in which national citizenship has become less important.

The main reason for this development is the **new role of human rights** for international and intra-national relations. They have become a pervasive feature of global public culture exerting a global influence in everyday social spaces and routines:

“As such, human rights principles amount to more than formal arrangements and laws. They constitute a binding discourse, according frameworks that render certain actions conceivable and meaningful. Like development ..., progress ... and freedom ... human rights is a world-level organizing concept. ... it presents itself as ‘ontological’ and ‘self-evidently necessary’ – that is, it is inconceivable to ‘dismiss’ the idea of human rights, ‘just as it must have been virtually impossible to reject the concept ‘civilization’ in the nineteenth century, or the concept ‘God’ in the twelfth’ (Ferguson 1990, XIII)” (ibidem, 43).

The consequence is that rights which used to belong to nationals are now extended to foreign populations, undermining the very basis of national citizenship (ibidem, 137).

A major criticism of Soysal has been that citizenship still matters and that she has been too optimistic. In many cases international human rights norms have not prevented the imposition of limits on the rights of non-citizens relating to entry and to rights after arrival – the restriction in question falling below the high threshold required to bring those norms into play: ‘Thus a series of internal contradictions between universal human rights and territorial sovereignty are built into the logic of the most comprehensive international law documents in the world’ (Benhabib, 2004,11). And as Spencer and Pobjoy point out, while “globalisation has denuded state sovereignty in economic, military and other domains it is still vigorously asserted in relation to the rights of non-citizens within their territorial borders” (Spencer and Pobjoy 2011,12).

The next section discusses theories that claim more strongly than Hammar and Soysal – that citizenship and the nation state still matter for integration.

3.2 The sovereign state, migration control and welfare policies

In this section we discuss theories that are concerned with the state's role in giving rights to migrants and in integration policies. The general orientation of these theories is that the state has and should have a strong role in migration control and integration, and that migration control and integration are connected.

3.3 The 'liberal paradox' of the emerging migration state

Hollifield (2004, 855-912) has developed a general model of the forces that drive the modern liberal states' migration and integration policies. Market forces of supply push and demand pull (plus networks) are the driving forces for migration to happen, but "states must be willing to accept immigration and to grant rights to outsiders". Hollifield is interested in the role of the state in migration and integration policies. He asks: "How then do states regulate migration in the face of economic forces that push them toward greater openness, while security concerns and powerful political forces push them toward closure?" (ibidem, 855).

Hollifield reconstructs major trends and traits of migration and integration policies after World War II. The extension of rights to non-nationals has been an "extremely important" part of the development of integration policies; rights that accrue to migrants emerge the legal and constitutional protections guaranteed to all 'members' of society (Hollifield 1992). Thus, if an individual migrant is able to establish some claim to residence in the territory of a liberal state, his or her chances of being able to remain and settle will increase. At the same time developments in international human rights law have helped to solidify the position of individuals vis-à-vis the nation state as discussed above, to the point that individuals ... have acquired a sort of international legal personality, leading some analysts to speculate that we are entering a post-national era, characterized by 'universal personhood' (Soysal 1994), the expansion of 'rights across borders' (Jacobson 1995) and even 'transnational citizenship' (Bauböck 1994)" (Hollifield 2004, 901).

While the cited authors stress agency as a feature of modern migrants, Hollifield argues that these authors ignore the extent to which state policies have shaped the choices that migrants make, or rather are able to make. While the modern liberal state has to be concerned about security aspects of mass migration, the very same institution has to be

attentive to the human and civil rights of the individual, otherwise it risks undermining its own legitimacy. Hollifield's main worry is that the rights dynamics in liberal democracies may undermine the states' capacity to exert effective migration control. Ruhs (2010) suggests that there can be a trade-off in the number of migrants admitted and the entitlements they are granted.

3.4 Welfare state policies and integration

The role of the welfare state in integration is another major topic in the theoretical discourse. **Gary Freeman** (2004) like Hollifield is interested in the role of the state in migration and integration policies, particularly in identifying different 'syndromes' of immigrant incorporation. It is in this context that he discusses rights and restrictions for immigrants relevant for the integration process. "I argue that the four key sets of regulatory institutions are the state, market, welfare, and cultural sectors" (ibidem, 950). In this paper we shall focus on Freeman's discussion of the role of the state and welfare regimes.

About the state, Freeman observes:

"Hardly anything can be more important for the eventual status of immigrants than the legal circumstances of their first entry... Immigration laws, observed or violated, necessarily precede and often constrain the migrants' interaction with market, welfare and cultural regulations ... Among the aspects of a country's immigration policy that bear on incorporation are the methods and purposes in recruiting, accepting, and deterring immigrants, enforcement of immigration rules regarding illegal entry and unauthorized work, and rules regulating acquisition and rights of citizenship" (ibidem).

Freeman stresses that different types of visa are important factors influencing the integration process:

"Immigrants of different legal origin are treated substantially differently. Permanent resident visa create a class of immigrants with rights and privileges distinct from those holding temporary work visa. Skilled migrants may be better positioned than the unskilled to control the terms of their integration. Refugees selected from abroad enter under terms highly distinct from on-shore asylum seekers" (ibidem, 950/951).

In other words, there is a strong relation between terms of entry and integration. Yet despite this, there is a dominant trend for including immigrants into the **welfare state institutions**. Freeman argues that one of the most striking peculiarities of modern migration to the rich democracies is that they are all welfare states. They possess "... social protection schemes that were absent during mass migration at the turn of the century and that are absent in the Third World cities to which millions have migrated in recent decades" (ibidem, 955). The modern welfare state has been surprisingly open for the participation of migrants in benefit programs. This is surprising and puzzling for a number of reasons: "The territorial character of the nation state suggests that welfare systems would be closed to non-members Migrants receiving benefits, therefore, pose a threat to the logic of the welfare state ..." (ibidem).

What then can explain the openness of the modern welfare state to welfare benefits for migrants? Freeman argues that even if citizenship is generally and formally required for receiving certain benefits the constitutions and laws of the **democracies typically accord protection to persons** not to citizens (ibidem, 956). In particular, **courts and administrators** have stretched the terms of eligibility.⁵ Whereas political rights could be extended only through public debate and constitutional changes, courts and administrators were more insulated from public pressure. "Hence social rights were extended, contra Marshall, before political rights" (ibidem).

It is the **local level** where this trend is strongest. The terrain of the local government is where the real impacts of the national welfare systems upon immigrants should be studied. Bach (1992) shows that although the United States does not have a formal integration policy, there are a lot of integration programs at the local level. (ibidem, 957).

The other side of the development as described is this:

"The openness of welfare systems to migrants ... has become an issue in discussion on welfare, has heightened tension over welfare politics. Backlash fuelled by perceptions of welfare abuse threatens to **erode both consensus over welfare provisions and tolerance of continued mass immigration**"⁶ (ibidem, 955).

⁵ See also Spencer and Pobjoy (2011, 13).

⁶ My emphasis

Freeman concedes, however, that there is contention in the literature over the role of resentment over immigration in stimulating welfare backlash for immigrants.

3.5 Equality and discrimination

The issue of rights and discrimination is another theoretical debate of relevance to IMPACIM. The concept of discrimination is rooted in ideas of the enlightenment. The main ideas underlying discrimination are human equality and human rights. Discrimination means unequal treatment, but not all kinds of unequal treatment may be called discrimination. Giving a position that requires a certain qualification to the person who has that qualification and denying it to the one who does not have the qualification required is not discrimination. The jurisprudence of the European Court of Human Rights has held that a difference in treatment will only be discriminatory if it has “‘no objective and reasonable justification’, but states have not always felt the need to spell out their rationale when decisions on restricting rights are made” (Spencer and Pobjoy 2011, 3). There is, thus, legitimate and illegitimate unequal treatment, but **only illegitimate unequal treatment may be called discrimination.**

Discrimination phenomena occur in **two spheres**: in the sphere of laws, rules, rights and entitlements, that discriminate against categories of persons, and in the sphere of social reality as factual discrimination, when a rule is not discriminating, but a social practice. People are denied certain rights they are entitled to or treated less favourably than others, without justification.

As to the sphere of rules it is not possible to judge a certain law per se as being discriminatory or not, without relating it to a particular frame of reference that can be sources for legitimacy. In the context of IMPACIM human rights and citizenship rights are such frames of reference. Under citizenship law a **rule** granting different rights to foreigners and citizens may be completely legitimate and thus **non-discriminating**; under human rights the **same rule** may be regarded as illegitimate and **discriminating** because lacking a legitimate aim or because a disproportionate means to achieve it. Analysis of discrimination thus depends on the frame of reference chosen.

Discrimination as a barrier to integration occurs in the form of refusing certain rights to persons – as just discussed – or as practice, where persons have equal rights, but are refused

the full use of those rights. This **factual discrimination** occurs as individual, institutional or structural discrimination. Individual discrimination can happen on the basis of prejudice, or without prejudice as conformity or opportunistic discrimination. Institutional discrimination refers to certain practices and rules in organisations which discriminate. Structural discrimination is denying support and equal opportunity to persons who have too few resources to improve their lot on their own.

Michael Bommes (1999) has gone an alternative route and has suggested an explanation for this factual discrimination of migrants on the basis of his theory of the welfare state and its inclusion mechanisms: Citizenship is the major inclusion mechanism of the welfare state; citizenship creates a lifelong relation of loyalty and welfare state support between the individual and the state. This relationship is characterised by mutual, standardised expectations, organised along the life course. Factual discrimination against migrants occurs because migrant biographies might deviate from the 'normality expectations' of the welfare state.

To conclude: There is some agreement in the debate:

- that rights for immigrants have been substantially expanded (compared to immigration before World War II into Western countries or to contemporary immigration in Third World countries)
- that democracy plays an important role in the expansion of rights
- that the welfare state has contributed to the development of the "rights revolution"
- that the influence of human rights on the status of immigrants has greatly increased.

There is disagreement, however,

- on the role of the nation state and national sovereignty
- whether citizenship really has lost its importance for integration

- on the legitimacy of connecting immigration control and the restriction of rights to migrants in the country
- on the role of popular resentment of immigration for granting or refusing rights to migrants.

Other areas seem to have found less attention in research and may be regarded as **under-researched**:

- the relation between size of immigration and/or increase in immigration, popular resentment of immigration, welfare backlash for immigrants and support/loss of support for immigration policies.
- the role of the courts in defining rights for migrants
- the grounds on which the courts will consider that a restriction is for a legitimate aim and proportional
- the implications of restricting the rights of migrants for integration outcomes
- governance aspects: the role of administrators in interpreting rules; enforcement or non-enforcement of rules; the role of the local level in practising rules and establishing new practices.

We have structured the debate in the literature so far according to the issue of the universality of rights and the role of citizenship for integration, according to the state's role in integration, according to the state's role in migration control and according to the issue of discrimination. Another and some more crude way in structuring the debate would be according to certain beliefs, values and value judgements that the scholars adhere to and which divide them broadly speaking into **two fundamentally different camps**. These camps are not differentiated according to "scientific" arguments or positions, but according to value judgements and beliefs. As Linda Bosniak suggests, one camp believes

"... that the political community's vital interests in border regulation continue to play legitimate and even essential role in defining the conditions of immigrants

who are now physically present in the territory. Rather than a binary, in–out decision, membership for new immigrants is understood as a continuum, or as a series of concentric circles, with citizenship the ultimate prize at the core. Along the way, individual's treatment is properly structured by the receiving society's border-driven, membership related interests until such time as the individual graduates to full membership in the innermost circle" (Bosniak 2006,122).

The other camp consists of people who believe the nation state is a political order of the past in the age of globalization that it is generally illegitimate to structure immigrants' rights according to citizenship status and along borders. Bosniak herself is in that camp and criticizes the "moral arbitrariness of the entire system of territorial birthright citizenship" (ibidem, 138).

4. Family migration: Who comes?

Returning to the lens of family migration, though migration biographies are manifold and the database in Europe regarding family migration is scarce, academic scholars have attempted to conceptualise processes of family migration and identify distinct categories of family migrants. The probably most cited conceptualisation has been made by Kofman (2004, 245-247) for whom 'family migration' in the European context refers to three types. First, there is family reunification in which members of the nuclear family join the primary migrant already residing in the country of destination. Second, one can identify whole family migration in which the entire family migrates together. Third, there is migration due to family formation or marriage migration.

Regarding **family reunification**, critics have challenged the way access has been granted to those most closely resembling the "nuclear family" (for example forbidding cousins, nephews etc.) with debates questioning the **Eurocentric vision of family** life that the requirements favour (Kofman 2004; Spencer 2011; Wray 2009; Grillo 2008). Staver argues in favour of a broader definition of family, especially for forced migrants (2008). In the same context, Giménez Costa discusses the recognition of Muslim marriage by the Spanish legislation (Giménez Costa 2004). Moreover, strategies to facilitate the reunification of their partner and children have been analysed (Gómez Crespo 1999).

Whole family migration currently is not very common in European states; migrants of this category are often only allowed on terms of long-term residence permits – or, a rather new phenomenon, in the case of highly-skilled migrants. As the demand for skilled labour is increasing and new European regulations such as the EU Blue Card for highly-skilled have been introduced, this type of immigration, the **immigration of highly-skilled migrants and their families**, is expected to rise and, thus be the focus of more research. Until now, however, research on this group of family-related migrants has been limited. However, Heß conducted two studies on highly-skilled and also interviewed these migrants about their family situation and the integration of spouses and children into employment and education; she found discontent with the employment possibilities for spouses, but content with the educational opportunities for children (Heß 2009, 2012). Similar research has been conducted in the Netherlands (European Commission 22.05.2007). Another study by Leinonen (2012) examines family-related migration in Finnish-American marriages, finding

that though they are highly qualified, their migration decision is not solely based on employment opportunities, but also very much on family ties and individual wishes.

The majority of the academic research on family-related migration however focuses on **marriage migration**. This refers to those who are, on one hand, permanent residents or citizens who bring in a partner they have met during a stay abroad for purposes of work, study or holiday. On the other hand, it also includes “second and subsequent generations of children of migrant origin (...) who bring in a fiancé(e)/spouse from their parents’ homeland or diasporic space” (Kofman 2004, 246). Some research also analyses **transnational family formation** between descendents of former labour migrants and co-ethnics in the country of origin and the development of this trend over time (Kalter and Schroedter 2010; Beck-Gernsheim 2007). In this context of marriage migration, researchers such as Beck-Gernsheim analyse **marriage as a migration strategy**. She argues that in non-western societies, ‘migration potential’ is becoming one of the criteria considered when choosing a partner, since this criterion offers the option of immigration into an industrialised country and upward social mobility. This is especially true as the tightening of migration laws often leaves marriage migration as the only option for potential migrants (Beck-Gernsheim 2010). Fleischer (2008) presents a case-study on this phenomenon of Cameroonian men marrying German women.

Other scholars focus on ‘**mail-ordered brides**’, as does Humbeck (1996) in the context of Thai women in Germany. In addition, the topic of meaning and extent of **arranged marriages** is discussed, e.g. by Charsley et al. (2012) in relation to Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Sri Lankan arranged or semi-arranged marriages leading to marriage migration to the UK. Guličová (2004) discusses marriage migration in Germany in a similar context with regard to marriage arrangement agencies. Some literature also deals with the public’s concern about ‘**forced marriage**’ (see Yerlikaya and Cakir-Ceylan 2011, 2005).

Sham marriage is another issue in the context of marriage migration, which is discussed in research. Lutz, for instance, analyses that a large age gap between partners can be considered as an indicator of ‘sham marriage’ and describes that partners have to prove they have not entered for any other motive than affection and love (Lutz 1994 cited in Kofman 2004, 255). The comparative report “Misuse of the Right to Family Reunification” also analyses cases of marriages of convenience and false declarations of parenthood in 24 European countries (European Commission 2012). Other scholars analyse sham marriages

and false declarations of parenthood from a legal perspective (Göbel-Zimmermann 2006; Jobs 2008).

5. Family migration and migration control in a European and national context

Despite an EU directive on family reunion, policies and academic discourses on the topic clearly reflect nationally specific traits. Most focus on entry conditions rather than the impact of immigration controls post entry (see below). According to Oliver (2012) **the UK** for instance has seen increasing tightening of entry conditions, including most recently substantial changes in the minimum income threshold for sponsors, extensions of the length of probationary period and tighter definitions of what constitutes a 'genuine marriage'. In the UK, however, there has also been an extension of post-entry restrictions which affect family migrants' entitlements to access education, welfare benefits and for some the entitlement to work (Gidley 2012; Spencer and Pobjoy 2011).

In **the Netherlands**, according to Ivanescu and Suvarierol (2012) family migration has been increasingly constructed as a policy problem. In the 1980s there was general consensus among Dutch politicians that family migration should be facilitated; family migration was considered both a moral right and obligation and it was expected to contribute to the government's policy goal of integrating resident migrants into Dutch society. From the 1990's onward, however this has changed (Bonjour 2008). In the 1990s the right to family reunion was made conditional, for instance upon a certain income level of the sponsor, and the 'rights and duties' and personal responsibility paradigms became dominant. Ivanescu and Suvarierol (2012) explain that there has been an increased attention to family migrants in the last decade due to the belief that a significant part of the marginalized and non-integrated immigrants come for the purpose of family reunification and of formation (Bagemeri 2011, 18). It is noteworthy that the Netherlands officially differentiate between family formation and family reunion, whereas EU and international conventions classify all family migration as family reunion (ibidem).

Spain may be called a latecomer among the European immigration countries. It was not until the end of the 1990s that the migration flows into Spain greatly increased (Stanek and Brey 2012). Family reunification heavily increased in the first decade of the new century, but due to its minor impact on migration flows, in comparison with economic migration, relatively little attention has been paid to family migration (ibid.) This has been true for research as well; only very recently more attention is being paid to this group of migrants.

The 1960s and early 1970s saw an intense flow of labour migration into **Germany**. When recruitment of labour migrants was stopped in 1973 during the so called oil crisis, the assumption was that most migrants would return to their countries of origin. Quite a few returned, although significant numbers of labour migrants stayed and were joined by their families. The demographic composition of the foreign population changed and became more similar to the native population. In the beginning governments built hurdles for the reunification process by imposing waiting periods for newly married couples. After these were removed the major attention of political debates and early research (Schrader et al. 1976) was on children joining their parents in Germany. The controversy was over the age limit, up to which children should be allowed to join their parents (Esser 1990). At present, controversies are about the legitimacy of imposing pre-entry language tests as a condition for entry of married partners. After-entry restrictions hardly exist; participation in a language course for newly arrived persons is an obligation, but could be seen as an entitlement as well.

As explained in section three on the development of rights for migrants in general it is safe to say that there has been a “rights revolution” for migrants in Western societies, including family migration. As a logical implication of this trend governments have lost steering capacity for migration control; across the EU, governments have limited room to manoeuvre particularly in restricting entry because of public expectations and international human rights obligations that people are entitled to live the family life they choose. Setting up certain pre-entry conditions, like language requirements for migrants or income levels of sponsor, is one method by which European governments attempt to regain at least some migration steering and management capacity. Another common policy effort of European governments in migration control is the fight against sham marriages and forced marriages. In some countries, like in the UK, the government seems to associate almost all marriage migration with sham marriages. While the severity of the problem of forced and sham marriages is not to be underestimated, scholars point out that there is nevertheless a risk that the association delegitimises and casts doubt on marriage migrants in general (Kofman et al. 2010, in Oliver 2012).

In European literature on family migration, there is considerable interest in legal aspects of family migration and especially in the tightening of restrictions for the entry of family migrants. Recent literature often refers to the European Directive 2003/86/EC on the right to family reunification for third-country nationals. Many European states used the

transposition of this directive for tightening the national restrictions for family migration in general: they introduced pre-entry integration requirements such as age requirements for subsequently immigrating spouses, language competence and the passing of integration tests. In countries that did not adopt the directive, such as the UK, similar processes occur (Groenendijk et al. 2007). One political argument for these legislative amendments was that the tightening of pre-entry restrictions would foster the post-entry integration of family migrants. These tightening of restrictions as well as legal aspects of family migration in general can be found in the focus of a variety of recent research in all four countries. Legal and other scholars analyse the **transposition and application of EU directives**, question the compatibility of laws on family migration with international laws and with human rights and discuss the immigration conflict between migration control versus the right to family life.

The EU Directive 2003/86/EC is discussed and explained, for example by Langenfeld and Mohsen (2003) Franz (2006) and Groenendijk (2006a). Other papers inform – more or less critically – on the EU Directive and its actual **transposition** into national law as well as the law's implication for the number of subsequently immigrating spouses. The comparative study “Family Reunification” analyses the implementation of the EU directive in nine European countries (European Commission 2007a). In Germany, Kreienbrink and Rühl (Kreienbrink 2007) and Weber et al. (2008) discuss the implementation of the EU directive into national law. Furthermore, the legal implications of decisions by the European Court of Justice and the European Court of Human Rights in relation to family migration are discussed in Beschorner and Petrowsky (2007) De Hart (2009). A more recent study (Strik, de Hart and Nissen 2013) assesses the requirements for family reunification across six EU Member States (Austria, Germany, Ireland, the Netherlands, Portugal and the UK), their application in practice, as well as national policies and case law, before considering their impacts on integration. Similar to this study, it however looks at requirements on migrants (for income levels, integration etc.) rather than states' responsibilities.

Other authors analyse the introduced **age requirements** for immigrating spouses: Hillgruber (2008) for instance, questions whether the age requirement of 18 years under German law is in accordance with the German constitution and concludes that it largely is compliant. Kingreen (2007) presents arguments why an age requirement of 21 years, which was considered as well, is not in accordance with the German constitution. For the case of the Netherlands Wiesbrock (2010) analyses the important decision of the European Court of Justice on age requirements in the Netherlands, and the resulting changes, which saw the

rise of the age requirement up to 21 (see also Charsley 2012 in relation to the UK). This is different in Spain, where no minimum age requirement for marriage migrants is determined, as described by Pascouau and Labayle (2011).

Another issue of intensive discussion among legal and policy scholars is the introduction of **pre-immigration tests** for family migrants. In the Netherlands this test is discussed by Strik et al. (2010) and Entzinger et al. (2011). Groenendijk argues that integration tests before entry as practiced by the Dutch government are prohibited under the EU Directive (Ruffer 2011, 947). Moreover, German scholars have criticised spouses' precondition of basic **language knowledge** before entering Germany. Gutmann (2010) for instance, examines the conflict of this precondition with European, international and constitutional law. These trends of pre-entry tests and integration programmes operating through sanctions have been identified by scholars in so far as it "pushes the limits of the *liberal* framework" (Ruffer 2011, 947, emphasis in original).

In addition, researchers critically discuss the **income requirements** (Wray 2009, Kofman and Wray 2013) as well as the high **fees** for applying for visas and for participating in the integration test. This debate especially occurs in the Dutch case (Bonjour 2008; Human Rights Watch 2008, 3). The preconditions of pre-immigration tests entail a shift of responsibility: the effort and financial burden for family migration and the integration of (family) migrants now lie on the immigrant, as examined by Scholten et al. (2011).

The **general tightening of restrictions** is also in the focus of academic papers. Some scholars argue in favour of the more rigid preconditions. Kelek (2006) for instance, approves the raise of minimum age to 21 in Germany, since – according to her – it would make forced marriage more difficult. Others, notably NGOs, by contrast, more often criticise these preconditions, for example claiming that the EU Directive on family reunification was interpreted by policy makers in a way that led towards a more rigid restriction of family reunification (Fischer-Lescano 2006). The criticism suggests that the required preconditions conflict with basic rights and liberties (Verband binationaler familien und partnerschaften, iaf e.V 2008; Dániel 2011). In Germany, the Christian welfare organisations Diakonie and Caritas also criticise the pre-entry regulations, claiming that they go against the right for family reunification (Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland e. V. 2012). In the Netherlands, the Dutch law of 2004 that requires family migrants to test their Dutch language and society knowledge, has also been challenged by the ECHR. In the UK,

Spencer and Pobjoy criticise the “sometimes conflicting policy objectives that may or may not be explicit” (Spencer and Pobjoy 2011, 2).

To conclude, literature on family migration is mainly focused on family reunification policy and its legal implications. This literature, however, mainly deals with pre-entry conditions and procedures. Much less attention has been granted to post-entry phenomena or the policy impact on migrants’ integration.

6. Family migration and integration

Most of the pre-entry restrictions have been legitimised in the policy literature by arguing that they help integration. The passing of language tests before entry is a case in point, so that immigration policy has become interwoven with concerns about integration (Oliver 2012).

In the literature on family migration and integration we find two common themes:

- Marriage migration and the reinforcement of traditional gender and family roles
- Marriage migration and the reproduction of ethnic boundaries.

Research in the Netherlands, the UK and Germany found that marriage migration is seen as linked to the reinforcement of traditional gender and family roles. Research on immigration policy and marriage migration in the Netherlands has shown for example “...how immigration policy actually reinforces existing gender and family relations. On the basis of accounts of female migrants from different origins, Ypeij (2005) has unravelled how Dutch migration and welfare policies have reinforced the patriarchal structures of Moroccan women and matrifocal structures for Caribbean migrants from former Dutch colonies” (Ivanescu and Suvarierol 2012, 3). For the UK Oliver (2012) quotes Kofman et al. (2010, 2) suggesting that “the migrant family is increasingly seen as an obstacle to integration – as a site characterised by patriarchal relations and illiberal practises and traditions such as arranged and forced marriage.” Within the UK, there is a particular interest in the dependency of female marriage migrants on their sponsor; Phillimore (2010, 14) notes that spousal migrants whose marriages break down are in an “extremely weak position”. Similarly in France, Morokvasic and Catarino (2006, 39) found that female marriage migrants are “... more likely to endure conflict and violence in the relationship, rather than leave their partners and thus lose the opportunity to get residency”.

Family reunification and formation usually assumes a breadwinning male migrants and trailing, dependent female and children (Ypeij 2005; Bailey 2004 and Boyle 2004). In her historical analysis of Dutch family migration policies between 1945 and 2005, Schrover (2009) observed that men were mainly seen as labour migrants, and women were considered to be family migrants. Migrant women have been thus approached in their relational capacity as wives, mothers, and daughters but not as workers (ibid.) Women have been typically

portrayed as victims of religion, domestic violence, trafficking, prostitution and discriminatory government policy (Schrover 2009, 191}. The victimhood discourse was successfully used to acquire rights for migrant women (mostly the right to stay), but as a result all migrant women came to be seen as vulnerable and in need of protection (ibid.) The visible victimization of women (or children) creates individual opportunities and gives them power, but it also strengthens the foreignness of the ethno-cultural groups to which these individual migrants belong (Beyers and Goddeeris 2009, 131). For Germany, Nauck (2007) gives a somewhat more differentiated view of gender roles in migrant families, as does De Wenden (1998) for France. For Sweden, Darvishpour (2002) found that in many Iranian families women challenge the role of men.

Second, family migration, and particularly marriage migration play a large role in the **reproduction of ethnic identities** and **ethnic boundaries** in the immigration country. The gradual disappearing of ethnic boundaries over generations would be an indicator of integration. Intra-ethnic marriages on the basis of marriage migration from the country of origin are a strong influence on the reproduction of ethnic groups and boundaries. Kalter and Schroedter (2010) looked at intra- vs. inter-ethnic marriages on the basis of official statistics and report large differences for immigrant groups. Marriage migration is a strong factor in intra-ethnic marriages. Haug (2010) found a strong ethno-religious factor for explaining intra-ethnic marriages in Germany. Indeed, as Stanek and Brey (Stanek and Brey 2012, 5) point out, “Several studies point out that ethnic endogamy within marriage and couple formation are, on a general level, the predominant patterns among migrants....Migrants from Africa (male and female) and Latin-American men, are the most endogamous...among Latin American women there is a very high rate of extra-ethnic marriage”.

7. “Impact” of post entry restrictions on integration outcomes

The IMPACIM project aims to investigate patterns of restrictions and entitlements for family migrants and their influence in the domains of employment, welfare benefits, education, health, housing and civic participation.⁷ Research exploring the impacts of restrictions and entitlements on integration is, however, extremely limited. There are some interesting exceptions, for example an OECD publication (2011) explores the interplay between naturalisation and integration in the major Western European countries, which explores whether the acquisition of citizenship by migrants, though not the same as rights, leads to better integration outcomes. However, in relation to this particular group, or the implications of post-entry restrictions, there is scarce research or data. Additionally, one has to bear in mind that in many cases family migrants experience the same restrictions and entitlements as non-family migrants, because these most often do not depend on their status as family migrant, but rather on their residence title. Thus, existing research on the integration outcomes of family migrants per se is scarce.

In the following sections we will give some evidence on integration outcomes for family migrants in different domains. Since such outcomes have multiple causations and post-entry restrictions and entitlements for family migrants will in most areas be one factor among many, it will always be difficult but nevertheless important to find evidence on the influence of such rules on integration outcomes.

7.1 Employment

The general picture is that employment rates for family migrants are comparatively low, in particular for women. For the UK Oliver (2012, 10) finds that family migrants face no prohibition from working, but migrant integration outcomes (in general) in employment are not always positive. Indeed, improvement and success in educational attainment among migrant groups is largely unreflected in better labour market participation. Dustmann and Theodoropoulos' (2010) study on labour market outcomes of immigrant groups relative to the UK born white population finds that employment rates are low among black Africans, Bangladeshis and Pakistanis. Women from Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities particularly

⁷ The national literature reviews did not give information on civic or political participation of family migrants; thus, we cannot report about this item.

stand out, with the lowest participation rates among ethnic minorities (ibid.) Low labour market participation rates for migrant women, including family migrants, are also reported for Germany by Kontos et al. (2012).

In the Netherlands “non-Western” family migrants often have no right to work upon arrival.⁸ After getting access to the labour market their participation rates are low and their unemployment is high (Zorlu and Hartog 2008). Turkish and Moroccan migrants both have low quality jobs and low participation rates in the labour market as opposed to Caribbean migrants, especially Caribbean women (Ivanescu and Suvarierol 2012, 10). In Spain, the situation seems to be somewhat different although this refers to the situation of the sponsor rather than family migrant: Veira et al. (2011) point out that having a family in Spain reduces risks of working in the specific low paid niches such as agricultural or domestic workers and the positive impact of family on occupational mobility has been confirmed in other Spanish studies, e.g. Fernández and Ortega (2008).

7.2 Education

Children have universal rights to education, but research shows in practice a deficit exists between the right and the reality (see Pinson, Arnot and Candappa 2010 in Oliver 2012). Dependent children’s experiences of schooling are also vulnerable to the ramifications of wider policies and curtailment of parents’ rights, especially for example in the domains of housing. In the UK, Oliver (2012) reports that immigrant children are regularly housed in poor neighbourhoods, and, as a consequence of the educational policy shift towards ‘parental choice’, migrant families are increasingly warehoused in underprivileged and poorly resourced schools (de Block and Buckingham 2007, Lucey and Rey 2002). In the UK, migrants in non-compulsory education also face restrictions on access to financial support based on residency.

In Germany, there is a structural gap between the outcomes of migrant and non-migrant children (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2010) and they face the same problems that all migrant children face, like lack of mentoring support, school segregation, lack of all-day schools, and low educational qualifications of many parents. For children who have been to school in the country of origin and are still of

⁸ By contrast, with the introduction of the so-called EU Blue Card family members of highly skilled migrants have the privilege to have access to the labour market immediately upon arrival.

the age of compulsory education, there are so called transitory classes, in which newly arrived pupils learn German primarily, but have some common instruction with other pupils as well. We could not find any evaluation about the effects of these classes, but they have been practiced for more than 20 years. As to adult newcomers, the government has introduced integration courses in 2005, consisting of 900 hours of language instruction and 35 hours of civics. Integration courses might be regarded as both an obligation and an entitlement. One recent study has evaluated the effect of integration courses on family migrants from Turkey and Russia (Schuller 2011). Positive influences were found in structural, cultural, social and emotional integration.

In Spain, there is a general literature on migration and integration, related to the achievement of migrant children, the role of families in the education process, the participation of newly arrived children in specific school programs, and the learning of Spanish and some regional languages (Stanek and Brey 2012). The latter two programs can be regarded as an entitlement (of sorts) for family migrant children. Nothing has been reported about the effects of such programs. Quicios and Mirinda (2005), Inglés (2009) and Sanchez and Garcia (2011) have studied the programs for newly arrived children mainly “from the perspective of educational studies, focussing on learning processes” (Stanek and Brey 2012, 9), but not on integration outcomes.⁹

7.3 Welfare benefits

Individual family migrants are not a particular category in the German welfare benefits system. With the exception of the first three months after arrival all family migrants are entitled to welfare benefits in case of need. Studying the possible effects of this entitlement would require having groups in similar situations of need, but with different welfare access. Since such groups do not exist, quantitative studies enabling comparison of integration outcomes for different groups of access cannot be expected and indeed, were not found. Only a legal study was found (Brinkmann 2012).

In the UK, the majority of research on impacts of restrictions on integration indirectly draws attention to the area of welfare benefits, particularly the impact of the ‘probationary period’ for women and the enforced dependency on the sponsor it engenders (Oliver 2012). Non-

⁹ The national literature report on the Netherlands did not have information on education for family migrants.

EEA migrants (including family migrants) experience significant restrictions on access to many benefits associated with public funds for varying periods of time after arrival (Spencer 2011). This means that family migrants can remain dependent on family members for housing and financial support for the probationary period (of now a minimum of five years). Research relating to this issue therefore emphasises the risks for migrants left vulnerable through their ineligibility for support (see Robinson and Casey 2007 in relation to housing).

In the Netherlands, there is an interesting discourse in the country on the relation between socio-cultural differences and the cultural basis of the welfare state which affects - even if only in indirect way – the notion of integration for family migrants. “Recent policies rest on the idea that socio-cultural differences do not only endanger social cohesion, but also the type of solidarity which is needed for the welfare state to function (Entzinger 2006). Thus, the issue which is addressed by integration policies becomes less how to promote socio-economic participation, so that the welfare state might continue to work, but how to construct the basis of solidarity which needs to support the welfare state (Bruquetas-Calejo et al. 2007).

The relationship between immigration and welfare state benefits has not been properly studied in Spain. It has been observed, however, that migrant household receive fewer welfare benefits than natives (Stanek and Brey 2013, 7, 8).

7.4 Health

Migrants are subject to particular risks that may negatively affect their health. There is also a broad literature in immigration countries on, for instance, different concepts of illness or communication problems with medical personnel which may be barriers for getting the right kind of treatment. Differences exist between countries as to the legal and formal access to the health system. Due to the system of family insurance system in Germany and the Netherlands newly arrived family migrants become part of the family insurance system and thus are protected. Examples of studies how the health system in Germany adapts to the needs of migrants are Knipper und Yasar (2009) and Blümel (2009).

In Spain as well, there are studies on the health conditions of migrants and their access to the health system (without a focus on family migrants). Montesdeoca et al. (2006) have analysed the adaptation of health services to the needs of migrant children. Oliván (2004) has

focused on the health condition of migrant children in comparison to non-migrant children of Roma origin. In the UK research on migrant health shows that in general, migrants have poorer mental and physical health than the host populations with some research emphasising the structural barriers facing migrants accessing health services (Thomas et al. 2010, Jayaweera 2010). In the UK as well there is some research on particular barriers that migrants face, although for family migrants access is relatively open, research has drawn attention to the frequent, confusing changes in policy relating to entitlements for healthcare for foreign nationals (Thomas, Aggleton and Anderson 2010).

7.5 Housing

For the Netherlands Zorlu and Muider (2008) argue that new migrants use the help of other migrants to access housing. They also tend to move to neighbourhoods where co-ethnics are concentrated, as family migrants and asylum seekers might have a greater cultural distance from Dutch society. Those joining for family reunification or family formation join already existing households, which are influenced by local housing market restrictions (Ivanescu and Suvarierol 2012). Other research showed that immigration of family migrants is delayed until independent housing has been found (Bolt and Van Kempen 2002).

In the UK migrants face restricted entitlement in social housing and the majority of new migrants are housed in the private sector. Research by Robinson et al. (2007) shows that different immigration pathways associated with different legal statuses (including those of chain migrants entering through the family reunification route) were creating variations in the settlement experiences of different new immigrant populations. Family migrants, in this case, mainly Pakistani women entering on spouse visas, emerged as more fortunate than other types of migrants in the sense that they stayed with their spouse or family, in often rent-free and permanent arrangements (Oliver 2012). This condition, of course, put the spouse in a position where she is dependent of the goodwill of her sponsor.

For Germany there is literature on general aspects of housing for migrants, like size of living space, prices (Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration 2010), on migration, city development, segregation, housing and housing policies of cities for migrants (Häußermann 1997), but there is no specific literature on housing for family migrants. Their sponsors have to have proper housing for being able to reunite with their

family migrants. In Spain there is a similar picture, with quite some literature on migration and housing, including housing conditions, housing and housing property, residential concentration or segregation, and household structures. However, again, no specific literature was found in relation to family migration, women or children (Stanek and Brey 2012).

8. Conclusion

The research and discourse on family migration and integration takes place in the broader context of the rights of migrants (section 3). The literature review confirms that in a historical and comparative perspective a “rights revolution” for migrants has taken place in Western societies. This does not mean, however, as Soysal suggests, that citizenship rights have lost relevance for the inclusion of migrants; it only means that in many domains of integration “denizens” (Hammar) enjoy similar rights as citizens. That is by no means the case however, for many of those who have newly arrived.

Within this broader picture, family migration policies and practices oscillate between a respect for internationally recognised human rights and the state’s interest to control immigration. This is the “liberal paradox of the emerging migration state” (Hollifield 2004). The migration state is a controlling state. The pre-entry conditions for potential migrants are one aspect of this controlling function. Despite certain restrictions for (family) migrants the overall picture is characterised by access of migrants after varying periods of time to the dominant welfare institutions of the state (see individual country reports and IMPACIM WP3 outputs on the project website). This supports Gary Freeman’s analysis of welfare state and integration policies. Whereas Freeman attributes this openness to the democratic character of modern state and the courts, the Bismarckian tradition of welfare state policies sees such inclusion as a conflict - anticipating a mitigating strategy.

Despite the importance of family-related migration as a dominant form of legal entry into EU member states, however family-related migration has been neglected in European research. This holds true even more for the integration of family migrants. As this literature review has shown, there is not much literature dealing specifically with the integration of this migrant group – and even less on the question how legal restrictions and entitlements affect the integration of family migrants.

Looking at individual countries it seems safe to say that - in a comparative perspective – specific restrictions and entitlements for family migrants have had hardly any attention in any of the countries of our research. In Spain the rather recent nature of migration and the predominant role of labour migration can explain the lack of research. In the UK, in Germany and the Netherlands the dependency of spouses during the time of the dependent residence status and its implications have found the attention of some researchers, with a

particular focus on Pakistani women (in the UK) and Turkish and/or Moroccan women in the Netherlands and Germany. In that sense the field is heavily gendered, as some observers have mentioned.

9. References

- ANITHA, S. 2010. No recourse, no support: State policy and practice towards South Asian women facing domestic violence in England, in: *British Journal of Social Work*, 40(2), 462-479
- ARANGO, J. 1999. Immigrants in Europe: Between Integration and Exclusion, in: *Metropolis International Workshop, Proceedings, September 28-29, 1998*. Lisbon: Textype-Artes Gráficas, Lda., 231–257
- BACH, R. 1992. Settlement Policies in the United States, in Freeman, G. and Jupp, J. (eds.): *Nations of Immigrants: Australia, the United States, and International Migration*. Melbourne and New York: Oxford University Press, 145–164
- BAGAMERI, D. 2011. Changing Integration Policy towards Third-Country Nationals in the European Union: Integration Conditions. Master Thesis. Budapest: Central European University, Department of International Relations and European Studies
- BAILEY, A. AND BOYLE, P. 2004. Untying and retying Family Migration in the New Europe, in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 229-241
- BAUBÖCK, R. 1994. *Transnational Citizenship: Membership and Rights in International Migration*. Aldershot: Edward Elgar
- BEAUFTRAGTE DER BUNDESREGIERUNG FÜR MIGRATION, FLÜCHTLINGE UND INTEGRATION 2010. Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration über die Lage der Ausländer und Ausländerinnen in Deutschland. Berlin
- BECK-GERNSHEIM, E. 2007. Transnational lives, transnational marriages: a review of the evidence from migrant communities in Europe, in: *Global Networks*, 7(3), 271–288
- BECK-GERNSHEIM, E. 2010. Restriktive Migrationsgesetze und die Entstehung transnationaler Heiratsmärkte, in Soeffner, H. G., Kursawe, K., Elsner, M. and Adlt, M. (eds.): *Unsichere Zeiten. Herausforderungen gesellschaftlicher Transformationen. Verhandlungen des 34. Kongresses der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Soziologie in Jena 2008*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 183–189
- BENHABIB, S. 2004. *The Rights of Others. Aliens, Residents, and Citizens*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- BESCHORNER, J. AND PETROWSKY, C. 2007. Zulässigkeit gemeinschaftsrechtlicher Beschränkungen des Nachzuges Minderjähriger, in: *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR)*, 27(3), 87-93
- BEYERS, L., VENKEN, M. AND GODDEERIS, I. 2009. Families, Foreignness, Migration, in: *History of the Family*, 14(2), 125-131

- BLÜMEL, S. 2009. Migration und Gesundheitsförderung. Ergebnisse einer Tagung mit Expertinnen und Experten. Köln: Bundeszentrale für gesundheitliche Aufklärung (BZgA)
- BOLT, G. AND VAN KEMPEN, R. 2002. Moving Up or Moving Down? Housing Careers of Turks and Moroccans in Utrecht, the Netherlands, in: *Housing Studies*, 17(3), 401-422
- BOMMES, M. 1999. Migration und nationaler Wohlfahrtsstaat. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag
- BONJOUR, S. 2006. Who's in and who's out? The postwar politics and policies of family migration in the Netherlands. Paper prepared for the ESSHC Conference, 22-25 March. Amsterdam
- BONJOUR, S. 2008. The Restrictive Turn in Dutch Family Migration Policies, 1993-2005. Paper Prepared for the ESSHC Conference, 26 February-1 March. Lisbon
- BOSNIAK, L. 2006. The Citizen and the Alien. Dilemmas of Contemporary Membership. Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press
- BREDAL, A. 2005. Tackling forced marriages in the Nordic countries: between women's rights and immigration control, in Welchman, L. and Hossain, S. (eds.): *Honour: Crimes, Paradigms, and Violence against Women*. London: Zed, 333-353
- BRINKMANN, G. 2012. Family Reunification of Third Country Nationals: Access of Family Members to Social Protection Benefits, in: *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 4, 2012, 291-308
- BRUQUETAS-CALLEJO, M., GARCÉS-MASCAREÑAS, B. PENNINX, R. AND SCHOLTEN, P. 2007. Policy-making related to immigration and integration: The Dutch case. IMISCOE Working Paper: Country Report, Working Paper No. 15.
- CHARSLEY, K. (ED.) 2012. *Transnational Marriage. New Perspectives from Europe and Beyond*. New York and London: Routledge
- CHARSLEY, K., VAN HEAR, N., BENSON, M. AND STORER-CHURCH, B. 2012. forthcoming: Marriage-related migration to the UK, in: *International Migration Review*, 46
- COOK, J. 2010. Exploring older women's citizenship: understanding the impact of migration in later life, in: *Ageing & Society*, 30(2), 253-273
- COUNCIL OF EUROPEAN UNION 2004. Press Release. 2618th Council Meeting, Justice and Home Affairs, 19 November 2004. 14615/04 (Presse 321). Brussels
- DÁNIEL, B. 2011. Changing Integration Policy towards Third-Country Nationals in the European Union: Integration Conditions. Central European University: Department of International Relations and European Studies. Budapest
- DARVISHPOUR, M. 2002. Immigrant women challenge the role of men, in: *Journal of Comparative Family Studies* 33, 2002, 2, 271-296

- DE BLOCK, L. AND BUCKINGHAM, D. 2007. *Global Children, Global Media: migration, media and childhood*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan
- DE HART, B. 2009. Love Thy Neighbour: Family Reunification and the Rights of Insiders, in: *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 11(3), 235-252
- DE VALK, H., NOAM, K., BOSCH, A. AND BEETS, G. 2009. *Children in Immigrant Families in the Netherlands: A Statistical Portrait and a Review of the Literature*. Working Paper 2009-16. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre
- DE WENDEN, C. W. 1998. Young Muslim Women in France: Cultural and Psychological Adjustments, in: *Political Psychology*, 19, 1998, 1, 133-146
- DIAKONISCHES WERK DER EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHE IN DEUTSCHLAND E.V. AND DEUTSCHER CARITASVERBAND E.V., 2012. Stellungnahme des Diakonischen Werks der EKD und des Deutschen Caritasverbandes zum Grünbuch der Kommission zum Recht auf Familienzusammenführung von in der Europäischen Union lebenden Drittstaatsangehörigen, Richtlinie 2003/86/EG KOM (2011) 735 endg. Berlin
- DUSTMANN, C. AND THEODOROPOULOS, N. 2010. Ethnic minority immigrants and their children in Britain, in: *Oxford Economic Papers*, 62(2), 209-233
- ENTZINGER, H. 2006. The parallel decline of multiculturalism and the welfare state in the Netherlands. In K. Banting and W. Kymlicka (eds) *Multiculturalism and the Welfare State: Recognition and redistribution in contemporary welfare states*. Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- ENTZINGER, H. AND BIEZEVELD, R. 2003. *Benchmarking in Immigrant Integration*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam European Research Centre on Migration and Ethnic Relations (ERCOMER)
- ENTZINGER, H., SAHARSO, S. AND SCHOLTEN, P. 2011. *Shaping immigration for integration? The Dutch migration-integration nexus in perspective*. Netherlands Country Report. EIF Project PROSINT (Promoting Sustainable Policies for Integration of TCNs)
- ESSER, H. 1990. Familienmigration und Schulkarrieren ausländischer Kinder und Jugendlicher, in Esser, H. und Friedrichs, J., *Generation und Identität*. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, S. 127-146
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2007a. *European Migration Network. Family Reunification*. Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2007. *Small Scale Study III. Third-country highly-skilled migrants in the EU. Entry and residence conditions in The Netherlands*. European Migration Network
- EUROPEAN COMMISSION 2012. *Misuse of the Right to Family Reunification*. European Migration network
- EUROPÄISCHES FORUM FÜR MIGRATIONSTUDIEN (EFMS) 2006. *Integration and Integration Policies*. IMISCOE Network Feasibility Study. Bamberg.

FERGUSON, J. 1990. The Anti-Politics Machine: 'Development', Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

FERNÁNDEZ, C. AND ORTEGA, C. 2008. Labor market assimilation of immigrants in Spain: employment at the expense of bad job-matches? In: Spanish Economical Review, 10, 83-107

FISCHER-LESCANO 2006. Verschärfung des Ausländerrechts unter dem Deckmantel der Umsetzung von EU-Richtlinien, in: Kritische Justiz : Vierteljahresschrift für Recht und Politik, 39(3), 236–246

FLEISCHER, A. 2008. Marriage over Space and Time among male Migrants from Cameroon to Germany. Working Paper 2008-006. Rostock: Max-Planck-Institut für demografische Forschung (MPIDR)

FRANZ, M. 2006. Familienzusammenführung in der Einwanderungspolitik der Europäischen Union. Rechtsfragen aus dem Europa- und Völkerrecht. Heft 30/2006. Osnabrück: Institute für Migrationsforschung und Interkulturelle Studien (IMIS), 45-68

FREEMAN, G. 2004. Immigrant Incorporation in Western Democracies, in Portes, A. and DeWind, J. (eds.): Conceptual and Methodological Developments in the Study of International Migration, International Migration Review, 38(3). New York: Center for Migration Studies, 945–969

GARCÍA FERNÁNDEZ, J. A. SÁNCHEZ DELGADO, P.; MORENO HERRERO, I. AND GOENECHEA PERMISÁN, C. 2010. Estudio del sistema y funcionamiento de las aulas de enlace de la Comunidad de Madrid: de la normativa institucional a la realidad cotidiana. Revista de educación, N° 352.

GIDLEY, B. 2012. Monitoring Integration in the UK, in Bijl, R. and Verweij, A. (eds): Measuring and monitoring immigrant integration in Europe. Integration policies and monitoring efforts in 17 European Countries. The Hague: The Netherlands Institute for Social Research, 344-359

GIMÉNEZ COSTA, A. 2004. El matrimonio musulmán: problemas de adaptación al derecho español, in Lasarte Alvarez, C., Donado Vara, A., Fernanda Moretón Sanz, M. and Yáñez Vivero, F. (coord.), Perspectivas del derecho de familia en el siglo XXI: XIII Congreso Internacional de Derecho de Familia

GÖBEL-ZIMMERMANN, R. 2006. "Scheinehen", "Scheinlebenspartnerschaften" und "Scheinväter" im Spannungsfeld von Verfassungs-, Zivil- und Migrationsrecht, in: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 26(3), 81-91

GÓMEZ CRESPO, P. 1999. Gestación y puesta en práctica de la reagrupación familiar como estrategia, Migraciones internacionales, 5, 55-86

GULIČOVÁ, M. 2004. Marriage Migration and the Significance of this Migration. Issue in Germany. Country Study. Project: Marriage as Immigration Gate: the Situation of Female

Marriage Migrants from Third Countries in the EU Member States (HeiRat I). Berlin Institute for Comparative Social Research

GRILLO, R. 2008. The Family in Dispute: Insiders and Outsiders, in Grillo, R. (eds.): The Family in Question. Immigrant and Ethnic Minorities in Multicultural Europe. IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 15–35

GROENENDIJK, K. 2006a. Familienzusammenführung als Recht nach Gemeinschaftsrecht, in: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 26 (5/6), 191–198.

GROENENDIJK, K. 2006. The Legal Integration of Potential Citizens: Denizens in the EU in the Final Years before the Implementation of the 2003 Directive on the Long-Term Resident Third Country Nationals, in Bauböck, R., Ersbøll, E., Groenendijk, K. and Waldrauch, H. (eds.): Acquisition and Loss of Nationality, Volume I: Comparative Analyses, Policies and Trends in 15 European Countries, IMISCOE Research. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 385–410

GROENENDIJK, K., FERNHOUT, R., VAN DAM, D., VAN OERS, R. AND STRIK, T. 2007. The Family Reunification Directive in EU Member States; the First Year of Implementation. Centre for Migration Law. Nijmegen: Wolf Legal Publishers

GUTMANN, R. 2010. Familiennachzug und Sprachkenntnisse, in: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 30(3), 90–96.

HAMMAR, T. 1990. Democracy and the Nation State. Aliens, Denizens and Citizens in a World of International Migration. Aldershot: Avebury

HAUG, S. 2010. Interethnische Kontakte, Freundschaften, Partnerschaften und Ehen von Migranten in Deutschland. Working Paper 33. Integrationsreport. Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)

HÄÜBERMANN (Hrsg. mit I. Oswald), 1997. *Zuwanderung und Stadtentwicklung, Sonderheft 17 der Zeitschrift LEVIATHAN*, (ISBN 3-531-13097-8)

HECKMANN, F. ET AL. 2001. Effectiveness of National Integration Strategies Towards Second Generation Migrant Youth in a Comparative European Perspective – EFFNATIS. Final report to the EU Commission. Bamberg: europäisches forum für migrationsstudien (efms)

HECKMANN, F., KÖHLER, C., PEUCKER, M. AND REITER, S. 2010. Quantitative Integration Research in Europe – Data Needs and Data Availability. Working Paper (PROMINSTAT Thematic Study on Integration, 03)

HEß, B. 2009. Zuwanderung von Hochqualifizieren aus Drittstaaten nach Deutschland. Ergebnisse einer schriftlichen Befragung. Working Paper 28. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)

HEß, B. 2012. Zuwanderung von Fachkräften nach § 18 AufenthG aus Drittstaaten nach Deutschland. Ergebnisse einer schriftlichen Befragung von Arbeitsmigranten. Working Paper 44. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)

HILLGRUBER, C. 2006. Mindestalter und sprachliche Integrationsvorleistung – verfassungsgemäße Voraussetzungen des Ehegattennachzugs? In: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 26(9), 304–317

HOLLIFIELD, J. 1992. Immigrants, Markets and States: The Political Economy of Postwar Europe. Cambridge: Harvard University Press

HOLLIFIELD, J. 2004. The Emerging Migration State, in Portes, A. and DeWind, J. (eds.): Conceptual and Methodological Developments in the Study of International Migration, International Migration Review, 38(3). New York: Center for Migration Studies, 885–912

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH 2008. The Netherlands: Discrimination in the Name of Integration. Migrants' Rights and the Integration Abroad Act. New York, USA

HUMBECK, E. 1996. The Politics of Cultural Identity: Thai Women in Germany, in Dolores Garcia-Ramon, M. and Monk, J. (eds.): Women of the European Union. The Politics of Work and Daily life. London, New York: Routledge, 186-201

INGLÉS LÓPEZ, M^a. D. 2009. Aulas de enlace: estudio de la implantación de un programa educativo experimental para recién llegados en la Comunidad de Madrid, Estudios de lingüística, N° 23.

IVANESCU, C. AND SUVARIEROL, S. 2012. Work Package 2: Literature Review on Family Migrants. The Netherlands. Unpublished Working Paper for the IMPACIM Project. Erasmus University Rotterdam.

JACOBSON, D. 1996. Rights across Borders: Immigration and the Decline of Citizenship. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press

JAYAWEERA, H. AND QUIGLEY, M. 2010. Health status, health behaviour and healthcare use among migrants in the UK: Evidence from mothers in the Millenium Cohort Study, in: Social Science and Medicine, 71(5), 1002-1010

JOBS, A. 2008. Beweismaß und Beweislast beim Ehegattennachzug, in: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 28(9), 295-298

KALTER, F. AND SCHROEDTER, J. 2010. Transnational marriage among former labour migrants in Germany, in: Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 1, 11-36

KELEK, N. 2006. Heirat ist keine Frage oder Kann durch die Einführung eines Mindestalters für den Nachzug von Ehegatten auf 21 Jahre die 'Zwangsehe' verhindert werden? In: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 26(7), 232–237

KINGREEN, T. 2007. Verfassungsfragen des Ehegatten- und Familiennachzugs im Aufenthaltsrecht, in: Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR), 27(1), 13–20

- KNIPPER, M. AND BILGIN, Y. Migration und Gesundheit. Sankt Augustin/Berlin: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung e.V.
- KOFMAN, E. 2004. Family-related Migration: A Critical Review of European Studies, in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 30(2), 243–262
- KOFMAN, E., LUKES, S., MEETOO, V. AND AARON, P. 2008. Family Migration Policies in the United Kingdom: Trends, Statistics and Policies
- KOFMAN, E., LUKES, S., MEETOO, V. AND AARON, P. 2010. Family migration to United Kingdom: trends, statistics and policies. NODE Policy Report, Vienna: BMWF/ICMPD
- KONTOS, M., ANTHIAS, F. AND MOROKVASIC 2012. Paradoxes of Integration. Female Migrants in Europe, Springer Publications, Dordrecht, Heidelberg, New York, London
- KRALER, A. 2010. Civic Stratification, Gender and Family Migration Policies in Europe. Forschungsbericht. Wien: International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)
- KREIENBRINK, A. AND RÜHL, S. 2007. Family Reunification in Germany, Small Scale Study IV in the Framework of the European Migration Network. Working Paper 10. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)
- LANGENFELD, C. AND MOHSEN, S. 2003. Die neue EG-Richtlinie zum Familiennachzug und ihre Einordnung in das Völkerrecht, in: *Zeitschrift für Ausländerrecht und Ausländerpolitik (ZAR)*, 23(11/12), 398-404
- LA SPINA, E. 2012. DNA Testing for Family Reunification in Europe, in: *Migraciones Internacionales*, 6(3), 39-74
- LEINONEN, J. 2012. Money Is Not Everything and That's the Bottom Line: Family Ties in: *Transatlantic Elite Migrations*, 2.
- LUCEY, H. AND REAY, D. 2002. A Market in Waste: Psychic and structural dimensions of school-choice policy in the UK and children's narratives on 'demonized' schools, in: *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 23(3), 253-266
- KOFMAN, E. AND WRAY, H. 2013. The fiscal implications of new family migration rules: What does the evidence tell us? Middlesex University briefing. Middlesex University School of Law.
- MONTESDEOCA, A., POCH, J., HERNÁNDEZ BORGES, A., APARICIO, J. L., HERRANZ, M., MATEOS, M. AND LÓPEZ ALMAREZ, R. 2006. Valoración del niño inmigrante, in: *Anales del sistema sanitario de Navarra*, 29(1), 35-47
- MOROKVASIC, M. AND CATARINO, C. 2006. Mapping of policies affecting female migrants and policy analysis: the French case. Working Paper 4

NAUCK, B. 2007. Immigrant Families in Germany. Family Change between Situational Adaptation, Acculturation, Segregation and Adaptation, in: Zeitschrift für Familienforschung, 19 (1):34-54

NESSEL, L. 2008. Families at Risk: How Errant Enforcement and Restrictionist Integration Policies Threaten the Immigrant Family in the European Union and United States, in: Hofstra Law Review, 36(4), 1271-1302

OECD, 2011. Naturalisation: A passport for the better integration of immigrants? OECD Publishing.

OLIVÁN GONZALVO, G. 2004. Comparación entre los niños de etnia gitana e inmigrantes extranjeros ingresados en centros de protección por maltrato, in: Gaceta sanitaria: Órgano oficial de la Sociedad Española de Salud Pública y Administración Sanitaria, 18(5), 380-386

OLIVER, C. 2012. Work Package 2: Literature Review on Family Migrants. The United Kingdom. Unpublished Working Paper for the IMPACIM Project. Center on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford

PASCOUAU, Y. AND LABAYLE, H. 2011. Conditions for family reunification under strain – a comparative study in nine EU member states. Brussels: European Policy Centre

PHILLIMORE, J. 2010: Vulnerable New Communities Study. For Barrow Cadbury Trust, College of Sciences

PINSON, H., ARNOT, M. AND CANDAPPA, M. 2010. Education, Asylum and the Non-Citizen Child: the politics of compassion and belonging. London: Palgrave Macmillan

POBJOY, J., AND SPENCER, S. 2012. 'Equality for All? The Relationship Between Immigration Status and the Allocation of Rights in the UK', *European Human Rights Law Review*, Issue 2

QUICIOS, M. DEL PILAR, MIRANDA, I. 2005. La educación inicial de los hijos de los inmigrantes en las "aulas de enlace" en España, *Revista Electrónica de Investigación Educativa*, 7(2).

ROBINSON, D., REEVE, K. AND CASEY, R. 2007. The housing pathways of new immigrants. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation

RUFFER, G. 2011. Pushed Beyond Recognition? The Liberality of Family Reunification Policies in the EU, in: *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 37(6), 935-951

RUHS, M. 2010. Migrant Rights, Immigration Policy and Human Development, in: *Journal of Human Development and Capabilities*, 11(2), 259-279

SÁNCHEZ DELGADO, P. AND GARCÍA, R. 2011. Organización de las aulas de enlace en la Comunidad de Madrid, *Cultura y Educación: Revista de teoría, investigación y práctica*. 23: 1.

- SÁNCHEZ-DOMÍNGUEZ, M., VALK. H. DE AND REHER, D. 2011. Estrategias matrimoniales de los inmigrantes en España, in: *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(1), 139-166
- SCHOLTEN, P., ENTZINGER, H., KOFMAN, E., HOLLOMEY, C. AND LECHNER, C. 2012. Integration from Abroad? Perception and Impacts of Pre-Entry Tests for Third Country Nationals. Final report of PROSINT Workpackage 4. International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD)
- SCHRADER, A., GRIESE, H. UND NIKLES 1976. Die zweite Generation. Sozialisation und Akkulturation ausländischer Kinder in der Bundesrepublik. Bodenheim: Athenaum
- SCHROVER, M. 2009. Family in Dutch Migration Policy 1945-2005, in: *History of the Family*, 14(2), 191-202
- SCHULLER, K. 2011. Der Einfluss des Integrationskurses auf die Integration russisch- und türkischstämmiger Integrationskursteilnehmerinnen. Working Paper 37. Nürnberg: Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge (BAMF)
- SOYSAL, Y. 1994. Limits of citizenship. Migrants and postnational membership in Europe. Chicago: University of Chicago
- SPENCER, S. 2011. The Migration Debate. Bristol: Policy Press
- SPENCER, S. AND POBJOY, J. 2011. The Relationship between Immigration Status and Rights in the UK: Exploring the Rationale. Working Paper 86. Oxford: Center on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS)
- STANEK, M. AND BREY, E. 2012. Work Package 2. National Literature Review: Spain. Unpublished Working Paper for the IMPACIM Project. Universidad Complutense de Madrid.
- STAYER, A. 2008. Family reunification: a right for forced migrants? Working Paper 51. Oxford: Refugees Studies Centre
- STRIK, T., LUITEN, M. AND VAN OERS R. 2010. Country Report the Netherlands, in: The INTEC Project: Integration and Naturalisation Tests: the new way to European Citizenship. Nijmegen
- STRIK, T. DE HART, B. AND NISSEN, E. 2013. Family Reunification: A barrier or facilitator of integration? A comparative study. Centre for Migration Law, Law Faculty: Nijmegen University.
- THOMAS, F., AGGLETON, P. AND ANDERSON, J. 2010. "If I cannot access services, then there is no reason for me to test": the impacts of health service charges on HIV testing and treatment amongst migrants in England, in: *AIDS Care: Psychological and Socio-medical Aspects of AIDS/HIV*, 22(4), 526-531

- VAN ELSUWEGE, P. AND KOCHENOV, D. 2011. On the Limits of Judicial Intervention: EU Citizenship and Family Reunification Rights, in: *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 13, 443-466
- VEIRA, A., STANKEK, M. AND CACHÓN, L. 2011. Los determinantes de concentración étnica en el mercado laboral español, in: *Revista Internacional de Sociología*, 69(1), 219-242
- VERBAND BINATIONALER FAMILIEN UND PARTNERSCHAFTEN, IAF E.V: 2008. Haben Sie noch eine Idee? Erfahrungen mit der Verschärfung beim Ehegattennachzug
- WEBER, F., REIMANN, R. AND LÖFFLER, H. 2008. Familienzusammenführung – Rechtsgrundlagen für die Einreise und den Aufenthalt in Deutschland. Berlin: Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (DRK)
- WIESBROCK, A. 2010. The Right to Family Reunification of Third-Country Nationals under EU Law; Decision of 4 March 2010, Case C-578/08, Rhimou Chakroun v. Minister van Buitenlandse Zaken, in: *European Constitutional Law Review*, 6, 462-480
- WILSON, A. 2007. The forced marriage debate and the British state, in: *Race and Class*, 49, 25-38
- WRAY, H. 2006. An Ideal Husband – Marriages of Convenience, Moral Gate-keeping and Immigration to the UK, in: *European Journal of Migration and Law*, 8, 303-320
- WRAY, H. 2009. Moulding the migrant family, in: *Legal Studies*, 29(4), 592-618
- YERLIKAYA, H. AND ÇAKIR-CEYLAN, E. 2011. Zwangs- und Scheinehen im Fokus staatlicher Kontrolle, in: *Zeitschrift für Internationale Strafrechtsdogmatik*, 6(4), 205-213
- YPEIJ, A. 2005. Gendered Travels: Single Mothers' Experiences at the Global/Local Interface, in Davids, T. and van Driel, F. (eds.): *The Gender Question in Globalization. Changing Perspectives and Practices*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 109-124
- ZORLU, A. AND HARTOG, J. 2008. Employment assimilation of immigrants in the Netherlands. Tinbergen discussion paper TI 2008-057/3
- ZORLU, A. AND MULDER, C. 2008. Initial and Subsequent Location Choices of Immigrants to the Netherlands, in: *Regional Studies*, 42(2), 245-264