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The Role of Non-Governmental Organisations in the Integration of Third Country
Nationals in the European Union: German and Hungarian Case Studies.

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Declaration

I hereby declare that no part of this dissertation has been submitted or accepted for any other degrees in any other institution. It contains no material previously written or /and published by any other person, except where appropriate acknowledgement is made in the form of bibliographical reference.

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Budapest, Hungary, 07.05.2018



Abstract

The unending search for pathways to create social cohesion between the European Union and the 'others' termed third country nationals in the EU has been an on-going challenge. Prior to the formation of the European Union, countries that make up the present member states developed various ways in which they managed migration and integration of the 'others' in their territory. But according to Castle (2004), majority of these policies have failed because they were not linked to long term political agenda related to trade, development and conflict prevention. The inevitable need for the development of a common European immigration and integration policy in the EU which has since began in 1999 to manage migration in Europe especially in view of the Schengen acquis led to the various common instruments for managing migration and integration in the EU, yet these immigration policies are limited to certain areas of migration and integration management. Member states still determine to a large extent the management of immigration and integration of TCN on their territory despite the various common directives on the EU platform for managing the challenge.

In view of Stephen Castle's discourse on failures arising from social dynamics of hidden agenda in national policies, this thesis investigates the trajectory of intervention brought to bear in the migrant integration by the contested tier of governance, the NGOs as mitigating the challenges of integrating the target group. Much as the EU projected management of migration flows would be much more conveniently done legally from country of origin to the country of migrants choice in the European Union selected through knowledge of immigrant's skills and how to further develop these skills to be adaptive to the European environment as a way to make-up for projected future demographic challenges that will affect pension schemes in European societies because of age longevity and low birth-rates. The unpredictable global political challenges that led to migrant surge from crisis areas in the Middle-East, instabilities in Africa, politically and economically unstable EU neighbours, with globalization and conflicts fuelling movements in the direction of the EU, these migratory patterns has made the 21st century the undeniable age of migration. Global migration statistics show that immigration trend to Europe is much higher when compared to global immigration; the issues fuelling these migrations are yet to go away. This suffices for why the integration of immigrants within the European Union is a foregoing challenge. The migration surge brought about mixed flows of both asylum seekers and economic migrants with various levels of education and skills, different social,

cultural and religious backgrounds which need to be adapted to the EU environment. The European Union has found ready partners in the NGOs. The challenge of brain waste occasioned by the integration policies of member states in the past where integration measures did not provide the needed inter-ethnic contact capable of paving the way for increased labour participation among immigrants rather these policies have focussed on so called generous welfare systems, which have made immigrant populations strongly represented among the unemployed in the EU. These integration processes have been largely taken for granted as successful one-off assimilation/integration of immigrant population into the host society. This bubble burst has further deepened the need for researching new approaches for the integration of non-EU immigrants. A management strategy in the EU is the partnering with NGOs to manoeuvre through the political gap created by jurisdictional competences of governance between the EU institutions and the member states.

The European Commission's agenda for integration of third country nationals introduces the Common Basic Principles beginning with a two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of member state. It stressed the importance of local level participation with regards to local authority and local organisations, that effective integration can only be realised in partnership between the whole range of stakeholders such as the European institutions, Member States and national, regional and local actors.

Social interaction and processes are channels through which identities are formed; Styrker (1980) presupposes a reciprocal relationship between self and the society. Therefore this study view functional tool kits provided by NGO for the integration of TCN as achieving a common European objective through social interaction and process. This dissertation takes a look at this partnership and other avenues of local Non-Governmental Organisations' and International Non-Governmental organizations' interventions in member states integration of TCN. It provides analytics of comparison in two member states Germany and Hungary. The study examines historical and contemporary migration and immigrant integration policies in both countries and how partnerships with NGOs have impacted on the integration.

This research contributes to the body of scholarly research on Europeanization and identity formation through interaction and process howbeit as relating to a minority group of third country nationals. The implementation at member state level of EU-wide policies, the increasing prominence of NGOs in public governance, and look at how the intervention of NGOs in providing avenue for social interaction through processes are helping migrants form the needed identities for their integration.

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List of Abbreviations

AMIF- Asylum and Migration Fund

CBO- Community Based Organisation

CBP- Common Basic Principles

EASO- European Asylum Support Office

EU- European Union

EEA- European Economic Area

EC- European Community

ECDL- European Computer Driving License

ECSC- European Coal and Steel Community

ECRE- European Council on Refugees and Exiles

FRA- Fundamental Rights Agency

FRONTEX- European Border and Coast Guard Agency

JHA- Justice and Home Affairs

ICP- Immigration Control Policy

INGO- International Nongovernmental Organization

IOM- International Organization for Migration

NAP- National Action Plan

NGO- Non- Governmental Organization

OFFI- Official Language Translation Office in Hungary

PVO- Private Voluntary Organization

TCN- Third Country Nationals

TEC- Treaty of the European Community

TEFU- Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union

TEU Treaty of the European Union

UN- United Nations

UNHCR- United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

Chapter I

Introduction

Member states in the European Union, especially Western European countries have been migration destination countries since the end of the Second World War (Kahanec & Zimmermann 2008). The contractual nature of the admittance was temporary, around two years going by examples of labour migration in Germany. Exigencies in the activities of the contracting parties brought about changes in the initial terms of the contract. Despite these changes countries rhetorically held on to the initial temporary terms of engagement, which translated into policies by which the non-citizens were viewed by the larger society. The initial terms of engagement with immigrants had implications for how the integration of immigrants was perceived; since admittance was temporary the immigrants were expected to go away after sometime. There was therefore no concrete plan for their integration, believing that whatever challenge their presence posed to the society, it was likely to fizzle out within a short period. Unfortunately, the expectations were short lived. Other patterns of migration like honouring the Geneva Convention of 1951 (for countries who had ratified it) gave right to persons facing persecution to seek for asylum in Western European countries. Economic recession as a result of the oil crisis in 1973 led to a restrictive migration policy to stop immigrants from gaining entry. Fear of being denied a chance to come back to Europe should they travel to their country of origin, this made resident immigrants stay put in their countries of residence and began to take advantage of their legal right to family re-unification. These trajectories exploited by immigrants increased migration patterns in the 1990s. Castle & Miller (1993) precisely described the 1990s as the age of migration. Migration age has continued in the millennium with the several conflicts and economic challenges being faced by European Union neighbours. Migrations into the European Union are much higher in comparison with other continents on global migration trends and are increasingly divergent in nature. Since the 1960s Europe has topped other continents on the global immigration trends, in 2005, migrant population accounted for 7.6% of the total population in Western and Central Europe and 23.2 % of global migration (UN DESA 2005). Net migration in the same year accounted for almost 85% of Europe's population growth (Munz 2006). The increase and diversity in these migration patterns into Europe according to Vertovec (2007) is super-diverse. Migration from Africa and the Middle-East seem to be the focus today because of the security threat of fear of terrorist infiltration it poses to the continent and

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the possible change of social dynamics, these are not the only migrant populations. Migrants from Asia and Latin America since 2000 have been coming to Europe to destinations like Spain, Italy and Portugal. Spain takes the lead with 813,200 registered stocks of Migrants in 2004 from countries like Ecuador, leading with a total number of registered migrants of (357,100), and Colombia (204,300) others are Argentina, Peru, Cuba and the Dominican Republic. Variety of peoples with migration background accounts for the growing cultural and ethnic diversity in European societies (Okolski 2012).

The geographical, political and administrative structure of the European Union has impacted on migration patterns in the member states. Hitherto non-migration and transit countries in Europe are now migration destination countries because of their being in the Schengen area. Migrants' hope of getting to their destination countries if they can gain access into one of the member states in the European Union. Through treaties and the policy instruments like the CEAS Common European Asylum System, Dublin directive and EURODAC the EU has placed checks against the abuse of the Schengen system. Directives by the European institutions compel member states to act in accordance with the EU provisions in their administration as it relates to admission, reception and integration of third country nationals.

Regardless of directives and policies around this minimal but growing group, member states nationalistic and political perspectives on third country nationals are such that it does not take into cognizance the dynamics of immigration, which can be a challenge to immigrant's integration. The gap between immigration and immigrant integration policy goals and the actual outcome is often very wide. This short-term view of the challenge has translated into the policy goals in the integration of the target group, policy perspectives have been responsible for immigrant populations, minimal about 4% of the entire European population, but are well represented among the unemployed in the European Union: 7.9% as at February 2016 compared to 2-4% of the entire EU unemployed population.

Castle (2004) highlights the importance of analyzing migratory processes with its own dynamics, beginning at country of origin to settlement at destination country, community formations and the generations thereafter. In a more recent publication Castles et al. (2014 pp 16–17) state that migratory processes since the late 1980s have become diversified, globalized, accelerated and have become increasingly politicized, unfortunately political decisions seldom take into account a comprehensive view of the effects of and costs of solving one problem (in this case immigrants' integration) in relation to another. Priorities are often set in obfuscated environment involving the conflicting demands of the

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media, the people and politicians. Regardless of good intentions the decision making process is marred by arbitrary and haphazard methods (Lomborg 2006).

Non-governmental organizations have predominantly been relevant in the social and political sphere in the EU. The place of non-governmental actors in immigration and immigrant integration has been in two forms; as a partner in helping the member states find the enabling environment for the settlement of the target group, also as a watchdog on the rights of the immigrants that gave room for carving out a space for EU policy on migrant incorporation, resulting in article 13 on anti-discrimination and a race directive (Guiraudon 2000, p. 264).

The Europeanization process viewed as a top down effect of EU Policies on domestic policies (Ladrech 1994) was a challenge, new to member states with already established systems of relating with these issues, therefore the need for adjustments for compatibility to the new environment. The new governing environment a misfit between domestic laws and EU laws; with the EU migration policy, which lack securitarian policy frame, with restrictive policy framework of the member states having little consideration for actual immigrant integration. This perspective cannot rule out the view shared by (Gamble 2002; George 2001; Hix & Goetz 2000) which focussed on the effect of European integration on Europeanization; which George (2001) describes as a two-way process and Hix and Goetz (2000) avers that Europeanization is the dependent variable while European Integration is the independent variable. This Europeanization strengthened the states Moravcsik (1994), with emphasis on the scope to which the EU can affect local policies, local laws and collective identities of the member states (Cole & Drake 2000; Dyson 2000; Cowles, Caporaso & Risse 2000; and Radaelli 2000), stalemates brought about the partnership between the EU and non-governmental organizations. EU/NGO partnership became an emergent management and policy-making tool (Geddes 2000 p 10) in areas such as social inclusion and cohesion, education, urban development, community relations development, where there is no longer exclusivity of efforts but collaboration between the state and NGOs Hajer & Wagenaar (2003). The European Commission in 2012 therefore created the environment for discussing the relevance of the principle of partnership and establishing cohesion between the EU and the member states to be able to achieve cohesion policies jointly in areas such as subsidiarity program development and co-financing of projects.

Partnering in areas, such as social inclusion and cohesion needs a comprehensive approach of all members in the society including the *others*, descriptive of the third country nationals in the EU, representative of persons who characteristically or by other criteria of assessment do not belong to the

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original members (citizens) of the European Union community. The search for theoretical underpinning of the concept of citizenship has been described as nonexistent (Turner 1993, p. viii; Tilly 1995). Regardless of this, scholars (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, p. 352, ; Brubaker 1989, p 3; Barbalet 1988, p 2 Vogel 1991 p 62) relates it with the notion of membership in a community or a nation state as paving the way for possessing the citizenship of that nation state. The yardstick expressed by the scholars about the membership of a community as a panacea for possessing its citizenship, was challenged by the dramatic establishment of the supranational context in the Treaty of the European Union TEU in 1993 (Wiener 1998 p 4). Members of this community of the European Union, have themselves been 'othered' but now in a new community of citizenship when the Schuman plan became a reality in 1951 April 18 with only six founding member states, the founding treaty of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC) in the Treaty of Paris. Several changes have occurred with regards to the size and operation of the European Union which finally developed into the political unification of Europe with the signing and coming into effect of the Maastricht Treaty in November 1993. According to Article 8 No 1b of the Maastricht Treaty, ... Every person holding the nationality of a member state shall be a citizen of the Union. The expanding member States in the politically 'new' Europe are constantly changing (Kelstrup & William 2000, p. 2) prior to belonging to the new community they developed varying policies, though sometimes similar measures of handling *the others* in their midst. European integration also demands the adoption of common measures to integrate the foreigners, immigrants within the borders of the Union because of the introduction of common borders within the EU. Several issues have to be addressed, like the extent the freedom of movement common to Union citizens are extended to third country nationals because of the implication of movement and residence to the security of the union. Societal debates and political rhetoric on assimilation/Integration has influenced scholarly theorizing, made early studies focussed more on the ideological concepts of *others* integration in the society than on the actual well-being of the immigrant necessary for social cohesion between the immigrant and the citizens and social cohesion of the society. Debates and political rhetoric have impacted on policy design and had their toll on the theorizing. The two major concepts in immigrants inclusion are assimilation and integration, with assimilation congruently associated with the notion of nation and national belonging (Geddes 2001) and defined as a process of convergence of immigrant behavioral and preferential outcomes to that of the native born a one-way process (Algan 2010). The ideological conception of assimilation means the shedding off completely of immigrants own ways of life and become absorbed into the host society,s cultures. While integration is regarded as the process whereby the immigrant are given equal access to opportunities as natives, reflective of the host

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willingness to accept immigrants and provide them with equal rights to express their behaviours and preferences along with natives, for the purpose of equipping them with the right tools to properly participate in the host society. Or integration is predicated on a rejection of diversity by migrant receiving societies with a coincidental rise in integration as a way to challenge crisis of multiculturalism across Europe (Murphy 2013). Borrowing a leaf from (Fligstein 2000) process of Europeanization, the increased interaction (economic and social) affects how people think of who they are and what their interests are. The misconception of what is more relevant focussing on equipping the immigrant with the right tools necessary for integration, or the more nationalistic concerns of shedding off old behavioural patterns and remoulding immigrants into the national concept of the host society. This has led to applying a differentialist-approach to immigrants integration in hope, that immigrants will return back to their country of origin so that cultural/national homogeneity is maintained. Politically misplaced priorities on the achievement of a socially cohesive society has resulted in indicators that show third country nationals across the EU as faring far worse than EU citizens in the areas of education, employment and social inclusion outcomes. But the EU has pointed out that successful integration of third country nationals is of common interest to all member states in the European Union. Politicization of the migrants integration has had its toll on efforts to integrate this group, therefore partnering with non-governmental organizations with less bureaucratic and political concerns (Narayana 1992) on integration of the target group is likely to yield a more focussed progress than governments handling integration.

Two cities are selected for the research, being member state cities in the European Union to understand their migration and immigrant integration experience. The industrialised city of Munich in the Bavaria State of the Federal Republic of Germany which has been home to immigrants following the outsourcing by the German Republic for guest workers to work in its post world-war booming economy. NGOs, then referred to as welfare organizations have been instrumental to the sourcing and settlement of the immigrants strictly guided by government's differentialist policy. And Budapest Hungary a predominantly transit point for third country nationals and a bit of immigration country particularly as it relates to indigenous Hungarians from neighbouring countries in Europe, so that much of Hungary's integration experience has been centered on indigenous Hungarians who were to a large extent easily integrable because they possessed a common language, customs and values with local inhabitants. Despite the many years of Germany's experience with admitting third country nationals, nationalist differentialist policies which refused to recognise the presence of generations of third country nationals rather chose to deny that it was a migration country affected the policy designed to

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integrate the group. The descent based law founded on the principles of Jus sanguinis by which German citizenship was acquired, was the premise for the differentialist approach to immigrants integration, which gradually moved to a territorial principles of jus soli. This policy instrument meant that integration tools were provided based on the country's policy focus successful in some areas, while others that did not conform to the policy direction were neglected meaning success in certain areas and unsuccessful in other areas. Hungary also adhere to the jus sanguinis system of citizenship but with minimal number of third country nationals on its territory translated into less experience and less pressure to develop integration measures. Measures for the integration of the target group were developed when it ratified the the refugee convention to give asylum first only to Europeans and subsequently to third country nationals and further deepened following her accession to the European Union. But political rhetoric surrounding the integration of the target group has had its effect on the way policies are shaped around this group and impacted on the results of integration in both countries. These highlighted challenges are some of the reasons why the integration of the target group has been a challenge in the European Union member states, specific to the focussed cities but applicable to majority of the member states. The problem statement is therefore developed from the foregoing.

Statement of Problem

The complex nature of immigration and immigrant inclusivity into the host society marred with nationalist and political rhetoric among member states in the European Union has been a challenge for policy, policy implementation and academic theorizing. The European historical perspectives on nations, nationalism and belongingness have had its impact on the way immigrants are perceived. These perceptions have influenced social political debates, which gave way to two ways of viewing host relationships with the immigrants. First as ideological assimilation focused on moulding the immigrant into a melting pot version of the native born, with the shedding away of immigrants own national characteristics and culture. Secondly, national policies were predominantly temporary measures (Scholten 2007, p. 3), for immigrants' integration with evidence from Germany's temporary labour workers scheme, where several generations of immigrants, living in the country, were regarded as temporary stayers and confirmed the country's self-classification as non-migration country. These policies lacked long-term political agenda related to development and conflict prevention (Castle 2004). The perennial nature of the challenge without concrete long-term integration plans to promote cohesion earned the challenge the description 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Weber, 1973).

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The spillover effect of European Union integration has brought about the need for cooperation among member states in the European Union in the areas of immigration, asylum and immigrant integration. States historical perspective of the challenge is a challenge for peaceful transition of these policy areas associated with multi-level governance and the emblem of national sovereignty (Marks et al 1996; Guiraudon 2000) to Supranational EU with its lack of securitization policies. However, since 1999, cooperation in these areas has been developing, but the effects of the failures of wrong policies for managing the challenge remain. Key integration figures show that of the 20 million legally resident third country nationals in the EU, which represents 4% of the entire EU population, only 54% are in paid employment, which means that a little more than half of TCN in the EU are in paid employment. This challenge is linked to the low educational and vocational skills level, which is put at 22% of European citizens against 43% of third country nationals. Rumbaut & Portes (2001) non-citizens are far more likely to be poor than citizens. Member states policies takes some responsibility for these results, which more or less place a demand on the immigrant and overlook the states and society's contribution to actual integration.

The conflicting direction of member states integration policies across the EU also means that universality is far from sight (Eurofound 2015). Best practices are highlighted and recommended in the EU Common Basic Principles CBP, but the controversy of member states holding tight to competencies concerning the integration of third country nationals, preventing a benchmarking of policies at the EU level is the obstacle to adoption of unified best practices and results.

Political debates on immigrants' integration have had their toll on academic theorizing on the discourse. Conceptual arbitrariness in the social science field of immigrants' relationship with the larger European societies has reached no form of resonance adduced to the possible explanation that many European scholars are trapped in their national histories (Lucasson, Feldman & Oltmer 2006, p. 7)¹. This has led to several popular naming to explain this relationship, which are assimilation, acculturation, absorption, integration, inclusion, pluralism, differential-exclusionary approach, multiculturalism (Schunck 2014). Where assimilation and multiculturalism has dominated the political societal discourse and has motivated the advice for scientific discourse to avoid the two concepts because they have the tendency to produce scientifically biased, unsatisfactory and unjustifiable interpretations (Lucasson 2006 p 16) if adequate care is not applied. Interplay between

¹ Lucassen, L., Feldman, D. and Oltmer, J. (2006) (eds.) *Paths of Integration: Migrants in Western Europe*. IMISCOE Research, Amsterdam University press

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research/researchers and policy, politician and political debates and field implementation of policies has an impact on the perception of immigrants' integration in the social sciences. Boswell (2009) posits that politicians would rather be part of the popular evidence-based policy making process in a symbolic rather than in purposeful instrumental ways. Symbolism with regards to handling issues leads to window dressing as against objective result oriented implementations. Boswell in a more recent publication Boswell (2015 p 20) also avers to the *instrumental* function that research serves. She points to knowledge as a problem solver drawn by the policy maker to improve the policy content in order to realize political or organizational goals. Another function that research serves to policy makers is *legitimization* by being seen to draw from expert knowledge. Citing Herbst position that knowledge endows organization or in this case policy makers with 'epistemic authority' and the *substantiating* function that knowledge serves, here she shows how knowledge is used to substantiate policy preferences in case of political contestations this type of knowledge usage is also symbolic in nature. Wimmer & Glick-Schiller (2002) describes as "methodological nationalism" researches where the choice of topics, questions to be answered, conceptual and theoretical approach and source citations come from political and policy framing by national government actors, as being influenced by the intense contact and interactions between researchers and policy makers. Scholten & Verbeek (2014) focus on the "scientification of politics" and "politicization of science" and the impact of research policy relations on knowledge production as being responsible for the growing antagonistic cynicism in opposition to earlier optimism about the value of academic expertise as the path-finder for policy content and implementation. This they attribute to the increasing politicization of immigrant integration. Nowotny (2003), Jasanoff (2013) posits society speaks to science as much as science speaks to society and calls it co-evolution or co-production, this interaction between science and society, referring to the science-politics dialogue structure as a key axis for this co-production. Research theorizing is usually borne out of prevalence in the society, but researchers have to be weary of how much content is be sourced from the general society, whose contribution to issues are information from political rhetoric, media agenda presentations or uninformed guesses about the issue on the agenda. The changing research environment as echoed by Nowotny et'al (2003) who discusses the three influences that are bound to affect research theorizing which they classify as (a) steering research priorities (b) commercialization of research and (c) accountability of research. The multiplicity of opposing views on the challenge has also contributed to stagnate the challenge from insightful solutions. Other effects of the politicization of the challenge are that it has influenced

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European citizens' perception of the target group and the lack of longitudinal policy visioning has made TCN well represented among the unemployed and socially excluded in the European Union.

Justification of the Research

There is a large body of scholarly research on issues surrounding the integration of third country nationals, social cultural dimensions of immigrants integration in relation to fertility adjustments of immigrant (Blau, 1991; Fanandez & Fogli 2009), National and ethnic identity of immigrants, (Dustman, 1996; Bisin et al., 2008; Constant, Gataullina, and Zimmermann, 2009; Manning and Roy, 2010), acquisition (Bueker, 2005; Chiswick and Miller, 2008), legal and civic integration (Carrera & Weisbrock 2009 Torre & Lange). Others looked at economic integration in terms of wage distribution, occupation and welfare (Chiswick, 1978; Borjas, 1995; Hu, 2000; Algan et al, 2010), (Chiswick, 2002; Green, 1999; Chiswick and Miller, 2009), (Borjas, 2002; Borjas and Hilton, 1996; Riphahn, 2004). The complex nature of integration is constant in all of this research, as it may appear successful along some dimensions and unsuccessful in others. The European (CSES 2013) Center for Strategy and Evaluation Services investigated NGOs as the local and regional level participation in the integration of third country nationals in Europe. Other researches (Biffli 2005; Cervinski 2011; Hoffmann 2012; Ribero et al 2012; Irrera 2016; Garido & Codo 2017; Kyochukov & New 2017 Ryngbeck 2014 Valutis 2013) have directly investigated the role of NGOs on the integration of the target group. The mitigating role of NGOs in the integration of third country nationals, as having an impact in the integration of the target group via cross-country variation despite its perceived superficiality in the member states and EU engagements with the NGOs is the focus of this research.

The non-bureaucratic grass root system by which non-governmental organizations in Europe achieve results in seemingly challenging issues has earned these organizations some recognition in government quarters and trust among citizens. European Union level governments as well as member states governments have turned to Non-governmental organizations for solutions to pressing issues earning them the description as implementer, catalyst and partner. (Lewis 2010), a force of democracy (Tvedt 2002), advanced planetary citizens alliance (Korten 2000). The EU had developed partnerships with NGOs in the Europeanisation process, needed to check the political stalemate between the EU and member states and created a distance between the EU and its citizens. Historically the role of NGOs as welfare organizations in organizing Germany's labour migration is indicative of NGO's ability to find

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solutions through interaction with peoples at all levels. Despite existing government, agencies that deal with immigrant integration, in European societies, NGOs have developed competencies by which they mitigate in the several challenges associated with the integration of third country nationals' integration in the EU. These efforts have furthered partnership between the NGOs, the EU and the member states, the EU contemporary integration measure through Instruments like the AMIF where NGOs develop projects subject to approval from the supervising authorities, implement projects in the bid to help immigrants find ways of integrating into the European societies. Integration possibilities viewed through the realization of immigrant's motives and skills receiving society's opportunities and restriction as influencing in the integration process (Schunk 2014). This research initiative is developed from the complexities in immigrant integration research which has made scientific research especially in this field to be treated as probabilistic in the way policy on integration developed. The uncertainty inspire the research on the role of NGOs in the integration of third country nationals; it will present evidence-based prioritization of immigrants needs by NGOs in the host society and how these activities impact on the integration projects of the immigrants for their integration in the host country. In order to better inform policy discussions and public debate, it is also essential to understand why some 'truths' about immigrant integration become received wisdom and policy priorities, raising questions about how much influence is possible investigating non-Brussels based NGOs can have on the production of knowledge in the academic and policy domains? Related to the argument that the member states and the EU both constrain and enable research in this field Singleton (2015), depending on what purpose the research serves for them.

Research Questions

Following the identified problem statement above the following are the research questions addressed by this research;

- a. Are non-governmental organizations interactions with the target group able to create pathways for their integration?
- b. Are NGOs able to provide legal avenues for immigrants to legitimize their stay in the European Union in view of member states' attempts at shutting out irregular immigrants?
- c. Do NGO's language and skills acquisition training programmes help immigrant mitigate the challenge of low skills and acquire the skills needed to compete favourably with European citizens in the labour market?

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- d. Are the social/cultural programmes of NGOs bringing about the behavioral changes needed to foster integration and foster European values in the immigrants?
- e. Do social /cultural interaction programmes by NGOs foster the pulling down of stereotypes between immigrants and natives and improve understanding between groups?
- f. Are there avenues to validate the impact of the projects carried out by the NGOs, indicators that show the success of the impact of the projects on the immigrant integration process?
- g. In view of NGOs wealth of knowledge, initiatives and experience that they have brought into the integration of third country nationals can they have some recognition in the policy making sphere?

Research Objectives

NGO Scholars (Tvedt 2001, Korten 2000; Lewis 2007) have emphasized the potential role of NGOs as agents of transformation, in the society. The complexities of immigrant's integration have been a challenge for member states in the European Union, the objectives of this research is therefore:

- a. To prove that social interaction of NGOs with immigrant populations is creating avenues for their social economic integration in Europe.
- b. Being instrumental to the anti-discrimination laws in the Amsterdam Treaty of the European Union, NGOs are able to find pathways to help immigrants going through challenge of securing residence permits in the EU member state, within the ambience of the law able to support immigrants to legalize their stay.
- c. Social cultural programmes of the NGOs affect in no small way, helping immigrants imbibe the needed social cultural norms in typical European societies.
- d. NGOs language and skills programmes are designed in such a way that immigrants are able to acquire skills to compete favourably with EU citizens in the labour market and to communicate freely in the society they live.
- e. Social cultural integration programmes by NGOs bring together immigrants and natives, and personal experiences together are capable of pulling down stereotypes that hinder understanding and prevent mutual relations.

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- f. Indicators created in project design help to validate results of programmes and NGOs own follow-up on progress immigrants are making even after the projects terminate. A recommendation to further strengthen the NGO/ and make provision for validating outcome of projects are recommended.
- g. There does not seem to be acknowledged vacancy in the policy-making domain that can be filled by NGOs though international agencies can contribute to policy, and the impact of NGO's integration measures can inspire the development of policy. Interaction between policy makers can lead to a combined initiative of policies between the parties that will depend greatly on the government's position.

Significance of the Research

The central focus of this dissertation is to reveal the difficulty in the European Union with finding common immigration and integration policies to tackle the challenges of immigrants' integration. Therefore, the European Commission's proposal for local level participation concerning local authority and local organization has translated into the NGOs contribution as an indispensable partner among stakeholders in the integration of third country nationals. The importance of this research by way of its contribution is to highlight the role of NGO's in the integration of third country nationals in the European societies. The contribution of the NGO's to policy direction and how their activities mitigate the challenges of integrating third country nationals, also the research presents and explains intra and inter country variations in the TCN integration literature which is rather limited despite the large body of extensive literature on patterns of knowledge utilization in policy making, (Boswell 2015). This research adds to the growing body of comparative research, which scholars have agreed is needed in the on-going discourse as it has the ability to shape patterns of policymaking.

Scope of the Research

Policies for integration of non-EU nationals are evolving rapidly and in contradictory directions in the EU and benchmarking integration are new buzz words in policy-making Carrera (2008). Therefore the need to look at best practices among member states and recommend adaption to other national context cannot be overlooked. This gives relevance to this research, a comparative study of two cities Budapest-Hungary and Munich-Bavaria-Germany of two European Union member states. It investigates the role of NGOs in these two cities in mitigating the integration challenge. The research

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focuses exclusively on the NGOs the way they perceive their relationship with government, agencies and institutions of the EU and the level of established trust between the NGOs and the government agencies, how this relationship influences the integration measures, as well as immigrants and the NGO's relationship. Staff representative of the NGOs working in these two cities is targeted and the selection of NGOs is based on the perceived impact they have in the integration of the target group. Immigrants are targeted in a survey meant to analyze areas where they seek help from NGOs and to find out how they perceive their intervention in their integration process. Respondents are mostly first generation immigrants in Europe to investigate the channels they explore to meet their integration needs, respondents are adults regardless of gender.

Research on integration of third country nationals has mostly focused on the role of government agencies national and local. Bureaucracy which lies at the heart of government activities can complicate integration especially with the rates of changing policy on integration Balch (2016). NGOs are smaller than governments therefore are presumed to be more efficient Tortajada (2016) however research have shown the changing administrative environment of larger NGOs considered as bureaucratic, dependents on sponsors and higher administration costs which can gulp more than half of net income Tortajada (2016). This can be a challenge to their efficiency, however this research operates on the assumption that the focused NGOs are have developed easily accessible patterns of administration which make it easier for them to interact with immigrants in informal environment, they understand their integration needs and search for solutions to their challenges.

Study Plan

This research is documented in eight chapters. Chapter one is the introductory chapter stating the research problem and the implication for policy and theorizing.

Chapter two focuses on the review of related literature, the literature on the variables in the research topic and a triangulation of the variables.

Chapter three is the methodology chapter where methodological issues of the dissertation are analyzed.

Chapter four is an attempt to historically trace immigrant admittance and challenges of their integration in the two countries and the theoretical perspectives of the immigrant integration process.

Chapter five is on the European Union treaty's provisions on the integration of third country nationals and other policy directives instrumental to the integration of third country nationals.

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In chapter six the NGOs are profiled detailing their activities. First as partners and second as watchdog focused on applying real fundamental protection of the rights of the target groups in the integration process of the target group, keeping government and agency alert to their responsibility of protecting the group.

Chapter seven focuses on political attitudes to policymaking and how they affect the policy overtime for integration of third country nationals.

The final chapter is the analysis of the interview and survey and its implication for policy as well as conclusion and recommendation.

Conclusion

This introductory chapter has looked at the challenges overtime with integration of third country nationals. How exclusive sovereignty of states in Europe each engaging in distinct national subsets of policy from the nationalist and politically motivated policy perception in the integration of third country nationals has impacted negatively on the integration of the target group, and had its toll on theorizing. Whereby theorizing on the process borne out of political debates in the societies and political intrigues of substantiating policy decisions based on scholarly contribution to the discourse. Presenting the EU and member states partnership with NGOs as mitigating the challenges in the face of the negative indicators in the integration results. The evidence based role that NGOs have in the integration of third country nationals, as considerations for government both at EU and member state level to consider NGOs as partners both at designing policy and administering immigrant's integration in the EU, justifies this research.

The next chapter (two) is the review of literature, analyzing scholarly research on the topic, with a view to identifying the gaps and how the present research makes up for certain gaps in literature. The multifaceted nature of immigrant integration justifies the use of the term *certain* as the integration issues are ever evolving. The dependent variables and independent variables captured in the research topic and triangulation of the variables through theoretical framework.

Chapter II

A Review of Literature and Theoretical Framework

This chapter focuses on examining previous research on the topic under scrutiny. It captures the views of various authors to ascertain if the topic has been sufficiently dealt with, identifies the gaps in the literature and reflects on how this research can fill the gaps. Closely related research by scholars on the topic is also reviewed and their varying perspectives brought into account. Other aspects are literature relating to the variables on the topic, synthesizing their relationships in relevance to the study. The chapter is therefore divided into five sessions with session one looking at literature on the research on NGO as a concept justifying or querying their relevance in the governance community, literature that reflects the direct impact NGOs have on the integration of third country nationals. The second is about what it means to be a third country national the delineations and their implication for policy, reflecting on the theoretical perspectives of TCN integration and the determinants by which it is measured. The third looks at second country nationals with focus on the fundamental protection accruable to the group by EU law and scholarly perspectives on this part of EU integration. The fourth reflects on perspectives of European integration theories and their impact on the integration of third country nationals. The finally part of this chapter discusses the meaning of policy the implication of policy concepts or the lack of it in immigrants' admittance and integration.

Conceptualization of Non-Governmental Organization

Most scholars researching on Nongovernmental Organization bemoan the difficulty in defining what an NGO is (Willets 2011; Vedder et al 2007; Lewis & Kanji 2009 Bratton 1989). Nevertheless, for the sake of clarity they have chosen to identify NGOs with certain basic characteristics, Willets (2011) points to certain distinguishing characteristics that an NGO should possess; which are, independent from the direct control of any government, it should not be constituted as a political party, must not be a criminal group, particularly non-violent and non-profit making. Vedder et al (2007) present other dimensional features of an NGO not mentioned by Willet which is: it is constituted at least partially as a voluntary citizens group and depends at least in part on donations from private citizens and voluntary activities. While pointing to the above characteristics as panacea for identifying an NGO, these authors

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acknowledged that these boundaries can sometimes be blurred (Willet 2011; Vedder et al. 2007). NGOs may in practice indulge in commercial income generating activities like consultancy, contracting and sales of publications; some NGOs have been known to identify with political parties, or associated with violent political protests. Willet (2011), Lewis & Kanji (2009) maintain that the reason for the challenge of understanding the phenomenon of NGOs is the extremely diverse group of organizations working as NGOs, which can make meaningful generalizations difficult. NGOs play different roles and take different shapes and forms within and across different country context. Diverse as the challenge of classification, so also is the diverse groups with similarity of activities. Categories of groups with the same similarities with NGOs are interest groups, pressure groups civil society groups and community based organizations, non-profit and voluntary organization. Bratton (1989, p. 571) introduced the useful distinction between, NGOs that are membership organizations, in which these members help each other more like cooperative societies and NGOs that are service organizations that help others, also called voluntary organizations. We will attempt to understand accurately the definition of the term NGO through the eye of the various world bodies collaborating with NGOs and scholarly attempts at defining the term.

NGOs are voluntary organizations that work with and very often on behalf of others. Their work and their activities focus on issues and people beyond their own staff and membership distinguished them from people's organizations, which are defined as democratic organizations that represents the interests of their members and are accountable to them. Voluntarism is what sets NGOs apart. Bratton (1989); Tvedt (1998); Vedder et al. (2007) define NGOs as non-profit voluntary citizens groups organized at local, national and international levels with three basic characteristics; which are (a) being non-profit, (b) consisting at least partially of a voluntary citizens group or a group consisting partially of voluntary citizens (c) depending on donations from private citizens or voluntary activities. NGO is non-violent organization that is both independent of government and does not serve an immediate economic interest; it has at least some interest in having socio-political influence Vedder et al (2007). World Bank (1999) defines an NGO as a private organization that pursues activities to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services and undertake community development (UNDP 1993, p. 84). Willet (2011) defines an NGO as an independent voluntary association of people acting together on continuous basis, for some common purpose other than achieving government office, making money or illegal activities. Lehr-Lehnardt (2005) holds the view that an NGO is an organization that is not part of government but a part of space between government and private life. Werker & Ahmed (2007) defines NGOs as private organizations

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characterized primarily by humanitarian or cooperative rather than commercial objectives that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interest of the poor, protect the environment, provide basic social services or undertake community developments in developing countries. NGOs then are the subsets of the broader non-profit sectors that engage specifically in international development. This next definition described by Lewis (2007) as useful concise is one given by Vakil (1997), which drawing on elements of operational structure, it states that NGOs are self-governing, private, not-for-profit organization that are geared to improving the quality of life of the disadvantaged people. This definition according to Lewis (2007) gives NGOs a distinction from other third sector groups, such as trade union organizations concerned with sports, arts and other professional associations. For the purpose of this research an *NGO is defined as a non-governmental, non-bureaucratic, non-political, non-profit and non-violent association of a group of private individuals involved in humanitarian activities to relieve the suffering of the poor, disadvantaged, displaced, traumatized and victimized, for the purpose providing them with the basic tools for inclusion into the society and to promote social cohesion.*

Non-Governmental Organization: Functional and Legal Domains

NGOs function in virtually all facets of human endeavors for example, bringing relief in chaotic situations like wars, natural disasters, drought, displacement, poverty alleviation, providing first aid, and treatment for life threatening diseases and providing assistance in cases of an epidemic outbreak. Their role is acknowledged globally, as they have become popular vehicles of development and authors attest to this functional role (Graaf, 1987; Cernea 1998; Crowther 2001; Fowler 1997; Shihatta, 1992; Gibbs et al 1999 Irrera 2013). Graaf (1987) points to NGO activities as attracting huge funding asserting them-selves more clearly and forcefully as a valid and often more appropriate approach to development. Cernea (1998) argues that NGO's dependability is based on their organizational capacities that translate to the philosophy that gives recognition to the centrality of people in development policies; the mainstay of NGOs contribution to development is not basically financial but organizational. Crowther (2001) posits that NGOs are agencies for local activities including the potential to contribute to peace building. NGOs rely on the mobilization of people into organized structures of voluntary groups for self-reliance and self-development because NGOs are structurally based on voluntarism, in turn they transfer this into the social energy of the communities. In NGOs interventions on international, national and community scales, the people come first. Crowther also attest to the fact that NGOs are best known for two major but interrelated activities, delivery of service

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to people in need and the organization of policy advocacy and public campaign in pursuit of social transformation. Other activities are democracy building, conflict resolution, cultural preservation, policy implementation, and research information provision. Shihata (1992) avers that due to the growing important and influential roles by NGOs in development related issues the World Bank interest in NGOs has extended beyond project financing especially since 1980,s resulting in the establishment of the 1982 NGO-World Bank Committee. Gibbs et'al (1999) point to the quality of skills and resources they bring to emergency relief and development activities and their ability to foster participatory development processes. Crowther (2001) scanning through literature provides extensive evidence and experience about the effectiveness of the contributions of some NGOs to peace building. Apart from a few anecdotal hints on NGOs failures or worsening situation much of the literature is on repeated successes. Irrera (2013) expresses confidence in the role of NGOs as actors in the international policy-making arena, being essential players in emergency policy making and implementation process, deploring a wide range of materials and logistics as appropriate solutions for peace building and reconstruction missions in challenging situations.

The dependence on NGO to function in many facets of human endeavor is why it has become imperative to look at their legitimacy angle. Vedder et al (2007) aver that while theories on governance tend to focus criteria to be fulfilled by government authority on the right to wield power or act in a capacity, there has risen an urgency to apply legitimacy theory to NGOs because of their increasing importance both at local and international level having an impact on the lives of an increasing number of persons. NGOs wield power in ways similar to government, by simply obtaining permission for their activities. Theoretical underpinnings of legitimacy are one dimensional, mixed and multidimensional associated with moral justification, legality rules of procedures and representativeness. Legitimization justifies the reason for NGOs presence, regardless of the varying views by scholars on the need for the existence of NGO as the one shared by Fowler (1997) that the legitimacy or the need for NGOs is the existence of poverty. Lewis (2000); Panda (2007) Hudock (1999); Lehr-Lehnardt (2005) Thrandardottir (2015) described NGOs as key third sector actors on the landscape of development, human rights, humanitarian action, environment and many other areas of public action. Lewis (2007) describes the role of NGOs as implementer, catalyst and partner, this growing role is accountable for the reason why official development assistance (ODA) through NGOs increased from 4.6% in 1995 to 13% in 2004 and that brought the aid money to US\$78.6 billion from US\$59 billion. Vedder et al (2007) cites globalization challenges as justification for NGO as most of these challenges cannot be resolved

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through traditional channels, marred by politicization. Thrandardottir (2015) raises the point that the conceptualization of NGO legitimacy is unclear in literature and argues that NGO legitimacy can be presented from four differing models, which are the market model, social change model, new institutionalization model and the critical model, discussing each model based on the theoretical premise it adapts. The point made by Lehr-Lehnardt (2005) in discussing the legitimacy of NGO the attack on their non-democratic nature based on the Western view that democracy is of fundamental importance. Equating NGOs with government with a presumption that both work in the same way; means forgetting that there are many institutions under government, which do not operate on democratic principles. Known examples, are religious institutions, private and non-private academic institutions, public and private companies and some international quasi-governmental organizations.

Backlash/Criticisms against Non-Governmental Organizations

NGOs have not been without criticism; several areas of NGOs activities have come under fire. (Tvedt 1998, 2000, 2002; Korten 1997; Abdelrahman 2004 Fowler & Bierkert 1996 Annang 1994; Farrington et al 1993). Tvedt (2002) in an opening statement in the article juxtaposes the opposing views of NGOs by two influential world leaders, Nelson Mandela and Kofi Annan. Nelson Mandela came down heavily on NGOs accusing them for their critical stance on governments while carrying out the political agenda of foreign interests, while Kofi Annan praised the NGOs describing them as the conscience of humanity. In addition, a statement credited to Commissioner Sim Kallas in response to the boom in lobbying activities in Brussels in a speech in Nottingham, March 2005 gave a harsh criticism of NGO when he said:

People have a right to know how their money is being spent, including by NGOs. Currently, a lot of money is channeled to 'good causes' through organizations we know little about. Noble causes always deserve a closer look. In the Middle Ages, the forests of Nottingham were famous for the courageous Robin Hood, the 'prince of thieves' who tricked the Sheriff of Nottingham and stole from the rich in order to help the poor. One may regard this legendary figure as an early NGO. His cause seemed noble, but his ways to redistribute wealth were not always quite transparent.

Tvedt (2000) criticizes NGOs from evidences where persons or groups under the guise of NGO have carried out acts against humanity, which may include terrorism, or have acted against the institutions of state, through tax evasion, highlighting how influential theorizing on NGOs has overlooked this kind of organizations when analyzing the functions or roles of NGOs. Korten (1997) analyses the positive impacts of people centered, local management of local resources are most likely to yield more positive

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results as against central government centered conventional development practice, where resources of the people are subject to promotion of authoritarian and patronage systems in government circles. This tends to increase the debt burden as against developmental strides that have influence on the lives of the general populace. Rather fostering persistence of poverty regardless of the amount of resource available to these governments. Where decentralized self-organizing approaches to management of resources are seriously undertaken they generally result in more efficient productive resource management. Highlighting that, while this people centered approach may not reduce the debt burdens it does reduce the dependence on external financing and incentive to misallocate resources that created the debt burden in the first place with the role of the NGO with a natural interest and less organizational or bureaucratic constraint in undertaking actions consistent with achievement Korten (1997). Tvedt (1998) analyzed critically the slogan of comparative advantage used to judge the activities of NGOs as against government institutions, called the NGOs 'article of faith'. In which the NGOs claimed to be better than governments in reaching the poor, intended beneficiaries, accurate relationships between development processes and outcomes, people's choice centered relationships, flexibility in response to work, strengthening local institutions and achieving outcome at less cost. Tvedt (2002) analyzed NGO funding sources and the NGOs as reservoir and rivers, the donors as reservoirs and the NGOs as rivers stating that one cannot claim to understand the working of a river if the source is not understood, that personnel in donor offices share the same ideas about NGO roles and their activities. Tendler (1982 pp 2-7) states that NGOs may sometimes not look as good as they deserve but states that not all NGOs would subscribe to all the self-descriptions presented in the analysis of the articles of faith. The primary claim of the NGOs is their ability to reach the poor and minorities making them participate in the decision-making with regard to choices, and because of these choices, they learn to gain control over their life processes producing outcomes. Unlike in the public sector and large organizations which work from governments to governments NGOs work from people to people eliminating bureaucracies, corruption, non-commitment and inefficiencies at reaching the poor and less privileged. The commitment approach of the NGOs makes for better cost effectiveness, while their flexibility in experimentation is more result oriented leading to establishment and strengthening of local institutions. Farrington ET'al analyze Tendler's claims on NGOs as still relevant as was confirmed by the contributions of Clark (1991); Fowler (1990). An empowering approach to development is applied and research findings are presented by Carroll, Riddell, and Robinson which say NGOs are correct in the self-characterization because of the NGO-lore derives directly from the empowered rural poor that identify the root cause of their poverty and change it (Korten 1990).

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Abdelrahman (2004) avers that the main achievements of NGOs in delivering service to the poor is adverse to real development as it does not address the causes of poverty, but rather subordinates the poor to the NGOs. It undermines the growth of forces by which people will assert themselves in their own interest, the practice of providing credit as against pressuring for policies that will reduce the accelerating skewing of incomes in favour of the rich. An example of agencies with ameliorating rather than empowerment strategy as discussed by (Fowler & Bierkert 1996) describes the NGOs, concept of participation as a euphemism for unpaid labour, volunteering as enforced labour on the poorest of the society. Tendler (1982) and Abdelrahman (2004) referred to the system of volunteering as 'exploitative' and 'inefficient' because the hours spent by volunteers are part time and part time can only sustain a limited array of activities, according to him a full time activity which should be performed efficiently requires a living wage. But in contradiction to the statement on the following page speaking about the 'guru syndrome' as proposed by Smillie (1995) that NGOs' success is dependent on charismatic, often dedicated staff more than a sustainable system. Literature on NGOs has no distinctive trail of clear-cut praise or clear-cut criticism. The same authors both praised and criticized NGOs, Abdelrahman (2004) and points to a deconstruction of all the acclaimed advantages of NGOs, citing the argument by Annang (1994) that they gained their reputation by default and the mounting pressures from excess 'selling' in the light of the challenge of rising expectations. He points to the limited effectiveness fragmentary nature of their work, their inability to achieve sustainable success and failure to influence larger policy issues as being responsible for the mounting criticism against NGOs in recent times. NGOs by their definition are not clearly in the policy-making domain. Activities of NGOs complements as well as challenge state and private for profit companies, (Caroll 1992, Clarke 1991, Edward & Hulme 1992, Fisher-Peck 1993 and Korten 1990). Through functional activities as implementer, catalyst and partner (Lewis 2009) NGOs are able to influence or exercise pressure non-violently for certain policy direction, except in situations where the state players are committed to involving NGOs in policy developments which is achievable through legitimately creating the environment for partnership. Much of Abdelrahman description of unpaid labour and exploitative as ways of seeing voluntarism may have somewhat to do with cultural and environmental differences of how these kinds of work are perceived. His mention of the fact that the well-off are not involved in voluntary work is not a universal phenomenon as the majority of people interviewed in this research supporting the NGOs by way of work force are mostly in paid employment or are retired and well off as well as students seeking internship experience. The desire to give back, ameliorate the difficult situation or for the simple reason of satisfying their curiosity to have personal knowledge of

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third country nationals are motivations for volunteering. Farrington et'al (1993) says that the main base of NGOs is voluntarism eschewing the resort to authority and coercion exercised by state and forswearing (sometimes) the profit incentive of private enterprise. Self-motivation from other oriented action, valuing others as well as one's-self, this social energy is what NGOs seek to tap. Gibbs et'al (1999) points to the World Bank policy, which recognizes the potential of NGO to reach the poor communities and remote areas at low costs, promotes participation and transfer of technology, while recognizing potential weaknesses in the areas of managerial and technical capacities, localized operations, uncertain sustainability, limited replicability and weak accountability. Because of these challenges with the NGO/CBO operations, the World Bank judiciously coordinates their activities in line with public agencies in pursuance of equitable and sustainable developments. They conclude that successful projects depend on mutually reinforcing factors like the one mentioned here, but cooperation is sometime marred with disagreements on objectives and strategies which translates to project design that lack ownership. Their contribution is a way of giving back and ameliorating the challenges of the migrants.

Criticism against NGOs cuts across countries and institutions Lewis (2009) refers to the criticisms against NGOs in the 2000 by neo-conservatives as being potentially harmful to US foreign policy and business interests. Citing the creation of an NGO watchdog by the American enterprise institute a think tank close to the Bush administration, made headlines in June 2003 as they highlighted the issues of transparency and accountability in the operations of the non-governmental agencies which they say were restricting US room for maneuver in foreign policy. Lewis (2014) avers of the several delineations of the term NGO as being the result of losing its 'shine' in the 21st century due to the several criticisms of mismanagements associated with NGOs, organizations began to change and now refer to themselves as civil society organizations (CSO) not for profit agencies or social enterprise. Reasons for this change are criticisms based on inefficiency, over-professionalization, unaccountability to those they claim to serve and association sometimes with opportunism and corruption and the association of NGOs with maintaining status quo rather than working to change it. Lewis (2014) also presents some headlines by newspapers and magazines discussions on criticism of the activities of NGOs. He cites Economist of 29 January 2000 with a headline like "***Business of helping ...once little more than ragged charities increasingly act as large-scale private contractors.*** He dismisses the use of the term non-governmental because NGOs increasingly depend on public funds. In another article he cited ***Hearts and minds at any cost;*** The Guardian of 13 July 2004 points to how NGOs have lost their independence and outgrown their charitable origins in their interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan as

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they are now largely funded by governments. Newsweek 5th September 2005 *The 1.6 trillion dollar non-profit sector behaves or misbehaves as more and more like big business*, emphasis is on the need for more regulations for NGOs because of their growth and scale.

Historically criminal gangs and groups with contrary intentions have hidden under positive causes to wreak havoc or achieve selfish motives, which should not be a yardstick to judge the actual guiding principles that an institution represents.

The Dilemma of Non-Governmental Organizations Research

Scholars have outlined the challenges to NGO theorizing (Nauta 2006; Crowther 2001; Drabek 1997 Wallace et al 1999; Lewis 2014). Lewis (2014) bemoans the underdevelopment and overly normative nature of research on NGOs due to the following reasons; the funding of consultants and contract researchers by development agencies compels researchers to be more interested in staying positive in their evaluation than reflection and critical lessons as being responsible for this weak literature. Nauta (2006) questions NGOs resistance in giving access to outside researchers on the excuse of prioritization of their work, impatience, and their vulnerability in donor dependence makes them resistant to publicity and scrutiny. This is driven by fear of losing patronage from donors that is why they are more open to producing research that will help them in advocacy and campaigning. This has left the literature to be more of insider's perspectives with the consequence of activist flavor, simple solutions for complicated development dilemmas, and with an array of myths about NGOs (Nauta 2006). This kind of literature according to Crowther (2001) is why funders work with NGO, the image laundering literature built around NGOs in the last several decades. The constant flow of good news from NGO writers sitting well with essential optimism of policy given an example of (Drabek 1987; World Development) which provides a list of comparative advantages that NGOs and INGOs had over Governmental and Bi-lateral organizations, which are voluntarism, values and ethical motivation of staff, low cost and being apolitical. Therefore, NGOs are no threat for interests, not bureaucratic and therefore flexible in their activities and relationships with local people. Subsequently she points to a shift in NGO literature from voluntarism to professionalism since the 1990's. The increased funding that NGOs have attracted she says it not unconnected to the positive literature on their activities, but with the amount of funding mere ideological commitment, which proved insufficient. Some form of accountability to donors, which can only be done through professional upbeat information about NGO activities, has become crucial (Wallace et, al 1997).

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Non-Governmental Organizations Policy influences: Real or Imagined

Scholars have expressed concerns about the ability of NGOs to make an impact in policy direction in the EU, this literature has discussed these concerns, (Long & Lorinczi 2009; Singleton 2015). Long & Lorinczi (2000) traces the attempts by environmental NGOs in the 1980s and 1990s in Brussels to Green the EU Treaties. Seeming success came by way of incorporation of a number of proposals made in Greening the treaty 1 in the proposal produced by the G7 on Greening the treaty. The group stated that a number of proposals in Greening the treaty 1, were incorporated into the Maastricht Treaty even if not verbatim at least in recognisable form, as well as subsequent inputs from the body initiatives into the other treaties and regulations. In addition, the activities of the body in forming strategic alliances with other groups like consumer groups, health groups, women's association retailing business and trade unions proved successful. Singleton (2015 131-142) bemoans the absence of migrant voices and civil society from the research policy nexus in the EU, which she attributes to several factors; the lack of transparency and accountability in the EU migration policy making, the securitization of the migration challenge by focusing security concerns about the negative sides of new populations to the host society and integration and the use of research methodologies in investigating migration related topics from theoretical and expert academic positions which are also subject to "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer & Glick-Schiller 2002) or the instrumental function that these researches serve (Boswell 2015) as captured in Chapter 1, which tend to exclude migrants and civil society voices from media coverage. At member state level the challenge is higher except if the cooperation will further the interest of the member states it is difficult to elicit their cooperation. *Simple things like convincing state authorities to use the right terminologies they will not listen nor apply it.*²

Active Non-Governmental Actors; Implication for Member States

Similar to the points raised above, these researches (Niemann 2006; Guiraudon 2000; 2003, Cullen 2010; Kartnert et al 2013), focus on the anti-discrimination position of local actors to check the activities of member states in the EU. Attempts by member states to further marginalize third country nationals through increased restrictive migration policy also reflected by these scholars (Joly 1996; Geddes 2000; 2001; Lavenex 1998; 1999; 2001a; 2001b; 2006; Thielmann 2001a; 2001b; 2006; Ucarer 2001; Boswell 2003a; 2003b; 2007; 2008; Baldaccini & Guild 2007 Brouwer & Catz 2003; Chebel d'Appollonia & Reich 2008). Local actors saw the restrictive policy initiative as fundamentally

² Interviewee 8 March 2017

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infringing on the rights of third country nationals. Member states therefore attempted to circumvent the challenges posed by local actors, among which were NGOs, by venue shopping to EU level to be able to promote the more restrictive migration policy they desired. Though member state decisions to venue shop, as a way out of the challenges occasioned by changing economic challenges due to the oil crises that followed the boom years as well as the grappling with the spillover effects of EU integration process, several concerns with the administration of the Schengen acquis were a challenge for member states with regards to admittance of asylum seekers and immigrants. Member states took an easy route, by adopting restrictive migration policy to keep would be asylum seekers and migrants out of their territory. The reaction of local actors to the decision of member states inspired scholars, to develop theories to interpret the actions of member states from varying perspectives. The stimulating role of local actors among whom were NGOs in deconstructing the characteristic restrictive feature of migration policy among European Union member states. Seen through the lenses of political, tussle in the areas of asylum, migration and integration of third country nationals, how pro-migrant NGOs strategy at both national and EU level have succeeded in raising the bar in the immigrant integration policy (Niemann 2006; Guiraudon 2000; 2003, Cullen 2010; Kartnert et al 2013). Guiraudon (2000, 2003) introduced the concept of venue shopping in explaining the internationalization of migration policy control as the result of political actors' change of venue in response to constraints occasioned by NGOs and national judiciary. National policy makers encountering obstacles in their traditional policy venues on the entry and stay of foreigners move new policy jurisdiction to the EU. Guiraudon (2003) claiming that with regards to immigrants and migration only the member states venue shopped to avoid domestic adversaries in NGOs. Niemann (2006 p. 278) pointed to NGO influence in the areas of anti-discrimination and the rights of third country nationals because they were able to mould their interest from an early stage and were therefore able to frame their debates in the right perspectives. While member states were at preliminary brain storming stages, citing Caparoso & Keeler position that in the right framing substantial amount of work is accomplished in a debate. Cullen (2010) in response against criticism of EU NGOs as elite focused and weak link to grassroots constituents asserts that while NGOs have overtime been unable to secure radical policy shifts, they have imparted in policy adjustments. Asserting that NGOs constitute an arena for projecting voices otherwise silenced, from EU policy debates especially in the face of much constraint posed by competitors. Kautert et al (2013) analyzed the concept of venue shopping at the start of the millennium by scholars like Guiraudon scoring on the various changes which had taken place since Guiraudon first introduced the concept in explaining member states change of venue to achieving more restrictive migration policy. They venue

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shopped to EU to free themselves from NGO monitoring and other local actors at their national level, NGOs expertise in organizing advocacy had also moved to the EU level, where they are able to exercise an influence over the EU asylum and integration policy. Their inputs contributed to fairer standards as against the expectation of more restriction through the twin process of communitarization and judicialization in the policy directive that followed at the EU level, the benefits for member states was for better coordination and monitoring, as an NGO response to venue shopping of member states from national to EU level. Menz (2011) in explaining political policy processes in Europeanization posits that bottom-up not only top-down impact in the policy making process. With the role of NGOs as bottom-up, that influence migration policy being part of the policy players the in Europeanization and this has created an arena of multiple players. Despite the role of NGOs in awareness creation, shaping policy, avenues of intervention there are contentions about their actual place in governance.

Below is a table on literatures on the concepts of NGOs

Author and Year	Categories	Perspectives
Willets 2011; Vedder et al 2007; Lewis & Kanji 2009 Bratton 1989 Bratton 1989; Tvedt 1998; Verder et al 2007; Vakil 1997	Defines NGOs by character and operational structure	Voluntarism, non-political, not for profit,
Graaf, 1987; Cernea 1998; Crowther 2001; Fowler 1997; Shihatta, 1992; Gibbs et al 1999 Irrera 2013	Functionality	Legitimacy
Fowler 2007; Lewis 2007; Hudock 1999; Panda 2007; Lehr-Lehnardt 2005; Thrandardottir 2015	Legitimacy	
Nauta 2006; Crowther 2001; Drabek 1997 Wallace et al 199; Lewis 2014	NGO research dilemma	
Tvedt 2000, 2002; 1998; Korten 1997; Abdelrahman	Backlash/ Criticism	

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2004; Fowler & Bierkert 1996; Annang 1994; Farrington et al (1993)		
Long and Lorinczi 2009; Singleton 2015).	Policy influences	Policy influence
Cullen 2010; Niemann 2006; Guiraudon 2000; 2003, Kartnert et al 2013	Activist role of NGO forcing member to Venue shop. Linear.	NGO influence on anti- discrimination policy for TCN.

Figure 1

Non-Governmental Organization and Integration of Third Country Nationals

Similar to the nature of research I address in this study, these scholars reflect on the direct impact that NGOs activities and functions have in the integration process of third country nationals in the European Union (Biffli 2005; Cervinski 2011; Hoffmann 2012; Ribero et al 2012; Valutis 2013; Ryngbeck 2014; Irrera 2016; Garido & Codo 2017; Kyochukov & New 2017), with a view to showing the development of rights for TCN in the EU and creation of social cohesion. The research by these authors (Kyochukwo & New 2017; and Valutis 2013) focused on the activities of a single NGO in an attempt to show the impact of the NGO in the community. Biffli (2005) in a seminar presentation in Dublin presented a perspective on the distinct recognition given by the Austrian state of Tyrol's government to NGOs to plan integration mainstreaming, with the NGOs defining measures through horizontal and vertical systems of integration. Integration structure is such that NGOs are involved in the early stage of planning mainstreaming, they are important partners of public administration, organizing integration initiatives and implementing integration measures. The research presented a case study of an NGO Verein Multikulturell, which ran multiple integration programmes for immigrants from language training, skills acquisition connecting immigrants to would be employers as well as cultural integration. Though this research shows the level of trust the Tyrol government has in placing the responsibility of mainstreaming integration of third country nationals in the hands of NGOs, researching into the activities of more than one NGO in the state of Tyrol would have been more appropriate to capture if the trust reposed by the government has been justified. Kyochukov & New (2017) analyses the activities of an NGO (ANE) based in Berlin. The organization specializes in promoting democratic education focusing on parents and their children with a slogan; *with parents for parents*. Initially set up to educate families democratically in post-war Germany, it subsequently added concerns about the

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educational needs in the integration of immigrant families. Through interactive sessions and newsletters, it provided parenting tips, and intercultural counseling in a democratic society like Germany and at a recent international conference addressing PTSD post-traumatic stress disorder and DTSD developmental traumatic stress disorder. Valutis (2013) researched on the activities of an NGO in Sweden TAMAN, looking at the input of the organization in policies and procedures and the way platforms created by TAMAN for the integration of immigrants. Much as these researches have their merits in showing the differences that NGOs bring in the immigrant integration process, a variation of investigation of NGOs in the community would be more apt to allow for an understanding of the prevalent culture of NGO impact in the community. The linear perspective in investigating one NGO in the locality of the research leaves us with questions of what role the others are playing. Although, these researches provide an in-depth view of the operations of the single NGO in the region, a cross review of a number of NGOs in the state or city would be better for understanding the prevailing atmosphere of NGO interventions in the localities. As well as showing the relationships between the NGO and government in policy formulation for the integration of third country nationals. Biffli (2005) is the clear case of an appropriate adaptable path, in the immigrant integration process, government acknowledgement of NGOs as possessing the needed tool for planning mainstreaming the immigrant integration process in Tyrol. However, the perspective from a single NGO is insufficient to understand the prevalent relationship between the government and other NGOs in the integration of third country nationals in the state of Tyrol.

Other researchers (Cervinschi 2011; Hoffmann 2012; Garrido & Codo 2017; Irrera 2016; Ryngbeck 2014) are more generalist in their view of the activities of NGOs. Cervinschi (2011) analyzed the impact of civil society integration programmes for third country nationals in Romania through access to the European Integration fund. The findings of the research point to unrealistic indicators and unclear procedures and the hierarchical nature of the relationship between the NGOs and the fund managers as a challenge for the integration programme but a generally positive opinion from the recipient TCN about the benefits of the integration projects for them. Hoffmann (2012) analyses lobbying channels and strategies of pro migrant NGOs in the EU and the effects of prevalent political opportunities and the attitudes of other political actors. Garrido & Codo (2017) outlined the role of NGOs as agents of governmentality, in the pathways they create to integrate African migrants through learning Catalan and Spanish languages for their re-socialization and becoming self-sufficient. The article describes NGOs as intermediary institutions of migration, actively participating in neoliberal governmentality of migrants on behalf of the nation state. Irrera (2016) opines that the prevalent security paradigm in the

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EU that presents migrants as threat to the European society as antithetical to legal obligation on the human angle to the Mediterranean crisis. However, she points to the intervention strategy by NGOs in the areas of SAR (Search and Rescue) and social integration as having the ability to exert on both EU and the member state and can in the end producing long-term established practice beyond the emergency phase. Similarly, Ryngebeck (2014) reflects on how the activities of NGOs are influencing policy guidelines that are shaping future migration, asylum and integration policies in the European Union. Ribero et al (2012) discussed NGO views across 20 European countries on existing policy and practice on citizenship education. An action that led to their endorsement by the EU as partners in the Europeanization project is that they provide citizenship experience to young people and in their activities with educational institutions in developing and providing educational materials collecting citizens together to act upon issues of social concern and are independent from the states. The marks of the above research are generalized overview of the role of NGOs in migration and integration of immigrants. While the research by Irrera (2016) is timely in capturing the differences the NGOs are making in the SAR at the Mediterranean, she make the point in her conclusion that it is a preliminary analysis of the state of art impact of NGOs on the migrant emergenceis.

The relevance of the present research is that it employs research tools in x-raying the activities of NGOs (12 different NGOs) and offers cross-organizational perspectives and a cross-country perspective of two member states in the European Union. Observing their operations and the relationship between the organizations and the government authorities in the area of integration of third country nationals is accomplished, according to the perspectives by Menz (2011) where he highlights how NGO activities have a bottom up effect in influencing the policy in TCN integration.

Figure 2: The Summary of the above literature in NGO pathway of integration of TCN

Author and Year	Category	Research Perspective
Biffli 2005; Kyochukwo & New 2017; Valutis 2013	Focused on Single NGO in the state or community	Linear view on NGO activities
Cervinschi 2011; Hoffmann 2012; Garrido & Codo 2017; Irrera 2016; Ryngebeck 2014)	Generalizations on NGO functions in the integration of TCN.	Generalized overview of NGO activities

Above we have looked at scholarly research of pathways of NGO intervention and seen some of the gaps in the literature. A critical view of the variables in the topic under scrutiny reveals the need to

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look at other different theoretical concepts. This first are theoretical concepts on NGOs as they have been captured in scholarly research, the other is the different immigrant integration models and concepts of membership in the community of persons how the national conceptualization have influenced policy in the integration of TCN. Thirdly is policy-making theories in the European Union, how the governance structure influences emerging integration policy of the two member states. Others are the legal channels and processes of integration of European Union citizens finally this review of literature on how policy is applied in government with centrality of interest as the determinant for what government would or would not do. Having, dealt with literature on NGOs working to integrate third country nationals and an attempt to understand the issues around them as captured in literature. Below we look at third country nationals and the theories of their integration.

Third Country Nationals

From the European Union integration policy context, third country nationals are persons with the legal rights to reside and actually reside in a European Union member state, but are not nationals of any of the member states and do not hold an EEA citizenship. Moreover, third country national in the EU is categorical of those neither seeking asylum from an EU state nor granted refugee status or other forms of subsidiary protection from an EU member state. However in this research because the service providers for the target group have no such categories about who gets their services. Refugees are inclusive because they face the same challenges of social exclusion as other TCN. Also the basic criteria for qualifying for the services from NGOs is for the non-EU nationals to have some form of resident permit of about six months in the member state of residence. Also the EU financial instrument for integration of non-EU nationals tends to group these two categories together The Asylum-Migration- and-Integration Fund AMIF.

Scholarly perspectives on the handling of third country nationals in the EU, from the European treaty proposal for European citizenship, these scholars defend the possibility of third country national gaining European citizenship (Evans 1994; Follesdal 1999; Picard 2007; Riab 2003). The Amsterdam Treaty in a way is a unification document as it attempts to bolster Union Citizenship, which is citizenship, based on residence. However, the complementary nature in the treaty of the EU citizenship, which states that citizenship of the Union shall be based on national citizenship, in the bid to bring the European Union closer to the citizens of Europe is inimical to the unification (Follesdal 1999). Nevertheless, Follesdal points to this strategy as defective in that it gives non-EU states citizens

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an inferior status. Advocating for granting EU and member states citizenship because of the access to rights the citizenship can confer on the third country national based on where they are presently resident, with various forms of commitments, obligation and restriction to ensure social homogeneity of the community. The bolstering attempt is part of the EU strategy to legitimize the EU against criticisms of democratic deficit. Picard (2007) refers to the increasing dependence of modern economies on migrant labour as is the case with the European Union, but a significant number of these groups as members of the European society are still left out of benefits of EU citizenship due to divergent national laws among member states. In analyzing, the likely attempt of the EU moving from the Amsterdam Treaty to the Constitutional Treaty establishing a culture of rights that will influence not only the EU nationals, but long-term resident third country nationals. The perspective of Marshall (1965) is that citizenship bundles are slowly released piece by piece which will in the longer-term lead to a more comprehensive citizenship for third country nationals. Unfortunately, the theatre of struggle for retaining sovereignty and the reluctance to let go exclusive competence in the area of citizenship on the part of member states is inimical to reaching effective measures. Evans (1994) fears that discrimination against third country nationals according to the treaty provisions that ignore this group based on the community laws that failed to achieve fundamental objectives of Frontier free Europe for persons as embodied in article 7a of the EC treaty could lead to 'social dumping' within the community. Riabie (2003), despite the provision of Article 18 (2) of the EC treaty which authorizes the European community to extend Union citizenship to third country nationals, this right is yet to be fully exercised. This proposal for the extension of Union citizenship to third country nationals has not been exercised for fear of interfering with the exclusive competence of member states regulation of their nationality to avoid more conflicts between the EU and member states.

Third country nationals are representative of persons who became part of the European society because of mobility or movement from a country of origin not in the EU to an EU member states. Being third in line as member states citizens are first, EU citizens resident in another member state is second, while residents from outside the EU are third, with their initial status or more globally referred to as migrants or immigrants. For the purpose of this research group all non EU citizens are regarded as third country because the NGOs studied did not restrict their services to a particular set of immigrants. Their services to immigrants were based on some form of authorization to reside in the EU. Immigrants regardless of being refugees were rendered services, because all groups had varying challenges for their integration needs, and scholarly literature have captured challenge of integration of all non-EU nationals regardless of their resident status.

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Migrants/ Immigrants

Scholars in the field of migration and integration of immigrants (Castle et al 2002) may use the terms interchangeably, however the common phenomenon is to use the term immigrants in description of long-term settlers who would need integration. While the definition of migrants have implications for temporariness with the intention to return to origin country, e.g. highly skilled/unskilled labour migrants, undocumented, illegal/legal migrants'. Several complexities surrounding the use of the term are captured in the limited discourse. Researches have used processes to explain the term immigrant. (Anderson & Blinder 2017; UN 1998; Fiderres 2012; IOM Bilsborrow et al 1997) Anderson & Blinder (2017) in an update version the migration observatory attempts a definition, among other possibilities; migrants may be defined as foreign-born, foreign nationals, or people who have moved to a state or country for a year or more. The variation among data sources, data sets and law is reason for this various classification in the description of a migrant or immigrant. They point to the loose public use of the term, which conflates the already emotive issues of immigration, race, ethnicity and asylum. This variation in naming brings about different definition and this has various consequences for data both in terms of migrant stock and flows and for the analysis of the impact of migration (For instance Length of stay, nationality and country of birth). The UN report of 1998 bemoans the lack of uniformity among countries in defining who is a migrant and sees this challenge as key source of inconsistency in international migration statistics. Difficulty in achieving comparison between countries has also been raised by researchers because of contextual specificity (Fiderres 2012). Data gathering is based on the countries definitions and hardly are adjustments made to make them internationally comparable. Despite the fact that international efforts at achieving greater homogeneity in the concepts underlying flow statistics on international migration started as early as in the 1920s minimal progress has been achieved since then. Bilsborrow et al (1997) contends that the basic criteria customarily used to identify international migrants are citizenship, place of birth, residence, time or duration of stay and purpose of stay. Perhaps, the most widely used, yet loosely defined concept is that of residence. Countries may define immigrants as non-residents who enter the country with a view of establishing residence. UN definition of 'long-term international migrant': "A person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year *any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country.* This definition is peculiar to majority of international organizations such as the ILO, OECD, IMF and Eurostat. International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines a migrant *as any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her*

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habitual place of residence. Regardless of; (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. IOM concerns itself with migrants and migration-related issues and, in agreement with relevant states, as well as migrants who are in need of international migration services. Various countries in the European Union has different definition of immigrant, for the EU, it refers to the action by which a person from a non-EU country establishes his or her usual residence in the territory of an EU country for a period that is, or is expected to be, at least twelve months. Whereas a migrant is a broader-term of an immigrant and emigrant that refers to a person who leaves from one country or region to settle in another, often in search of a better life.

Definition in National Context: Germany.

A definition of immigrant in the laws of member states is non-existent. Accessing a straightforward definition of immigrants from the German perspectives from the bodies of literature examined has been a herculean task; we try to understand this from a few on line publications. According to a publication by Razum & Spallek (2009), the German Federal Office for Migration and Refugees, defines migration as having occurred when a person changes the location of their usual place of residence. International migration takes place when this movement occurs across national boundaries. In many data sets, official ones in particular, the term is refined through reference to a person's citizenship. "Immigrant" is used to describe someone coming to a new country The dispersal of Germans across Europe as a result of the Second World War has produced several definition of citizenship and migrants in the German context. Ethnic Germans as post World War immigrants from Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union (Aussiedler and Spätaussiedler) arrive in Germany by crossing a national boundary and as such have migrated. However, the provisions of the *Ausländergesetz* (AusIG) foreigners' law of 1965 would not include them as migrants rather they are German Citizens. The changing laws on immigration in Germany since the millennium have tended to clarify the differences and are captured in scholarly research (Abali 2009) clarifies the differences according to the German law from 2005 between foreign population and immigrant origin which nearly doubles the number of foreign population from statistics. Immigrant origin refers to persons who are either foreign born and have migrated to Germany or were born in Germany but have at least one foreign-born parent but are naturalized holding German citizenship. Foreign population therefore refers to persons who are first generation immigrants whose both parents are not originally descendants of German origin (*Ausländergesetz*) with 25% of the entire

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German population being of immigrant origin. It was cited from the press release number 281 of the office of federal statistics office of Germany August 5, 2008 (Abali 2009).

Hungarian, Definition of Migrant

“*Bevándorló*” is the Hungarian word for immigrant referring to persons relocating from their usual place of habitation or relocation from their former country of residence to another country (Dövényi & Vukovich 1994; Gabor 2011; Godri, Soltesz & Bodacz-Nagy 2014; Szoke 1992). Gabor (2011) in a presentation on the topic of Foreigners in Hungary under the umbrella of the Helsinki Committee for a European Integration Fund stated categorically that the Hungarian law does not recognize the concept of immigrant. The everyday use of the term refers to immigrant populations with a long stay in Hungary usually associated with successful integration. (Godri, Soltesz & Bodacz-Nagy 2014) corroborates Anderson & Blinder on the differences in definitional national contexts when they aver that international definitions are not completely in line with national definition, while the international migration data for foreigners are derived from the number of residence or settlements documents issued according to legal regulations. In the Hungarian national context, immigrating foreign citizens are defined as persons who entered Hungary in the given year and obtained a residence or settlement document. While emigrating foreign citizens are persons who have a residence or settlement document who left Hungary without the intention of returning, or whose document expired without the intention to renew by applying for an extension or whose document was invalidated by the authorities. While regulation (EC) No 862/2007 (of the European Commission) gives a definition of immigrants and emigrants with an expected stay of at least 12 months the Hungarian legislation does not consider this. However, national census covered foreign populations’ residency for more than three months in Hungary (Dövényi & Vukovich 1994; 187-205). Refugee otherwise *’menekült* and asylum seeker *menedekkerő* are used interchangeably bringing some form of confusion (Laszlo 1992). Hungary’s accession to the European Union and due to her geographical location put on her the responsibility of guarding the Eastern approaches to Western Europe occupying the border on the Balkan flank. The pervading reference to Hungary as a transit country may also be affecting the development of policies on integration due to the feeling that migrants will always move towards the Western more developed nations.

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Categories: Immigrants and Asylum Seekers/Refugees

The political and media debates on immigration and the immigrants tend to throw a blanket across categories depending on motivation and the direction of arguments. These debates are a challenge for understanding the various categories and addressing the issues of their integration. In international law, for migration agencies and immigration policy makers there is a distinction between two categories where one is voluntary the other is not or other such terms as regular and irregular discuss these categories and their implication for policy (Mugge & Van der Haar 2016; Massey 2007 Crawley & Skleparis 2018). Categories are significant for the formulation of policies and are central in the studies of inequalities. Mugge & Van der Haar (2016) point to the occurrence of inequality in policy categories when a particular group (because of managerial perception of policy makers) grant access to resources to particular group than others and the systematic channeling of social cultural capital to a certain group to the neglect of the other. With the challenges facing contemporary migration flows, characterized by mixed flows of both of refugees and immigrants looking for the most convenient means to secure entry and residence in the EU, making use of policy labels suitable for their migration project (Massey 2007, p 23). Immigration and integration of migrants is a policy challenge, and policy makers tend to see categories as mutually exclusive, but realistically classifications overlap and persons move between categories. Involuntary or forced migration has characterized the existence of humans for the many reason of wars, conflicts and economic deprivation (Betts 2013) endangering the human species in a habitual place of abode and the search for a place for relative succour. Historical responses to refugee protection needs are documented in the works of these scholars (Gibney 2004; Chatty 2013; Price 2009). The concept of refugee is only coherently considered in a political community of a state where there are existing political rights and protection (Arent 1994) in view of the transformational relationship with a state of losing and gaining rights to protection (Gibney 2004 & Shaknove 1985). A common contestation in the refugee status recognition is how classes are defined classifications struggles transcending fields of human endeavour (Bourdieu 1979). The challenges of refugee classification translate to who qualifies for protection under international law (Glasman 2017). The refugee is an asylum seeker in the context of seeking protection the recognition is what grants him the status of refugee, which is subject to scrutiny of the receiving state before recognition is conferred.

The cooperation in such field of asylum led to the Common European Asylum System, which experienced a storm in the wake of the migration, flows in the in 2015. The CEAS determine which country has responsibility for asylum claim through the Dublin Regulation, safe country concept,

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determining asylum claims is a complex procedure where a variety of legal procedures are brought to bear in individual member states. Regardless of CEAS, there is no uniformity in sight in the way member states determines who gets recognition and who does not, or why there are not uniformed percentages in asylum recognition rates across member states. An example is the report on asylum rates in the 2015/16 of asylum seekers from Syria Germany was 97.4/57.2 % while Hungary was 5.7/0.5% (Burmam & Valeyathepillay 2017). The differences in interpretation and policy is determines by what the state perceives as convenient for its local immigration and integration policy. The interventions of NGOs operation are intended to check when genuine asylum claims are denied and to make a case for migrants through legal instruments. Immigrant integration policies are determinant in the socio economic position of immigrants but member states have an integration plan for which they try to integrate immigrants. Policies can further complicate the challenges for proper integration of immigrants (Koopman 2010) points to the policy initiatives of member states (Belgium, Sweden and the Netherlands) with the combined multicultural policies and a strong welfare state. These policies did not provide the needed social inter-ethnic contact that will enable immigrants' full participation in the labour market leading to unsuccessful integration outcomes, in comparison, member states that adopted assimilationist integration with relative low welfare policies have achieved better positive integration outcome.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees whose primary focus is finding pathways for settling those fleeing persecution and need international protection has in recent times acknowledged 'mixed movements' in large scale migration and stresses the need to address specific needs of the two categories through policy. What categories mean for the EU is to determine who is an EU citizen who does not need to be integrated by default and who the TCN is who would require specific tools for proper integration thereby contributing to the growth of the European society. The EU definition of third country nationals is exclusive of refugees who are protected by the international instrument of the Geneva Convention of 1951, but integration needs as provided for by NGOs and the AMIF are focused on non EU nationals, integration needs is the point of convergence for these two categories because of the similarity of their needs. This does not rule out the place of categories among immigrants to determine who require protection due to persecution provided by international law and the categories that does not require international protection and the heated debates around these populations as economic migrants. The attempt at discouraging irregular migration in the EU is bolstered by the development of the three way process of migration and integration beginning at the country of origin

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the immigrant and the host country's mechanisms for integration. While the concept of "others" seem to be essential for administrative and political order scholars Triandafyllidou (2001) have contended against the 'othering' of immigrants describing it as an unnatural order of things triggered by specific social political order of nation states. However, it may serve political and economic interest and a means of national identity, but this othering according to the author provides a source of security for the in-group that also legitimizes directly or indirectly forms of exploitation of the *othered*. Sardinha (2009) citing the works of Brochmann (2003) avers that the majority has the power to define and establish the inclusion policy for immigrant newcomers under the auspices of state via democratic decisions. Not losing track of the fact that there are also hegemonies within the majority groups according to Gramsci (1930-1935) the power struggle that take place, shift power relations among opposing groups within a majority, giving the immigrant minorities' power to challenge the legitimacy of the majority. However, pressure on the institutions through the challenge of existing accounts and norms from minorities establishes the general power relations in a society and helps the majority to discover itself through the 'others.' Triandafyllidou (2001) analyzes this perspective from recent developments of peripheral nationalism, the revival of ethnic and religious allegiances and the development of other types of social cleavages. These groups are preaching universal values in the areas of environment, women's rights and sexual orientation, with immigration and economic globalization putting the nation state under pressure of hybridization from the perspective of scholarly works Gomasca (2013).

Approaches to Integration of Third country Nationals

As there is no unified understanding of what integration entails in the EU, an uncertainty of how to define immigrant integration, manifests itself in immigrant integration policy Scholten (2014). It is generally acceptable as a two-way process of mutual accommodation by migrants and the societies that receive them in this case the European Union; a dynamic and multifaceted two-way process leading to full and equal membership in a society (UNHCR). This two-way process echoed in the academia and by agencies working in immigrant/ refugee challenge has also found meaning in the 2016 European Commission Action Plan in the Integration of Third Country Nationals. It does not center only on expectations for TCN to embrace EU fundamental values and to learn the host country's language but offers them meaningful opportunities to participate in the economy and society of the member state they settle in.

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Categories of immigrant groups are a challenge on the development of policies in the integration of third country nationals. The different groups of persons characterized as third country national and the differing categories have a variety of legal status and reception conditions. FRA the Fundamental Rights Agency of the European Union contends that the level of rights given to each category has some effect in their integration. The more stable the legal residence of a category is the broader the rights of that group and more relatively positive influence it likely to have on their integration. While minimal rights are given to asylum seekers, enough for their survival pending a change in their situation, other long-term residents receive rights almost commensurate to that of EU nationals. Students, researchers' beneficiaries of family reunification, highly qualified migrant workers refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection each have rights attached to their status (Morana-Faodi & Malena 2012).

Research on the relationship between immigrants and the host society had focused on the policy models of integrating newcomers into the host society. Contemporary researchers are increasingly calling for an avoidance of this activist approach underlying integration research and policy. Which Murphy (2013, P. 2) describes themes of integration as fusing emotive social issues, such as identity belonging and social cohesion. The need to focus on the complex interactions between players comprising of sending societies and institutions, migrants and migrant groups host groups and institutions also inclusive of civil and general society as well as the social conditions in the point of convergence of these players which is the host society. Unlike the contentious challenges on immigrants integration, the works of American theorists of assimilation of immigrant populations (Alba & Nee 1997; Rumbaut 1997; Zhou 1999; Portes and Zhou 1993), which have influenced scholarly research to view integration from national perspective ha their effect on research (Wimmer and Glick Schiller 2002; Favell 2005; Bommers & Thrandhardt 2010). Other contentions are on how best to classify immigrants' settlement process assimilation or integration, which Lucassen (2005) adjudged as bringing more unnecessary difficulty into scholarly discussion on the subject, while sticking to the term integration of the several classifications there exist on the topic poses the question of integration or assimilation into what? The author gives a definition of integration as *the general sociological mechanism that describes the way in which all people, migrant as well as non-migrants find their place in society*. In response to the call to divert attentions away from models and classifications, recent scholarly research focuses on empirical investigation of integration processes and outcomes as against the debate on vague emotive nationalistic policy approaches to integration. Penninx (2009); Scholten (2007); Jorgensen (2014); Wiesbrock (2011) Scholten & Penninx (2016), focuses on decentralization of immigrant policies at national and regional levels, with an emphasis on

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local initiatives for the integration of TCN. Penninx (2009) cites definitional defects in the concept of integration with normative implication that points to pre-determined outcomes, with its implication for empirical study. To avoid the definitional default the author defines integration simply as a process of becoming an accepted part of society. In which legal/political, socio-economic and cultural/religious are determinants of whether people become part of a society or become excluded. Alluding to the popular two-way process of immigrant and the receiving societies as important for integration, he calls for attention paid to the fundamentally unequal terms of power and resources between the two parties. Moreover, regardless of the institutional structure of policy dimensions at various levels integration takes place in the very concrete contexts of streets, neighbourhoods, schools, work places, public spaces, local organizations. Jorgensen (2014) cites Denmark's restrictive migration and integration policies framework as an inspiration for a new style of integration pursued by other European countries in the millennium which is a mixture of liberalism and nationalism. Regardless of the seeming national integration framework, local level implementation of integration has received better coordination and monitoring, with labour market integration as the beginning and end of integration. The country abolished the defacto protected category, which depended mostly on welfare handouts, which was considered as responsible for the economic marginalization of immigrant groups. This new policy initiative forced immigrants to take responsibility for their own integration projects with various incentives and sanctions in the integration contract. In contrast, the liberal integration conditions in Sweden as captured by Wiesbrock (2011) regardless of the high score it received by MIPEX assessments the gap between foreign population and natives in the job market means that Swedish practice could not possibly be an adaptive model for other European countries. Scholten & Penninx (2016) while analyzing Geddes & Scholten (2014) patterns of Europeanization of immigrant integration policies introduces decoupling in the multilevel settings and lack of coordination in the interaction between EU, national, subnational and local level. This lack of coordination they attribute to the power struggle between EU institutions and the national governments, leading to various patterns of interactions taking place simultaneously, with no clear dominance between levels, resulting in local level integration reality at odds with national policy integration framework. A similar research Penninx (2015) also makes mention of the tensions between local and national level immigrant integration policy players, because interests at stake for a variety of players can differ substantially. Where national policies with regard to the immigrant integration process may be quite ideological on such matters, local policy practitioners tend to look more for feasible practical solutions that are acceptable in immigrant communities and the social cohesion between the immigrants and the receiving

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community. He reviewed several comparative research projects on cities and local level, described as not part of research policy dialogue because they were neither commissioned nor funded by the cities or local policy players. Referring to the perceptible differences among European member states in the way research and policy interacts Scholten et al (2015, pp. 1-18) focusing on historical and political influences between researchers and policy makers, admitted to the substantial growth of scientifically based knowledge in immigrant integration research. With an increasing disenchantment or disinterestedness on the part of policy makers in the use of these assembled research policy dialogues, except in cases where the use of research is politically motivated which Boswell (2009) describes as politicization of research. As a result these scholars (Favell 2003; Bommes and Thränhardt 2010) have expressed a distaste for policy driven research which they criticized as lacking theoretical development in these research fields and called for independent theory driven comparative research (Penninx et al 2006). Scholten et al. (2015) defines research policy dialogues as all forms of interactions between researchers and policy makers in the domain of immigration and immigrant integration, evolving around strongly institutionalized research policy nexus through the commissioning for formal research or advisory committee, with emphasis on knowledge production and utilization. An earlier PhD research by Scholten (2007 p 3) describes the immigrant integration as an intractable social problem that has defied definition and resolution. Such terminologies used to describe its complexities, as a 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Webber 1973), intractable controversy (Rein & Schon 1994), the fear of transformation of relatively stable societies into 'risk society' (Beck 1992), lead to scientific knowledge in this sphere of research to be treated as probabilistic (Nowotny, Scott & Gibbons 2001 Bourdieu 2004). Murphy (2013) emphasizes that effective protection of immigrants civil rights and other rights to equality will be guaranteed, if they are granted access to recognised forms of human rights as key to achieving the process emphasized by the EU and other international bodies as mainstreaming integration which she says de-emphasize the need for integration. Selecting immigrants as targets for integration has the capability of marginalizing other-izing immigrant communities. It also enhances their differences that will invariably hinder their chance for integration, citing Favell's position on erroneous perception of integrating migrants into a non-existent 'whole society'. While agreeing with Favell that societies do not exist as a whole, governments are constantly working through policies to address the marginal differences in societies. She frowns at Castle & Miller (2003) integration as achieving slower and gentle forms of assimilation as well as a comment by an NGO representative in 2004 of a negative connotation of integration as prescription of needed medication that immigrants must take before they can be part of the society. Much as I agree with Murphy that access to rights is of

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great importance, it can be achieved through process not unilaterally granted, also to disregard the so-called integration medicine is to undermine the social and structural difference between immigrants especially the first generation or new immigrants and their counterparts in the receiving society. Without the acquisition of the right tools to enable immigrants become self-sustaining in the host society is to continue in the older forms of laissez-faire attitudes to immigrant population which evidences has shown leads to marginalization and tensions among groups of immigrants. Their integration is appropriate and this research takes this approach as the functional form of integration which is realistically functional to gradually giving immigrants a place in the host society. This research sees integration from a perspective of adult educational design by institutions of public administration to address parts of a community of people who for reason of marginalization or neglect did not have the prerequisite tools to stand with their counterparts in the society. And as much as assimilation has a negative connotation leaving in a society overtime also means that immigrants gradually imbibe the host country's values achievable through community, evidence of this is the observation as shown in chapter four defacto integration occurring for *Gastarbeiter* despite no formal plan for their integration work-place and community interaction provided embedded rights imbibing of host country's values getting assimilated even if not in whole but in part.

The following literatures reflect national approaches to the integration of third country nationals with a focus on Germany, (Lyalina 2017; Bendel 2014; Hubschmann 2015; Schunck 2014; Heckman & West 2015). Lyalina (2017) while identifying the key factors influencing national approaches to immigrant integration they analyze existing sociological theories and concepts against the backdrop of implementation of the European Union supranational policies of integration of third country nationals via existing statistical data using cluster approach identifies four group of countries. The result shows that, regardless of positive EU policy different socio-economic status and demographic development of different member states influences the adoption of varying approaches to the implementation of integration for third country nationals. Clarifying the meaning of the term mainstreaming; this refers to the attempt to reach persons with migration background through social programming and policies targeted at societal cohesion. Bendel (2014) traces the historical background of Germany's integration measures, emphasizing initial policy initiatives to be that of coordination, cooperation and collaboration among the different levels of government and through vertical cooperation and horizontal cooperation across ministries. The author emphasized the use of the term diversity and inclusion as against integration by different political actors in topics of immigrant integration in a context where other countries might speak of mainstreaming the NGOs special status role to compensate for the long-

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standing lack of state level integration policies, the active role of service enterprise being present in every stage of integration policy issues. The creation of the national integration plan led to the national integration summit involving all of these stakeholders in 2006. With positive externalities arising from migrant integration because of government intervention Hubschmann (2015) scores Germany as the member state with the most extensive migrant integration programme in Europe with over more than a million participants since 2005, with the program focusing on language training, cultural, historical and political instruction. Research shows slowly converging integration policies among member states. Schunck (2014) looks at the transnational activities of immigrants in Germany and the effects of the transnationalism on the integration process. Concluding that the majority of migrants travel out for between 1-3 months to their country of origin and this invariably does not create any form of intergenerational gaps, showing migrants remittances as correlating with negative integration into the German society. Non-remitting immigrants have higher receiving country social cultural capital, indicated by network composition and language skill. On their contribution to the volume on research policy dialogues in Europe, Heckman & West (2015 pp 185-211) analytical perspectives on Germany research policy dialogues, takes us through the various period in German immigration history, the nature of immigration research prevalent in each period and the changing operational relationships on research policy dialogues. Unfortunately, the social political atmosphere was still hooked on the rhetoric that 'Germany is not a migration country', less attention paid to research perspectives on migration and integration. Pointing to the period just before the start of the millennium the new Red/Green government as the beginning of knowledge utilization on migration research, subsequent governments have adopted this pattern, which they term in three forms consultancy, bureaucratic and mutual learning dialogue structures.

The low-level interaction Hungary as a country has had with third country nationals is reflective also in the limited scholarly literature that has documented third country nationals' migration to Hungary and their integration. (Godri 2004; Lodovici et al/EMPL 2017 Demeny 2007) EMPL 2017 in a comparative analysis of three of the hotspots countries in the 2015 migration surge to Europe authors showed the admittance and acceptance rates and steps at integration of refugees in Italy, Greece and Hungary. The report on Hungary shows integration that is more restrictive in the country's support for recognized refugees. Automatic revision of refugee status every three years, maximum of 30days stay in the open reception camps as against the previous 60days, withdrawal of cash benefits, monthly stipends, educational allowances and housing support stopped and an increase of its list of safe country to include Turkey. The research also shows an increase of negative opinion of the Hungarian public

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towards migrants from 29% in 2010 to 58% by the end of 2016 due to the media coverage of the issue as a security challenge to the Hungarian Society. In conclusion, the growing role of NGOs in the reception and integration of asylum seekers across all three countries particularly in Hungary and the need for the support of well-established, motivated and cooperating NGOs able to support asylum seekers in the absence of government intervention. Godri (2004) showed statistical evidence to reflect the Hungarian migratory patterns that Hungary migration receptacle focuses on ethnic Hungarians in neighbouring European countries. With third country nationals in the range of 1.1 to 1.8 percent of the entire population, and no particular integration strategy to integrate third country nationals leaving them with the choice of creating their own social dynamic suitable for their integration project, measured by the extent of their interpersonal relationships, the quality and composition of the network. Demeny (2007) traces the development of refugee situation in Hungary as it relates to the legal, economic, social, educational and cultural aspects of refugee integration. The development of various legal instruments and the transposition of the EU laws on refugee and asylum seekers and the Geneva Convention into legal rights of refugees are described. The research also discusses the role of institutional actors such as NGOs, international organization and churches in the integration of refugees in Hungary.

Present day high-level politicization of immigrants/third country nationals and their integration in Hungary has characteristically translated into restrictive migration policies as the new laws on admittance and integration of third country nationals' show. Nevertheless, there is divergent operationalization of integration at national and local level especially with local organizations like the NGOs and the churches and the input made by international organizations concerned with migration and there is cooperation with these groups by the government on the EU platform of the AMIF funding.

At the beginning of this session on integration of third country nationals, we mentioned the various approaches to immigrant's integration, which scholars' term as activist; we examine these approaches here for clarity.

Classical approaches to integration: assimilation.

Theoretical perspectives on classical immigrant integration developed in the early scholarly research from the study of how they are included the in host society. Assimilation is the pioneering approach to defining the relationship between immigrants and their host society and it refers to a process of obliterating differences between formally different groups, reflective of the overshadowing of the minority groups mostly because of the biased affluence differences between the majority or host

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society and the minority. Immigrant integration is understood from the linear sequence of stages of inter-group interaction that results in the complete absorption of the immigrant group. The race relation circle by Robert Park a sociologist of the Chicago School had great influence on the theorizing along this line of assimilation. These theories were adapted from the seeming ease with which European migrants in the early 20th century were able to adapt into the American society. Literature on assimilation (Alba, 1985; Chiswick, 1978; Lieberman and Waters, 1988) captured the upward social mobility of these European migrants in the US, English language proficiency, job market integration, inter-marriages and adapting to the American culture. Challenges to the classical assimilation perspectives began to surface when new groups of non-European immigrants began to settle into the American society who rebelled against shedding off their traditional ways of life rather intent on keeping cultural aspects of their ethnicity (Rumbaut & Ima, 1988; Landale & Oropesa, 1995; Kao & Tienda, 1995; and Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 1995). The prevalent assimilationist ideas of convergence could not be sustained in an obvious divergence in the society (Perlmann, 1988). Immigrant integration was depicted as a linear, progressive and irreversible process with the endpoint being the complete absorption of the immigrant into the host group. According to theorists of race, relations have received criticism from Esser (1980, p. 48) Lieberman (1961); Lyman (1968, p. 17); Price (1969) Shibutani et al. (1965, p. 131) who argued that the concept of complete elimination of differences between origin and destination groups was impossible to account for as the only possible result. Critics of the race relation by Robert Park (Schunck 2014 p 15), criticizes the neglect of the race relation theorist of the possible influence that immigrant population can possibly have on the host population, a mutuality in influence, as well as the fact that race relations do not explain immigrant integration. Hochmann (2010) avers that Parks did not recognize the possibility of the desire of the majority group to want to eliminate the immigrant groups with examples from the German Holocaust. An attempt was made to deal with cultural diversity and the fact there can be varied forms and stages differences in individual assimilation processes in their social and private lives. This led to the development of other divergent approaches from assimilation. Before looking at the other distinct approaches, we look at segmented assimilation.

Segmented assimilation theory.

The theory was proposed by American sociologists (Portes & Zhou 1993; Zhou 1997; 1999; Portes et al 2005) was an alternative to classical theorizing on assimilation and is characteristic of the newer literature on assimilation with the willingness to consider multiple reference population and correspondingly segmented forms of assimilation (Brubaker 2004). Their theories rested on the fact

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that new immigrant's assimilation was no longer a linear trajectory of assimilation into mainstream white American middleclass, leading to a loss of ethnic culture and values and straight equal opportunity with citizens into economic mobility. New immigrants follow divergent trajectory and assimilate to different segments of society (Rumbaut 1996; Portes and Rumbaut 2001; Waters 1994; Neckerman et al 1999; Zhou 1997; Portes & Zhou 1993) some immigrants move to upward to middle class others go downward to racialized and marginalized lowest part of the society. These are also influenced by the modes of incorporation on the part of the government policies, societal reception and ethnic community reception and these various groups involved in the immigrant integration can range from receptive, indifferent or hostile (Portes & Zhou 1993). Three possibilities of acculturation are presented first as consonant acculturation where immigrants and their children seeks rapid integration into the mainstream society, dissonant acculturation where children become linguistically and culturally assimilated into mainstream society and the parents are not, the third is rather selective where immigrants and their children are acculturated into mainstream society while maintaining their original norms and values. Heterogeneity of the host society is the premise of the segmentation theorization where immigrant integrate into varying segments of the American society, from middle class to impoverished inner city ghettos, the ethnic mobility trap (Wiley 1967; 1973). The result of this is exclusion through prejudice and discrimination resulting from relationship with a minority ethnic group, the 'hourglass economy' (Portes & Zhou 1993) leading to downward mobility (Schunck 2014) Available resources, values and norms of the ethnic community defines the opportunities for immigrant integration and this downward decline may continue into second and third generation of the immigrant group.

Differential-exclusionary approach to immigrant integration.

This refers to a deliberate attempt by the host nation through its policies to exclude immigrants and their descendants from becoming members of the host society (Eley & Palmowski 2008; Scholten 2011; Gomasasca 2013). It is commonly practiced in countries that operate the *jus sanguinis* principle to define their citizenship, where ethnicity is the central rallying point for citizenship (Eley & Palmowski 2008). The national policies on immigration are the tools used to express this reluctance, immigration policies that tend to be restrictive on naturalization as well as attitudes used to drive home the point that the country is a closed group of ethnic nationals, also reflective of anti-immigrant standpoint perceiving immigrants as temporary and only of economic value as Murphy (2013) explains. Post World War Germany is representative of this practice after many years it of the utilization of

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labour migrants in the boosting of her economy with three generations of Italian, Turkish, Greek and other migrants who have lived in Germany for many years it would insist on not being a country of migration. This has influenced the involvement of researchers in the development of alternative forms of belonging, the denizenship status for migrants; while migrants were not given the recognition of citizenship they have access to social rights (Scholten 2011) while certain aspects were completely withdrawn from immigrant participation, for example, immigrants had access to labour market but were denied access to social cultural and political relations. Gomarasca (2013) proposes the concept of hybridization seeing the failure of multiculturalism because of its presumed differentialist approach to the integration of immigrants. Citing the inability of proponents and opponents of multiculturalism to persuade theoretically of its advantages or disadvantages, he proposes this concept from two basic conditions of democracy civil society and good governance, discussing the key role of civility with new forms of sociability and solidarity.

Multicultural approach to immigrant integration.

Heterogeneous forms of host society are grounds on which defenders of multiculturalism assert that societies have never existed in ethnic purity but unfortunately western political tradition has been surprisingly silent on this. The testimonials of conquest and long distance in trade and human affairs give credence to the fact that most organized political communities throughout recorded history have been multi-ethnic (Kymlicka 1996). Overlooking this fact western political theoreticians have tended to present societies in an idealized model of polis in which fellow citizens share a common descent, language and culture. Even when these theoreticians lived in polyglot empires that governed numerous ethnic and linguistic groups, they have been inclined to write about culturally homogenous city-states of Ancient Greece considered as the essential or standard model of a political community.

Scholars of multiculturalism (Taylor 1992; Spinner 1994; Kymlicka 1989, 1996, 2007; Young 1989; Raz 1994; Tamir 1993; Tully 1995; Baubock 1994; Phillips 2007; Crowther 2013;) defend the concept on the premise that societies comprise multi-cultures. Taylor (1992) avers that the demand for recognition is the driving force behind national movements in politics, and this demand has become relevant on behalf of minorities in today's politics of multiculturalism, pointing to recognition in terms of governments creating room for value in cultural differences as against tolerance of other cultures.

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Multiculturalism describes culturally diverse societies and countries who have deliberately adopted policies geared towards protection of cultural diversity, derived from the term culture, descriptive of the residence of many cultures in a particular geographical space. Culture describes the ways of life of a people; Kymlicka a major theorist in the field of multiculturalism uses two typologies to describe the types of diversity. One is multi-nations state and the other is poly-ethnic. Multi-nations state refers to the coexistence within a state of more than one nation. He describes a nation as historical communities more or less institutionally complete occupying a given territory. Many nations' states are the result of colonial creation or confederation of national communities or voluntary creation through the merger of two or more European cultures evident from countries like Belgium and Switzerland, while poly-ethnicity is often the result of immigration, individual and familial. Before the proclamation of fundamental human rights in the 1960s, many countries with immigrant population had expected the migrant populations to shed their distinctive heritage and assimilate into the existing cultural norm; commonly associated with the Anglo-conformity model of migration as was evident with the United States of America, Canada, the United Kingdom and France. Rejection of the assimilation model by migrant populations led to the development of more tolerant pluralistic policies, which allowed migrants to maintain certain aspects of their ethnic heritage. The commonly dispersed nature of immigrant populations within the countries means that it may not be prospective for them to demand for self-governing powers that can usually be the case with national minorities.

In response to fears entertained by European countries on the invading of their national cultures by migrant populations, Kymlicka (1996, p. 13) points to multi-nation states like Switzerland which have a strong sense of loyalty despite their cultural and linguistic divisions. The nation's survival is based on citizen's allegiance to the larger political community they cohabit; Kymlicka here encourages nations with increasing migrant populations to look at these examples and promote them in their political community. Kymlicka's idea of liberal culturalism is that liberal democracies should grant alongside civil and political rights of citizenship, protected in liberal democracies, adopt various group specific rights or policies intended to recognize and accommodate the distinctive identities and needs of ethno cultural groups. Nevertheless, contestations against this theory are expressed by authors like Patten (2014, p. 4) that justice has been served by the principles of liberal political theory as opposed to John Rawls who claim it is perfectly adequate to cover the demands of ethnic minorities even if they were originally developed without them in mind. Stjernfelt (2012) sees Kymlicka's adavance on liberal culturalism as creating unwanted tensions, in her opinion culture is not the sole provider of possible human choices. That the individual has the possibility of "stepping back" from choices, that

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immigrants do not need a whole societal culture to which Kymlicka has admitted to, he therefore posits that symbolic ethnicity is sufficient. The problem with cultural demands is their tendency to be broadened by new interest groups, resulting in chaos in the polity with these demands. If language rights were to be granted to all the ethnic groups, with each implemented in the educational system what a chaos and cost of translation to the national working language. Many developed cities are multicultural. London for example has over 200 languages spoken on its territory, while the official language is English. These residents have symbolic cultures with their languages spoken at home while people are educated and do business in the national working language. On the European perspective of multiculturalism following his research on policy relations and immigrant integration in the Netherlands Scholten (2007) avers that traditional approaches in administration and policymaking did not fit the actual policy practices in the field of multiculturalism describing it as too intractable for classical type of policymaking. In addition, from a political scientist point of view looking for ways out of the intractable social problems associated with multiculturalism in the Netherlands.

Citizenship

The European Union has been active in developing mechanisms both in legal and administrative terms that impact in shaping member state policies on the integration of third country nationals. A resounding expectation of the direction of integration of third country nationals according to the European Commission relates to the Tempere milestones in 1999. Here emphasis is on the need for designing a common integration policy for member states in order to offer third country nationals *rights and obligation comparable to all European Union citizens*, following this declaration, several legal texts based on the Charter of Fundamental Rights proclaimed in 2001 were issued on integration policy framework. These policies are geared towards the encouragement of immigrants to strive for and encouraging member states to liberalize access to citizenship. So what does naturalization hold for the immigrant? Access to the host country's nationality is an important element in the integration policy as it equips the immigrant with the full rights that host countries citizens enjoy with the condition of meeting with certain duties and obligations. The necessity for citizenship is that it features importantly in society's social cohesion. Literatures on citizenship in capturing the membership that citizenship status bestows on the members of the community has not neglected to look at the fate of immigrant populations in the community of citizens (Bellamy 2013; Kymlicka & Norman 2000; Cohen 1999). The paradigm shift in the concept of citizenship because of new forms of transnational migration and globalization is the focus of Cohen (1999). His research focused on puncturing traditional principles of

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jurisdictional, legal membership of a political community from which the modern concept of citizenship is derived. The assumption of neatly mapped components on the terrain of democratic welfare state has become obsolete, because of the difficulty of its applicability in the present realities. Kymlicka & Norman (2000) subscribes to contextual approaches in understanding causal challenges to citizenship. Explaining the interactions between groups in a diverse society in their introductory analysis as against plain summaries of the various contributions in the volume, they warned against making sweeping generalizations in favour of or against support for the impact of minority rights on citizenship and social cohesion in each society, calling for empirical examination of specific context. Bellamy's (2013) analysis on the multiple transformation of the character of citizenship poses the questions if the different conceptions are variations on the same basic concept. This concept of citizenship that researcher subscribe to is composed of three elements legal status, political and social rights (Marshall 1950; Cohen 1999; Caren 2000 Kymlicka & Norman 2000) or a fourth one added by Bellamy' (2013) identity. Marshall (1950) defines citizenship as the status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to rights and duties with which the status is endowed. Marshall contends against the concepts of equal rights but rather points to social inequality, in the concepts of citizenship, social class and capitalism, which were growing side by side in 17th to 19th century England. He divided the elements of citizenship into three components civic, political and social. The pioneer element according to Marshall was the civic, political rights came next, while social rights did not see the light of day until the early nineteenth century with the development of public elementary education, attaining equal partnership with the other two only in the twentieth century. For Baubock (1994) and Brubaker (1989) citizenship is membership to a nation state, to which the instrument and object of social enclosure are inherently bounded. Yet the bounds of belongings are drawn differently in different polities. Brubaker (1992) cites the observation by Aristotle that a man who is a citizen in a democracy is often, not one in an oligarchy which has remained true in Europe in the differences in practices of belongingness on the continent. Howard (2003, p. 3) it bestows upon individuals membership in a national political community, which in liberal democracies it gives the individual the right to political participation; the individual may participate freely in social activities, while also meeting with civic obligations of tax payments and military service. (Dell'Olio 2005) highlights citizenship as an idea that finds expression in law. As a legal concept, it creates a community of *rechtsgemeinschaft*, which includes and protects those who belong to the same system of rules. Citizenship therefore can be considered as a set of rules that defines citizens as components of a polity (Bellamy 2013). The legal feature of citizenship from the western point of

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political tradition has been the formal recognition and possession of the formal status of community membership as against the status of a visitor. The differences in the way membership is defined is dependent on the conception in which the community's membership is defined, the political and legal institutions, the rights, duties, and the character of norms and attitudes required from the citizen to fulfill civic entitlements and obligation Bellamy (2013).

The legal entitlement of the immigrant to full participation and membership in the host country/society through the acquisition of its nationality is the manifestation of 'belonging' to the host country. It gives security to the immigrants for equal access with citizens to the labour market, social and political rights to participate in election and to circulate freely across unregulated social spaces. State policies tend towards the reaffirmation of citizenship as the dominant membership principle and non-citizenship membership was either found to be insufficient or explicitly devalued Joppke and Morawska (2003, p. 1) The linkages between nation-state, nationalism and the determination of citizenship and the new discussions that migratory patterns add to this social-political controversy are undeniable, modern societies are increasingly united by dense networks of transportation and communication yet divided by widening economic, political and demographic disparities. Cross-section of people would seek work, welfare or security in prosperous and peaceful countries exploiting channels of opportunities to do so (Brubaker 1992). Therefore, more people are faced with the challenge of withstanding the pulls between here and there of balancing potentially conflicting needs to integrate and maintaining transnational ties (Hartnell 2006). Countries, among them member-states of the European Union vary in their treatment of the citizenship/nationality naturalization and migration. The extent of their tolerance of multiculturalism and the different degrees of making immigrants integrate (assimilate) into the host society, which can tend towards encouragement or discouragement depending on the demands for integration and naturalization processes, put in place for immigrants.

Citizenship models.

Two categories of belongingness tend to define the processes of citizenship: *jus soli and jus sanguinis*. Jus soli refers to citizenship defined by birth on territory that is, regardless of ethnic ties, birth on the territory of that state or children whose parents are citizens of the state have the privilege of becoming citizens of the state. Among countries practicing this system are United Kingdom and the United States of America and France. The other, *jus sanguinis* refers to citizenship defined by people or by blood, citizenship is ascribed to children of citizens. Synonymous with the discourse on nations and

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nationalism drawn along the lines of primordialist principles, nationality is rooted in the inscriptive ties based on blood, language and religion and constructivist stress the historical and sociological processes by which nations are created Diekhoff (2004, pp. 1-2). Howard (2009) avers that important elements of a country's citizenship policies involve how new born children acquire their citizenship: distinction is between law of blood *jus sanguinis*- which is citizenship passed down by lineage and law of the soil, *jus soli* citizenship by birth in a given country. In practice, all countries observe the system of *jus sanguinis*, but the real test is the many variations that exist in practice with *jus soli*, concerning the country's citizenship policy liberality, whether children born on its soil as second or third generation immigrants will automatically become citizens like in the examples of the United States, Canada and Ireland. Until 2004 when Ireland modified the law or additional criterial were included to be fulfilled, like residence in the country for a particular length of time by the parents while meeting other civil obligations like paying taxes and the child reaching a certain age before citizenship can be bestowed on him/her. Rating the EU 15 from a point of 0-2 (Howard 2009) in a Citizenship Policy Index CPI accesses *jus soli* at birth, double *jus soli* and time frame as a requirements for accessing *jus soli*. Brubaker (1992) emphasises the fact that in much of continental Europe citizenship is ascribable to children of citizen's by *jus sanguinis*. Nevertheless, he points out the incorporation of elements of *jus soli* in comparing operational systems practiced in France as against Germany as observed by Aristotle as one a democracy and the other an oligarchy. Immigrants who would be a citizen in France would often not be one in Germany, unless they happened to be of ethnic German origin. He states that the rate of civic incorporation for migrants in France is ten times higher than in Germany and the gap is even greater for second and third generation immigrants, considering the fact that both countries were destination for foreign migrant workers in the 1960s and 70s in response to labor shortages. These migrant labour workers have coagulated into growing numbers of young generations of Franco-Portuguese, Franco-Algerian, and Franco-Moroccans with the case of France unlike in Germany where second and third generation of Turkish immigrants born and raised in Germany are still outside the community of citizens. The attributive reason why naturalization is slower in Germany than in France is that the transition process takes longer time, as well as more daunting tasks to be fulfilled. At the point of acquisition of the German citizenship, resident immigrants would need to drop or unsubscribe to their original or any other citizenship they may hold. Nonetheless these immigrant populations have continued to grow in both countries largely through family reunification. Howard (2009) presents an explanation about the historical variations in citizenship policies across the European countries of the EU: out of 15 -dividing their various policies into restrictive for 7 countries, 4 as medium and 4 as

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historically liberal which are France, Ireland, Belgium and the United Kingdom. Germany has since the beginning of the millennium overhauled the immigrant integration policy in the process acknowledging that it is an immigration country with the total population figures showing at least 25% of immigrant populations and has liberalized citizenship acquisition in the process.

Naturalization.

Nationality acquisition may occur automatically at birth or upon application. Naturalization is the non-automatic acquisition of citizenship by an individual (OECD 2011) in the country of his sojourn or in the case of second or third generation through parents or grandparents. It usually requires an application by the immigrant upon fulfilling certain obligations and being granted by the host country. Qualification to apply for the acquiring of host country's nationality is three pronged, by birth, by marriage and long-term residency upon the fulfilment of certain duties and obligations. An OECD (2011) report attests to marriage as an important and common channel by which foreign-born persons obtain nationality of the host country. 21% of citizenship acquisition in Germany was by marriage or an extension of nationality to relatives of a principal applicant. Also in Switzerland (Steinhardt et al., 2009) 18% of all citizenship application occurred via so-called simplified naturalization process applicable in the case of marriage for children of Swiss citizens and the United Kingdom Home Office for the year 2009 gave a statistic of 22% of citizenship granted on the basis of marriage. In Germany, naturalization rates began to increase due to the changing laws between 2000 and 2008. Children whose parents are not ethnic Germans could assess German citizenship having met the pre-conditions (Weinmann 2012) which are similar to the conditions in Hungary (Kovacs & Toth (2009) in the number of years (8years) TCN should hold a residence before eligibility to apply. The major difference in where citizenship aspirants in Germany are constrained by the option scheme where they have option to one citizenship claim German citizenship or citizenship of their parents origin, Hungary is open to dual citizenship (Kovac & Toth (2009).

Denizenship.

The universality in status ascribed to citizenship according to Benton (2010) is the badge of personhood based on irreducible and enforceable commitment to equality yet a means of recognition of inequality delineation of the inside from the outside. Early scholars in the field like Hammar (1989) defined the term as long term/permanent resident non-citizens with most of the known entitlements of a

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citizen, residence rights, social and political rights. In developing, a theory of Denizenship Benton (2010) defines Denizens in legal terms as literally stateless or citizens of nowhere or they might be citizens of somewhere else, analyst expresses the view that a citizen of nowhere is subversive of traditional nation-state assumptions about belonging. However, denizenship- “citizen of nowhere” subversive of a traditional nation state regardless of how negative these connotations may seem, it has developed as a concept of immigration to explain the convergence in terms of legal rights between permanent resident non-citizens and citizens. The adoption of fundamental human rights by many nations in Europe, which promotes the concept of the universal personhood (Soysal 1994) has rendered obsolete the close association of rights and citizenship in the works of Marshall (1964) and Arendt (1967) citizenship as “the right to have right”. Under the framework of fundamental human rights citizenship was no more than a condition for access to rights. Nevertheless, Benton (2010) in developing a theory of denizenship points to the vulnerability in the concept as being susceptible to exploitation both in private forms and in state domination. At the level of state is the possibility of political exclusion, which can be tolerable, based on the cost of exit of the denizen because of the presence of alternative accountability mechanisms? On the private side is the exploitation by employers and property owners, immigrants’ status can exacerbated by private domination that disadvantaged citizens are similarly subject to. He advocates for a mechanism that checks abuse of status of denizen so that individual holders can have access to full, independent and flourishing life. The question of the privileges associated with citizenship not delivered to denizens, which may exclude denizens from access to certain privileges.

Historically, in Europe Germany stands out as the country where this status of denizenship was developed in the many years she would not admit to being a migration country, immigrants and ethnic German citizens worked side by side, as co-workers based on the same rights. Soysal points to the existence of a mature welfare state as resulting in the new status relying on the scope of expansion on territorial basis as denizens acquire certain membership rights based on living on the territory of the member state, all with the exclusion of political rights reserved for citizens. Denizens have to depend on the goodwill of citizens because they possess full political rights to represent them this position makes them vulnerable to welfare cutbacks and retrenchment regardless of the maturity of the welfare state (Klopp 2002). Carens (1987; 1989; 2012) chronicles the three-step claim of the immigrant as entry, rights and the claim to citizenship.

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The section above has examined what it means to be third country national and the various linkages to the integration of TCN. It has discussed the models of the integration of third country nationals their various impact on the societies, the concepts of citizenship models and their implication on the admittance of non-nationals and other typologies like denizenship. The next is a view of second country nationals who are the EU citizens resident in member states as well as the rights accruable to this group in comparison to TCN.

Second Country Nationals

The first freedoms of movement agreed on in the European Community was the freedom of goods and services and the freedom of persons moving for the purpose of work in the European Union. It was a fundamental principle enshrined in article 45 of the TFEU and developed in EU secondary legislation and the Case Law of the Court of Justice. This law entitles Member states citizens, who are equally EU citizen to access jobs in another EU country, reside there for the purpose of work and stay there even when the employment is over. The work conditions are the same as citizens in the target member state. EEA European Economic Area citizens are also entitled to these privileges; the only places of restriction are certain special departments in the member states civil service. Article 20 of the TFEU provides for citizenship of the Union which complements the member state citizenship and does not replace it.

The concept of citizenship already undergoing contestation among scholars was further compounded by the introduction of European Union citizenship. The first supranational citizenship in the world, though ambiguous but its introduction undermined the exclusivity of national citizenship Marchetti (2014)³. In which the concepts of pluralism, liberalism communitarianism communalism are sufficient tools driving integration (Lehning 2001, pp. 239-282).⁴ The existence of ethnic and cultural pluralism in a nation state can be tolerable in a cross border citizenship like the European Union. Liberal democratic citizenship means regardless of differences everyone has equal citizenship at the nation-state level of citizenship; claims are advanced in political the realm and assessment of the claim is made by others. These concerns about claims are as present in a pan-national like the EU as they were in the nation state The new venue of citizenship has been analyzed by varying perspectives because of some

³Marchetti, C. M., (2014) Citizenship Beyond the Nation-State. New Perspectives in the Citizenship Debates, European Journal of Research on Education

⁴ Lehning, P. B., (2001) European citizenship: Towards a European Identity? Law and Philosophy vol.20 No 3, Union citizenship May 2001 pp 239-282

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missing ingredients in citizenship that are yet to be achieved or dwindling in relation to feeling of togetherness, sense of belonging and identity (Perez-Diaz 1998; Kostakopoulou 2001 p 1 Koller 2016) conclusions underpins this which by the outcome of the EU barometer assessments. Despite the challenges of EU citizenship its ability to work out equality expanded to political civil and social rights (King & Woldron, 1998. p 423; Marchetti 2014). Marchetti (2014) attests of a valuable side of European citizenship in the rights earned from relating as European citizen with other member states on equal terms as their own citizens. Another value which has truly made a powerful impact in the life of Union citizens is treaty and legislative provisions which prevent member states from discrimination against other EU nationals when crossing internal borders creating a common space of free movement. In view of Bauböck (2006), a point which Marchetti also makes though not a conquest point for citizenship but a dynamic notion, citizenship can be considered as vehicle for fostering the integration process. The integration process mentioned here is as it relates to the European Union integration. Murphy (2013) gives an compelling criticism of integration models and questions European integration process for third country nationals as unnecessary and does not reflect commitment to the process, that actual goal oriented approach would be integration from the stronger points of the law of fundamental human rights with reflections on the rights accruable to second country nationals noting the focus of NGO and academic perspective of integration strive for the maintenance of a holistic mutual conception of integration concerned about the immigrant and the receiving society, because of the ease of integration these rights foster. This approach she termed as functional or wider perspectives on integration, which gives the individual the rights and legal status which is a gateway to housing health education social welfare and family reunification and wider aspects, connects to these functional themes.

Next we look at the European integration theories which will helps us understand the way and channels in which policies for the integration of third country nationals in the European Union are arrived at. And what institutions impact in the policy venues for the integration of the target group.

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The European Integration Theories

The founding fathers of the European community, Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman are known 'pragmatic federalists' (Lefan and Mazey 2006). Reflecting on a ruined Europe after two world wars (Wiegall & Stirk 1992, p. 20) they influenced the leaning towards federalism. To avoid the challenges that may erupt from a federalist proposal Schuman and Monnet proposed the European Coal and Steel Community in hope that spillover from the ECSC will lead to further integration towards the United States of Europe, a pragmatic approach to closer integration by stealth (Dunn 2012).

The seemingly unrealistic federalism of the European community has made other approaches to European integration theories starting from international relations perspectives such as neofunctionalism, intergovernmentalism and supranationalism more popular.

Neo-functionalism

Neo-Functionalism theorists (Haas 1958; Lindberg 1962; Hix 1999; Kreisler 2000) have attempted to explain European integration. With Haas as the pioneer of the theory, it has its origins from the functionalist thinking in the works of David Mitrany which emphasize technocratic engagement with human welfare needs in post-national institution building, descriptive of the theoretical impulse that drove the European integration. The *Uniting of Europe* by Haas (1958) is recognized as representative of the founding moments of the field of EU studies Rasamond (2005) avers that neofunctionalist contribution to the studies of the European Union especially that of Haas is essential for the deepening contemporary student's understanding of the European integration studies and comparative regionalism. Making a case for seeing Haas neofunctionalism can be seen as a dynamic theory that corresponds to established social scientific norms in ways consistent with disciplinary openness and pluralism. Haas defined integration in the new community of relationships in the European community: as follows *Political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties, expectations and political activities to a new center, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states. The end result is a new political community, superimposed over the pre-existing ones (Haas, 1958, p. 16)*. In observing his appropriate use of terms, Rasamond sees the coinage of the word *superimpose* over rather than *replacing* as anticipatory of themes in multi-level governance literature. This kind of literature speaks of EU polity as acoexistent and overlapping level of political action that shows relative mobility

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between tiers of government in the activities of policy makers, citing the works of Hooghe & Marks (2001). Haas avers that states were not focused on struggling for power, but rather on preferences suitable to their interests and their cooperation is dependent on the interest served. Regional integration occurs when societal actors, based on their interest, rely on supranational institutions rather than their own government to realize their goals. The institutions would in turn enjoy increasing authority and legitimacy as sources of policies meeting the demand of social actors. The neofunctionalist assumption was that integration would proceed quasi automatically but various interests' means that the institutions could not satisfy the interest of all the actors. However, sectoral integration would "spill over" into sectors not yet integrated and become the focus for more integration. The spillover effects play a huge role in the process of political integration and take a central position in neofunctionalism, as expressed in the works of scholars (Lindberg 1963; Majone 2009; Dunn 2012; Laursen 2005). Lindberg (1962) expresses spillover as a situation where a given action related to a specific goal creates a situation where the original goal intended is assured only by taking further action, which in turn creates a further condition and need for more action Dunn (2012). The integration in one sector stimulated and stimulates integration in another section, which results in integration by stealth, where national and political systems and economies will become entangled in a way that, as functions are transferred, so are loyalties, bringing focus on the institutions.

Supranationalism

The term supranationalism is what distinguishes the EU and other international organization Rafael Leal-Arcas (2007). Its semantic origin is the translation of the Latin term supra (Galster 1985 in Ruzkowski 2009) therefore supranationalism means that something happens above the nations and the states. Supranationalism is entangled in the value system of European ethnically national liberalism, (Weiler 1995). It is closely linked to the idea of networks since the relationship is focused on the establishment of a community which is a type of network (Ruzkowski 2009). Koenig Archibugi (2004) presents two alternate models of supranationalism, the first is a combination of a regional government with harmonization as the focus for the political adjustments, the second is regressive. The author analyses supranationalism from the perspective of regional regimes, with European identity and smaller more limited material capacity as the focus. The first is relatively relevant to our discourse as relatively integration policies for the integration of third country nationals are driven by harmonization among member states, in the European Union at the level of supranational policies like immigrants and their integration.

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Intergovernmentalism

Intergovernmentalism developed from criticisms of neofunctionalism factoring domestic forces in their equation. The pioneering counter argument against the position of neofunctionalists was developed by Hoffman in his book; *The State of War: Essays on the Theory and Practice of International Relations*, a realistic international relations perspective on the roles of states' negotiations in international relations. Hoffman, upholding the idea that regardless of successful integration in the areas of economic integration considered as low politics, there cannot be automatic translation to integration in other areas. He came hard on the neofunctionalists idea that pressure from civil society and interest groups influences governments' decisions for further integration.

In the European Union, the Council of Ministers is the example of an intergovernmental body, their focus is on policy initiatives originating from state interest represented by the Council of Ministers and the others like the Commission and the Parliament are secondary players, and tend to decide on those matters that were delegated by the Council of Ministers. This is why these scholars (Bache & George 2006; Chari & Kritzinger 2006; Ian Bache 2011) point to the greater independence of the state from the intergovernmentalist perspectives. The member states are autonomous in this approach with their sovereignty interests as the focus of their bargaining, where national interest converge integration is supported (Ian Bache 2011).

Supporting the theory of intergovernmentalism Moravcsik (1999, pp 21-22) introduced liberal intergovernmentalism with the position that states entered into international negotiations on the basis of interests, which served first the economic interests of the state and the other protection of the sovereignty of the nation in the way negotiation are done in the Council of Ministers. Liberal intergovernmentalism was further described as a baseline theory, in understanding regional European integration. Moravcsik & Schimmelfennig (2009), claim that it is a grounded theory that has helped to explain the evolution of regional integration, with apparent accuracy of the substantive assumptions and empirical prediction.

Having understood these theories in the following session a synthesis of European integration theories in the policies of immigrant integration in the European Union is apt.

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A Synthesis of European Integration Theories in Immigrants Integration

The spillover concept in Haas' theory gives recognition to the idea of neo-functionalism as a potentially important element of integration. Haas was of the opinion that member states of the EU would attempt to control the results of the agenda they set, which explains the claims of the intergovernmentalist about the platforms of the Council of Ministers. However; some of these results get out of their control, (Schmitter 2005, p. 257). The inability to control, results from the activities of local actors, civil societies and national judiciary (Guiraudon 2000). The EU established firm principles in asylum in the Treaty on the European Union, further communitarized these principles in the Amsterdam Treaty (Stetter 2000, p. 80). The spillover challenges of administering the concept of free movement for non- EU nationals by the member states gave room for the logic of ceding the asylum policy to the supranational level for reasons related to ensuring the functionality of previously established EU policies.

Prior to the formal harmonization of asylum policy in the TEU and Amsterdam Treaty the Single European Act (SEA), a less formal harmonization, triggered the European community objective for the single market. The changes in the EU after SEA enactment, allow for the inevitability in harmonizing immigration and asylum policy. Integration in one area led to unforeseen challenges in another resolvable only by further integration (Guiraudon 2000, p. 254) compliant with neofunctionalists view. Implementing the SEA, EU member states established differing qualifying prerequisites for gaining asylum; with some more liberal than others in this area (Van Selm 2000) widening the burden in migration and asylum policy. The challenges led to more formal harmonization with a standardized humanitarian policy perspective among member states with hitherto different views.

In liberal Intergovernmentalism, Moravcsik (1998, p. 18) argues that international agreements are negotiated from three stages which include national preference formation, interstate bargaining and institutional choice. The political costs and benefits and the monetary costs and benefits in the immigrant/asylum are supportive of the logic behind liberal intergovernmentalism, an argument that underpines the view why member states have been willing to cede power to the EU level. Moravcsik & Nicolaïdis (1999, p. 63) argue that during the Amsterdam Treaty negotiations, certain member states like Germany, France, Belgium, Netherland and Denmark with significant national interests related to asylum policy advocated for further integration at the EU level because they received significantly high

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numbers of asylum applications, (Havinga & Böcker 1999, p. 45). These countries are rational choices for asylum seekers either because of colonial ties to the country of choice, the asylum seekers having imbibed some of its language and culture in their country of origin which can lead to easy integration in the host country or for higher economic opportunities. Immigrant choices affect member states, which is why harmonizing policies in this area is essential for member states due to the unpredictable choice of immigrant's movements (Thielemann 2009). The rational choice for further integration by the above mentioned member states was such that the asylum application can be shared among member states and reduce the burden on them.

In analyzing issues in outcomes of integration in the European Union Schimmelfennig (2017) examines two core policy issues in the European Union; the Euro crisis and the migrant crisis the both producing severe intergovernmental distributional conflict and domestic politicization. Yet the euro crisis has been resolved by averting Grexit in July 2015 while the immigrant's crisis is still pending. The steps taken according to the author are a significant major leap in supranational integration with major financial commitment on the part of member states. By contrast, member states are yet to agree on a substantial integration progress in the immigrant integration crisis.

Policy-Making in Immigrant's Integration in the EU

Immigration, asylum and citizenship fall under the policy area of freedom, security and justice, and in the policy order it falls under the second policy order as has been discussed (Chari & Kris, 2006), which refers to policy jurisdiction to which member states have exclusive powers. The coming into effect of the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 gave the European commission more proactive role in the JHA after the Tempere Resolutions to establish common Immigration and asylum policies, which sort to regulate the entry, exit and integration of third country nationals into the EU. The Commission drew a distinction between legal and illegal migration including guidelines on the return of illegal migrants. Asylum refers to the protection which an individual who has lost the protection of his state can receive in another state. The Dublin Convention marks the center piece of European asylum cooperation which determined which member state was responsible for handling an asylum claim as at the time it was signed on June 15 1990 by 11 members who acceded to it of the 12 who were members of the EU then, since Denmark stayed out (Vink 2001)⁵. Under the regulatoy Directives Dublin Regulation and the

⁵ Vink, M., (2001) The limited Europeanisation of Domestic Asylum Policy: EU Government and Two-Level Games. Workshop Paper for YEN research meeting in On Europeanization 2/3 November 2001 Siena Italy. Accessed 9th April 2018

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EURODAC a finger print database was also established in 2000 (EC 2725/2000 11 December 2000) were established to control the movement of TCN in the EU, and to prevent asylum shopping. Whereby asylum applicants above the age of 14 were finger printed and their data were stored in digital format to the central unit of the European Commission. The Schengen agreements, which allow for freedom of movement by member states also made provisions for opting out to which countries like the UK, Ireland and Denmark opted out. There is also lack of uniformity in the issues of EU citizenship for children of third country nationals.

The right to family reunification for third country nationals is a significant policy in the sense that it represents the first legal instrument harmoniously adopted at the EU level about immigration. However, the EU Commission played a significant role in the initiation stages, but the forces of intergovernmentalism were at play as the member states played the most prominent role in negotiating the policy. Ette & Faist (2007) explain this kind of selective policy by two schools of thought, the first stems from theories of international relations that, due to globalization, states seek international solutions to domestic problems citing (Keohane & Nye 1977) the decreasing ability of the state to control immigration because of its self preserving nature resulting from, the constraining impact of economic imperatives and international legal norms. It is closely connected to the neo-functionalist view that spill-over and consequences from other EU policies provide the rationale for common EU policies. The other aspects is on the state centric intergovernmental view on immigration control, that growing international immigration and crime causes a convergence for national preferences as a pre-condition for cooperation. Here the EU provide the framework for member states to cooperate for reducing external negatives and cost of transaction (Moravcsik 1993; Hix & Hoyland 2011).

Europeanization refers to the impact of the EU on its member states (Ette & Faist 2007). It is the process of the construction, diffusion, and institutionalization of formal and informal rules, procedures, policies paradigms, styles, shared beliefs and norms which are first defined and consolidated in the EU policy process and then incorporated into the logic of domestic national and sub-national political structures and public policies (Radaelli 2004, p. 4). This definition shows Europeanization as a multilevel governance in Europe which is clearly a two way process of bottom-up and top-down. Ette & Faist's (2007) view on Europeanization is a top-down process of member states adaptation to the EU in order to distinguish it from European integration understood as the bottom-up process of member states projecting influence. Giving a three step approach of policies generated at the EU level which generates adaptational pressures for domestic policy making and processes, policies

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and politics are adapted to EU level-developments. Varying perspectives of Europeanization (Lawton 1999) see it as the transfer by members states of sovereignty to the EU or the amount of influences that European policy making has on the domestic arena of the member states (Borzel & Risse 2000).

In conclusion, regardless of the neofunctionalists concepts of spillover in the integration mechanism as fuelling further integration, the initiative for integration is usually at the intergovernmentalist platforms of the Commission. The outcomes of policy implementation are still subject to the control of the intergovernmental structures, the move of the policies or policy management to supranational structures can be analyzed from Moravcsik (1998) liberal intergovernmentalism arguments that international negotiation are from three stages which include national preference formation, interstate bargaining and institutional choice. The fact that immigrant integration lies in the policy area of high politics means that initiative for further integration will preferably be at an intergovernmental level of the European Commission where member state are assured of the protection of their sovereignty and national interests only after concretization, that it is moved to supranational level.

Conceptualizing Public Policy

Public policy in simple terms refers to the sum total of government action from conception to outcome. The importance of public policy in this research is on the basis that government actions are driven by policy. Scholars in the field of public policy conceptualize it as a complex phenomenon (Dye 1972; Greenberg 1977; Goodin Rein & Moran 2006, p. 5; Meier 2009, p. 9; Peter Zittoun 2016 Smith & Larimer 2017). Meier (2009) described public policy as of 65 variables explaining 25 cases. Goodin Rein & Moran (2006) in their study of public policy concluded that it is a mood more than a science a loosely organized body of precepts and positions rather than a tightly integrated body of systematic knowledge more art and craft than genuine science. Smith & Larimer (2017) saw it as all-encompassing in terms of both its potential subject matter and its promiscuous attachment to widely different academic disciplines taking so many forms from many different perspectives that stitching its constituents into an over-all pattern is undeniably a daunting task. A perspective on the definition of policy by authors in the field, shared by Peter & Zittoun (2016) as a scholar's view was presented as 'Warring tribes' an attempt to express the nature of public policy in an international public policy conference in 2013. This seeming contemporary challenge goes back to early theorizing on the subject. Dye (1972) cross examines the variety of definitions on the topic of public policy amounting to over forty as an attestation of the warring tribes in finding a suitable definition for the subject. Greenberg et al. (1977) in a comparative analysis across fields of political science adjudge public policy as more

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complex than the phenomena of electoral vote counts, legislative role call and incidence of political violence. He identifies element for its complexity he investigates its time-consuming nature, array of actors, and interaction of forces and multiplicity of aspects in the policy proposal. These features of public policy are reasons why it is never a discreet, single, unitary phenomenon (Greenberg et al 1977)⁶ Peter & Zittoun (2016) share the same perspective identifying the challenges to this theorizing as an empirically defined phenomenon, versus socially and politically inspired construction, subject to interpretation from an essentialist view point according to [Gottweiss Fischer 2012](#); Zittoun 2014). Another view on politically inspired policy conception is the view Stone (2002, p. 3)⁷ captured as *Politicians always have at least two goals. First is a policy goal- the program or proposal they would like to see accomplished or defeated and whatever problem they will like to see solved perhaps even more important though is the political goal. Politicians always want to preserve their power or gain more power to accomplish their policy goals.* In addition the actors based definition as shared by Bell & Hindmoor (2009) poses the question of who qualifies to be on the team, state public sector actors or should a cross section of civil society actors be included?

Public Policy of Member States and an Immigrant Integration Policy Framework

In a sense, public policy shares the same characteristics with immigrants' integration as an equally complex phenomenon, with the varying perspectives of state actors, civil society actors as well as scholars in the field trying to make sense of it. It can be viewed from the statements of Peter & Zittoun (2016) that various approaches often tend to ignore each other as much as they conflict with each other. The search for better ways to challenge issues of the integration of third country national in the EU, the European Commission arrived at the two-way process as its policy direction for confronting the perennial challenge. This two-way process was a design to address the problems non-integration over the years poses for economic and social cohesion within the Union. The challenge identified, plagues virtually all member states of the European Union, yet member states choose to pursue their own policy objectives, comfortable for the political actors in their own environment. A confirmation of the position of Dye (1972) that in the policy making sphere government does only what it wants to do regardless of empirical truths. The multi-level governance instruments, the opt-in and opt-out provisions and infringement check in cases of non-compliance in the EU are the only guarantee against the stagnation of salient policies in the immigrant integration. However politicians still pursue their goals using what

⁶Greenberg D.G., Miller, J.A., Mohr, L. B., Vladeck B. C., (1977) developing Public Policy: Perspectives from Empirical Research. The American Political Science Review vol. 71 No 4 pp1532-1543

⁷ Stone, D., (2002) Policy Paradox: the Art of Political Decision making, New York-London W.W. Norton and Company

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Anderson (1994) describes as purposive action and purposive inaction, policies are goal oriented, goal adopted depending on the interest they serve. The various levels, especially the intergovernmental structure of the EU is an avenue for articulating various policy needs for the immigrant integration.

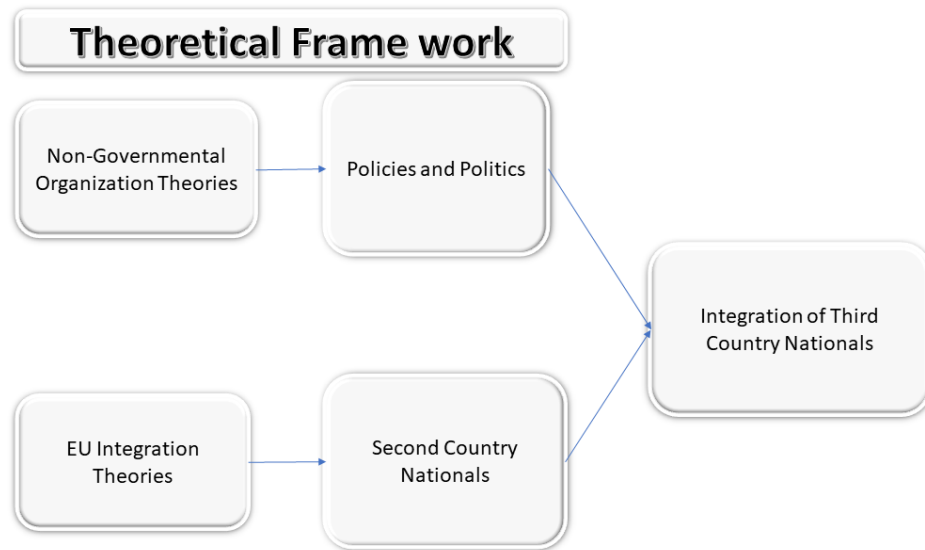


Figure 3

Conclusion

In this chapter the study looked at the variables by which the study is analyzed conceptualization of NGOs and the varying perspectives of authors on various issues related to NGO work and research on the pathways by which NGOs exercise influences in the integration of third country nationals, as well as the immigrant integration theories and the trajectories for their integration. The European integration theories, perspectives on second country nationals and policy theories and how each relates to the immigrant integration framework have been reviewed. In the next chapter, we would look at the methodological tools by which the research objectives are achieved and their implication for policy.

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Chapter III

Research Methodology

This methodological chapter discusses the methodological tools applied in this research to achieve its goals. It gives an overview of the literature that discusses the methods and the reasons for adopting the methodological strategy used in the dissertation, why certain methods are chosen over others and the justification for choices made.

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Developing a research question in an attempt to explain the impact or influence of various actors has implication for analysing empirical evidence impacts the ability to bring some form of change positively or otherwise to a challenge, and the actors to engineer the changes not institutions. Theoretical interest in explaining various aspects of European integration is as old as the European integration process (Haas 1958), understanding this process for achieving integration means that actors activities need to be studied as actors behaviours are broken down by qualitative research. For definitive clarity, qualitative research refers to meanings, concepts, definitions, characteristics, metaphors, symbols and description of things, while quantitative research refers to counts and measures of things through experiments and surveys (Berg, 1989). The systematic description and analytical accounts produced in a qualitative research brings about the social understanding of the issues discussed which cannot be measured quantitatively involving the study of focussed groups and interviews. Qualitative research is not carried out solely for amassing data but to seek answers to questions by examining various social settings. The necessity for examining various social settings is to give the research some reliability. A combination of the two as well as the underlying philosophical assumptions is classified as mixed methodology, useful for corroborating results from other individual methods (Creswell 2003).

The initial steps involve the knowledge gathered for proper understanding of the topic from the academic discourses, the various laws, political and policy challenges between member states and the European Union in the management of migration and integration of third country nationals. Topical discussions with NGO representatives on the various challenges they faced in the course of their work, unstructured dummy interviews on broad topics relating to their engagement with migrants and the authorities of the various divisions of migrant integration need to be processed (Hoinville et al. 1978). Such unstructured discussions and a handful of interviews using broad topic guides with as few direct questions as possible, which encourage respondents to talk, can help researchers formulate clearer ideas about content and more detailed guide of the qualitative work. They also serve to stimulate the researcher to devise a viable sound based framework for the study. Both interview and questionnaire were applied for information and data gathering (Horville et al 1978) recommended for the interview to be first done so that the varying information gathered regardless of whether the interview topics are the same could be applied in designing the survey questionnaire

This research adopts a mixed methodological approach to achieve its set out objectives x-raying pathways exploited by NGOs to bring about a difference in the immigrant integration challenge.

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Interview in qualitative research applicable in mixed method is appropriate when variables are difficult to define or identify (Creswell, 1998). An investigation of the level of corporation between the NGOs and the member states' institutions concerned in developing policy direction for the integration of the target group, regardless of NGOs not being in the space of the main policy initiators like the member states and the EU institutions, how they have been able to make their voices heard and their thoughts applied in the TCN integration process. By the definition of the term methodology as the way which we approach problems and seek answers (Taylor & Bogdan 1984) in order to proffer explanation to those problems and from those explanations seek out solutions.

Understanding contemporary immigrations is better viewed from the historical origins of movement and admittance, how countries besieged by large number of diverse immigrant groups because of economic and socio-political imbalances are trying to mitigate the challenge of integrating them into mainstream society. The peculiarity of the European Union regional governance in developing unified policy fields suitable for member states integration framework adaptable to states. The adoption of various policy instruments like the CEAS, Dublin II and III, EURODAC and the Family re-unification directives that were spill over responses to European integration. The summer of 2015, immigrant surge into the European Union from the Balkan side through Greece was a defining moment that exposed the challenges surrounding irregular migration, as a consequence there were uncertainties concerning immediate solutions as the reception centres were no match for the number of immigrants coming into Europe. Confusion reigned but one group of people had clear ideas of what to do and these were citizens, volunteers and NGOs who knew that regardless of bureaucracies, these people needed basics to be provided for them food and blankets. Their contributions ameliorated the sufferings of refugees and asylum seekers until help came by way of government actions. Social science research is driven by challenges and not driven by methodology but the right methods must be selected which best presents the right solutions to the research question (Flyvbjerg 2006). Formulated via observation, (Silverman 2013) and the insufficiency of comparative case studies as I found out in the course of journeying down the rabbit hole of literature review (Silverman 2013) on migration and integration influenced the decision to compare cases.

Research Design

The important role that theory plays in case study has been emphasized by theorist in the field of research methodology Yin (1993) cites a number of authors (Bickman 1987; Chen & Rossi 1989), whose interest in the role that theory plays in establishing expectations for analysing a case empirical

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evidence was renewed. Yin defines theories as the design of research steps according to some relationship to the literature, policy issues or other substantive source. He further emphasizes that excluded would be consideration of access, convenience, logistics and non-substantive issues. The theories of positive praise about the contributions of NGOs, (Korten 1997; (Caroll 1992; Clarke 1991; Edward & Hulme 1992; Tandler 1982; Lewis 2009; Farrinton et al 1993; Gibbs et al 1999) and backlash against NGOs (Tvedt 1998; Abdulrahman 2004). These scholars among other things claim that NGOs credibility earned was because of self-assessment by way of paid reporting, that assessments of the NGOs were sponsored by the NGO so authors had little choice but to stay positive. *He who pays the piper dictates the tune.* This research, neither sponsored nor supported by any NGO, therefore not in the category mentioned by the above authors claim that NGOs earned their credibility by self-assessment, staying neutral became a guiding principle, achieved by multiple strategy, interviewing the NGOs and reaching out to their clients' third country nationals to validate or refute claims. According to (Brewer & Hunter 1989) diversity of methods implies rich opportunities for cross-validating and cross-fertilizing research procedures findings and theories. To exploit these opportunities means developing cosmopolitan research strategies exploring the new avenues that methodological diversity presents. I visited the websites of the NGOs, checked their activities to get additional information on formulation of the questions for carrying out the interviews before interviewing the various NGOs. I attempted administering survey questionnaire via the NGOs social media platform to have access to their client base, some organizations insisted on privacy of their clients, however some obliged, this allowed for reaching their clients through their clients database. The research made use of own social network and immigrant groups portal the survey via questionnaire for clients (immigrants) response to corroborate or refute the claims of the NGOs.

Each method reveals slightly different facets of the same symbolic reality, by combining several lines researchers obtained a better more substantive picture, more complete array of issues and theoretical concepts and a means of verification, the use of these multiple lines of insight is referred to as triangulation. Berg (1989) explaining the term cites the work of Denzin who points to the transcendence of triangulation, data triangulation, investigator triangulation, theory triangulation and methodological triangulation. Goetz & LeCompte (1984) gave credence to its use by ascribing the qualities of refining, broadening and strengthening conceptual linkages in its use in research. For conducting interviews with the NGOs and trying to corroborate their statements with their clients (immigrants) via survey (questionnaire), a survey was needed to be able to reach a reasonable number of persons within the time frame of the research. A survey according to (Groves et al 2004) is a

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systematic method of gathering information from entities (or sample from the entities) for the purpose of constructing quantitative descriptors of attributes of the larger population of which the entities are members. Samples are usually enough in data gathering because of the difficulty in reaching all members in the entity in this case the immigrant's surveys and the interview of a selected number of NGOs is an acceptable tool to understand how society works and study the behavioural pattern of people. The researcher was hesitant to make the decision for mixed methodology because of the admonition in (Silverman 2013), about not rushing into the decision for mixed methods because of the challenge of moving from one data set to another during analysis. But making this decision was essential for the credibility of the research. A survey is asking questions either through interview or questionnaire (electronic or manual) collected for subsets of the population.

Methodological Strategy

This research adopts a dual case study comparative approach to be able to see both views of NGO administrations in two member states of the European Union to avoid the danger of generalizations on issues which according to Rohlfing (2012), regardless of how similar cases are they can never be perfectly identical. They may be similar in certain respects to specific research questions. It is easy to take for granted that because the two countries that form the focus of this research have historically been driven to adopt the *jus sanguinis* system of citizenship, they may have similar approaches to integration processes of third country nationals, but other trajectory have been instrumental to differing objectives as has been revealed by this research. Especially in the way NGOs are perceived and the different levels of co-operation between government agencies and the NGOs, the research revealed diversity in the societies.

The question of defining a case in a research has been subjected to heated debates and is hinged on how researchers choose to frame the object of investigation (Ragin & Becker 1992). A case is either designed as an instance of a class of events (George & Bennet 2005, p.17) or it maybe theoretical or empirical or both; it may be a relatively bounded object or process, it may be generic or universal or specific in some way (Ragin & Baker 1992, p.3). A case is a bounded empirical phenomenon that is an instance of a population of similar empirical phenomena (Rohling 2012, p. 24). What constitute a case is largely dependent on the researcher's demarcations as a result of choices made. A case is never given the researcher defines the case (Keman & Woldendorp 2016 p. 422). It is a phenomena or one of events (Vannesson 2008, p. 22) chosen, conceptualised and analysed empirically as a manifestation of a

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broader class of phenomena or events. From the above knowledge a case could refer to the entire Federal Republic of Germany as an EU member state. Germany being a Federal Republic also means that the various states that make up the republic may apply several strategies to the integration process of the target group. Careful attention was given to the process of choosing the setting for this research and the method of data collection and analysis. Munich was chosen located in the Western part of Germany which has had long term migration experience as against cities in the Eastern part where migration experiences with diverse groups has been relatively low when compared to the west. The comparison with Budapest, Hungary with a relatively low experience of the target group covered in this research.

First a selection of NGOs was carried out via the web. The researcher sent out several mails to NGOs with only a few of them responding several reminders had to be sent. And in some cases trips had to be made to Munich to the addresses of the NGOs before interview appointments could be agreed upon. For selecting NGOs in Hungary a manual verbal survey was carried out to find organizations most commonly patronised by the target group this informed which NGOs to approach.

Interviewing was a central methodology in this research which is described as the essential tool kit in social science research (Campbell et al. 2013, p. 295). An interview is the primary means by which identification or confirmation is reached on the casual mechanisms that generate the outcomes that are observed (Mosley 2013, p, vii). Political science centrality is to investigate decision making processes, as it affects social and economic issues therefore the place of interview in investigating the interplay between policy makers cannot be overemphasised (Peter 1995 p 19). The place of interview in this research is first as guide through semi-structured interview as a way to generating and testing choices of hypothesis in a rough and ready manner as well as the main data source for triangulation (Lynch 2013, p. 34). The questions for the interviews were developed from information by theoretical findings; therefore, the questions were chosen based on the peculiar challenges of integration and the issues faced by the NGOs in the different member states though there were some questions that were relatively similar. During the interview the researcher also focused on important issues that were not captured in the initial questions but were mentioned by the interviewees in some cases follow-up questions had to be generated on the spot to clarify issues raised in the previous answers. A couple of the respondents who were not able to sit for an interview responded by mail but emphasis was made for inputs to be sent in, that were not captured in the original questions developed by the researcher which they thought will be relevant to the discourse.

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Data Collection Process and Analysis of Data

The gathering of the data for this research had multiple dimensions. First on-line search for thematically relevant articles was the foundation of the data collection process, books in the libraries relating to European integration and integration of third country nationals. EU treaties and directives, member states laws, especially Germany and Hungary on migration and the integration of TCN were studied *Snowballing* strategy was also applied, searching contents of volumes of main academic journals in the field of immigrant integration and the use of bibliographies of books and articles that did not pop-up in the electronic searches, an undoubtedly useful technique in data collection. The secondary part was the interviews for the NGOs and the survey that was administered to the immigrants. The survey was administered through online google doc. The questionnaires were sent via email to possible respondents and lodged on social media of the researcher's home page and the page of the NGOs and the pages of the migrant's association's social media page. From the google docs' the research analysed the survey responses through Microsoft excel data analysis tool used to analyse the survey analysis based on the variables of the questions. The interview analysis was done through qualitative data analysis software⁸ the software instrumental for the analysing large body of data. The user-friendly attributes of this software informed the researcher's decision to use of this particular analysis software.

In the course of the interview the interviewees were relatively open to speak, so they divulged information without reservation, their openness to discuss the issues and challenges they face in the course of their job put upon the researcher the need to protect them. The need for respondent's privacy informed the delineation of each respondent through number codes from NGO1-12 and the use of interviewee and thwe date of the interviews as information source in analysing the issues the researcher applied the use of themes. Thematic analysis (Willig 2014) refers to the process of identifying themes in the data which capture meaning their relevant to the research question and the creation of linkages between such themes. Thematic analysis helped the researcher in the identification of patterns in the data (Ryan & Bernard 2000) argued that thematic analysis is an insufficient method of analysis in itself because of the systematic process of extracting themes from data. (Atkinson & Delamont 2005, pp. 821-840) aver that it is important to avoid a reductionist view, which tend to treat one type of data or approaches to data analysis to be the prime source of social or cultural interpretations in other words one should not seek to render social life in terms of just one analytical strategy or just one cultural

⁸ Atlasti, Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software. CAQDAS

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form. As forms of analysis reflects social life forms, diversity of forms reflects cultural forms and their significance in accordance with their social and cultural life forms. Microsoft Excel data analysis tool was used to develop the chart analysis for the online survey on the target group showing the results of the forms of assistance they received from NGOs in Hungary.

Justification of Research Methodology

Our reasoning is always guided by comparison regardless of whether it is intended or not (Strauss & Quinn 1997). Comparison as an elementary cognitive activity has penetrated scientific research, (Palmberger & Gringrich 2016). As it has the ability to help researchers have various views on issues, identifying similarities and difference and being able to draw conclusions on strategies that best address a challenge. The main component elements of comparism are similarities and differences. Therefore, comparison is a mental activity of simultaneously identifying similarities as well as differences (Gingrich 2012) and repeated observation or participation is the only way that a researcher is able to deduce if phenomena are particular or accidental. Comparison is an explicit research tool, explicit in the sense that it allows for a higher level of abstraction (Palmberger & Gringrich 2016) citing (Lewis 2003) contributive areas of comparative approach:

- identifying the absence or presence of particular phenomena in the accounts of different groups
- exploring how the manifestations of phenomena vary between groups
- exploring how the reasons for, or explanations of, phenomena, or their different impacts and consequences, vary between groups
- exploring the interaction between phenomena in different settings
- exploring more broadly differences in the contexts in which phenomena arise or the research issue is experienced. (Ibid, 2003, p. 50)

The use of comparison in qualitative research helps to achieve abstraction by presenting the context in which the different cases are embedded. This is the value of qualitative comparative approach as it helps us to achieve understanding rather than measuring differences from a monolithic viewpoint. Keeping context in-view the context of phenomena has led theoreticians in the research field to dismiss the Universalist methodologies that promise to find laws, regularities or states of development that would be applicable to all cultures or to humanity at large. This obviously would undermine the differences in culture, histories and experience Comparative approaches to theorizing are identifiable in the works of Marx, Weber and Dukhemien, all made comparisons in their works and in the various countries and societies they studied howbeit on macro developments and historical changes (Tuene

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1990). Though not explicitly spelt out as such. The contextual application of qualitative comparison seeks to consider both the endogenous and exogenous factors influencing phenomena to be able to draw out similarities and differences. Differences abound in qualitative comparative research within and across disciplines seeking a middle ground between universalistic and particularistic approach to research sometimes tending more towards universalistic approaches. In the case of this research, as much as we are looking at the contextual environment of the country situation with regards to history and experiences of the two countries concerning migration. Provisions of recommendations of the external party as the European Union is reflective in the best practices in the integration agenda as it relates to third country nationals, so as much as the focus will be on comparing approaches to integration of third country nationals in the two member states context references is made to the recommendation for best practices as proposed by the European Union.

Case Selection

The research has selected two member states from among the European Union member state as the main focus of the research, but this is not to say that some generalizations are not made in the research about historical applications of thought as it relates to membership of a nation. Also provisions of the treaties (Chapter 5) and the other legal instruments used in the EU to regulate the inclusion of the target group are examined as well as the various power sharing and institutions within the European Union. All these views have to be represented because as Flyvbjerg (2006) puts it scientific discipline without a large number of thoroughly executed case studies is a discipline without systematic production of exemplars and a discipline without exemplars is ineffective.

Sources of Data

The sources of data gathering are multiple comprised of a) Treaties of the European Union b) Institutions and Agencies of the European Union web action plans c) laws and regulations of the member states and of the European Union, d) the various agencies working in the migration issues like the IOM and UNHCR. e) Data on statistics of the target group. f) Literature on related field to the research. g) Institutions of the European Union h) Interviews with representatives of the NGOs, administering a survey questionnaire on the target group and some semi-structured interviews with the target group.

Data Interpretation

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The place of academic studies is to look out for possible ways to make up for the knowledge gap in governance. One way of doing this is through data interpretation. Without interpretation it is impossible to make sense of data. The role of the researchers is to find out more about people, actors, institutions and governments experiences, and social practices, so that all of these can be interpreted through analysis. To succeed in this endeavor, framing questions that best address the challenges creates meaning and significance; and makes connections between different components and aspects of the data in order to increase understanding and produce meaning. Put simply, we need to make the data meaningful through a process of interpretation (Willig 2014, p. 136). The many seemingly discordant voices related to the issues of immigration, migrants and their resettlement are such that careful attention needs to be paid to the perspectives of all parties and interpretation is the possible way of making sense of all the views and drawing a meaning for the sake of public good.

Interpretation, (Willig 2014) is purposeful and self-conscious activity, which first emerged in the culture of late classical antiquity. The original use of interpretation was in making sense of difficult and/or obscure documents, usually mythical or religious writings such as biblical texts (Sontag 1964, 1994, p. 6) describes of interpretation as ‘respectful’ in that it was motivated by a desire to ‘reconcile the ancient texts to “modern” demands’. Here, interpretation was about making sure those ancient texts which had been revered and held sacred for a long time continued to play their traditional role within a culture despite the fact that their literary meaning did not make any obvious sense to a contemporary audience. Surely this view held by Sontag is comparable to the issues of nationalistic emotive rhetoric that had held sway in the past mostly in the 19th and 20th centuries, that are being re-awakened in the present day discourse on migration migrants and integration. Post-mythic consciousness and the emergence of scientific enlightenment meant that these texts no longer speak for themselves rather they needed to be interpreted to reveal their deeper, often symbolic, meaning in order to stay relevant. Schmidt 2006, p. 4) points out that the act of interpretation is based on ‘the principle of charity or good will in that however nonsensical or obscure a text (or expression via any media spoken or demonstrated) may appear to be, at some level it does make sense, if properly interpreted. Broader sense making is needed now more than ever in the field of immigration and immigrant’s integration. Thoughts, questions and queries need to be processed regardless of who is asking them whether it is the citizens of the migrants receiving nation who are curious to understand how to deal with or adjust to the presence of foreigners who suddenly appear in their neighborhood.

Conclusion

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While not claiming perfection of the choices made in methodological strategy the researcher sees the strategy as sufficient for making contribution to the immigrant integration challenge and presenting the findings thereof. A methodological perspective that can have implications for this research is one shared by (Carling et al 2014) the insider-outsider divide in migration research where an insider researcher is a member of the migrant group under study and an outsider researcher is a member of the majority population in the country of settlement. The case of the researcher is with the first group that of an insider researcher, as a member of the migrant group and an outsider to the majority population in the countries of research. The next chapter focuses on historical trajectories of migration in the two countries, how they have shaped present day perception of the challenge.

Chapter IV

Historical Background and Theoretical Perspectives on Third Country Nationals Integration in Germany and Hungary

This chapter focuses on the historical background of integration of third country nationals in the two countries that are the case studies of this research. It is expedient to historically trace admittance and integration of the target group because it has implications for understanding the various paradigm shifts that have influences in present day policies for integration in both countries. The research will not pretend to be a documentary evidence of migration and integration experiences of both countries, which has much more intrigues than can be captured in a chapter of a research such as this, but rather to give an overview of how the migratory pattern has shaped present day policy perspectives on immigrant integration. The second part of the chapter will analyze theoretical perspectives of

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integration of TCN in the two countries; the way scholars perceive integration in the two countries and finally draw on similarity and differences of events in integration in both countries.

Germany: History of Integration of Third Country Nationals

Turks in Germany are the common reference of third country nationals' integration in Germany. The focus on Turkish immigrants is due to the fact they form the pioneering culturally/religiously distinct large group that has migrated to Germany. The post-world war economic boom that swept across North-Western Europe in the 1950s saw these European countries searching for workers to fill job vacancies occasioned by better education by nationals, and the possibilities for social mobility which made them move up to white collar jobs (Boyle et al. 1998). This created vacancies in the blue-collar sector of mining, constructions, cleaning and agriculture. These North-Western European countries sought to fill the vacancies from other countries in Europe like Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece which were experiencing high-level unemployment rates at the time. Competition of fishing in common guest workers pool by other European countries like Belgium, the Netherlands, Sweden, and France (Lucassen 2005), as well as Switzerland and Luxembourg, informed the Germans to cast their search into new terrains in Turkey and North Africa, this resulted in large groups of populations from these regions presently resident in Germany which came about as a result of the 'Guest worker'"Gastarbeiter," recruitments in that period. The concepts of guest workers were built around the fact the immigrants were expected to return back to their country of origin after the contractual expiration period of two years. The general intention of all the parties involved was to keep it temporal for the sending and receiving state, the agencies, the employers and the immigrants. For the German state, guest worker recruitment was intended to add temporary workers to the labour force without adding permanent residents to the country's demography (Martin 2003, p. 3). The system thus designed, was to keep these third country immigrants (though at that time the concept of third country had not fully developed as the EU plan was in its teething stage) out of the developing welfare state system. The system therefore, gave fewer rights to guest workers, as common rights with citizens will open the doors to the welfare support (Boyle et al 1998). Another reason for preference for temporary migration was the much-discoursed German 'ethnic nation' concept (Brubaker 1992; Lucasson 2005) which has the same connotation for race, discredited by the end of the Nazi era banned in 1945 by the end of World War II. But the concept was operational for about 12 million German refugees and expellees, resulting casualties of the World War II coming to allied zones from former German

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territories or ethnic minority settlements in Southeastern, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, prior to the construction of the Berlin wall in 1961. The settlement and integration of these ethnic Germans, *Aussiedler* mostly political refugees from Soviet Union, Hungary 1956-57 and Czechoslovakia 1968-69, Poland, (1980–1981) (Castles et al. 2014; Fassmann & Münz 1992, 1994). The Soviet Union (Dietz 2006; Münz & Ulrich 1998) required resources which could not be spent on non-ethnic Germans (Heckmann 2009). These considerations promoted the rhetoric, *Deutschland ist kein Einwanderungsland*, “Germany is not an immigration country.” For the sending or origin countries return migration would allow for their citizens to hold on to allegiance to their roots and continue to inspire remittances from the country of labour to their home countries in view of the immigrants future settlement plan to return back to their country. The Turkish government for example saw the guest workers as agents of development and modernization (Kolb 2002 cited in Heckmann 2005). Remittances to Turkey had become an important source of revenue and from the 1960s foreign currency from remittances by emigrants impacted significantly on international trade as it was used in the importation of technology that was crucial to the industrial sector the (McDonald and Sonmez 2008; Lucasson 2005). The recruiting agencies needed the temporary programme to continue because the return and re-admittance has implications for the continuity of their business. The guest workers, with family ties to their home country as the initial group were young men who intended to return back with savings that would improve their social/economic status. This arrangement was also convenient for the employers, as the temporariness of the arrangement would make lay-offs easy in case of a recession and guest workers were willing to take up jobs being rejected by nationals and the cheap labour was a cheaper investment over technologically advanced machinery. This seeming good for all principle that inspired the participating parties to begin it in the first place did not go as planned. Spillover exigencies in the activities of the employers who preferred their old hands who had learned the ropes (Lucasson 2005) occurred because of the challenge of cost of having to train new workers that would fill up new positions if they followed the path of return migration. In cases where they had to increase workers’ number they relied on the old staff to bring their relatives as it was cheaper for the old workers to train the new who were their relatives. The government/politicians were reluctant to push for the rotation as a way of protecting German image abroad, a sensitivity that came as a result of the outcome of World War II. The workers themselves renewed their work permits severally just so they can have enough money for start-up businesses back home. Some stuck to the original plan of making enough money and returning home to invest, while others were reluctant to return due to the higher wages they were receiving as compared with the plan to invest in less familiar terrain and the

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likely challenges they may face in their country of origin. Stability and security in the receiving country income was more assuring than having to return to their country because of the length of time they had been away (Heckmann 2009, p. 5).

Integrating immigrants was not in the original plan of their admittance, as the guest worker plan was not intended for immigrants to stay back. The economic miracle that took place in European migrant sending countries in the late 1970s and 80s saw the Italians, Portuguese and Spaniards returning home to tend their growing economies. This now exposed the large number of Muslim-Turks and North Africans as the overwhelming majority immigrants in Germany Bade (2003). Integration then became an issue because of the growing population of immigrants and their demographical differences which could no longer be ignored. Economic recession and increasing unemployment levels seem to play a significant role in diminishing foreigners in the eyes of citizens, fueling hostilities, captured as the Turkish problem *Turkenproblem* (Lucasson 2005) as the brief economic slump of 1966-67 brought about a deterioration of the guest worker image in the German public opinion. This led to a stop migration policy in early 1970s, increased migration control in national political and public debates (Bonifazi 2008; Doomernik & Bruquetas 2016) the oil crisis of 1973 further compounded the already dire economic situation. The restrictive migration policy did not achieve its intended aim as resident migrants decided to consolidate their stay by not travelling back, but rather taking advantage of the family reunification accruable to residential rights to invite their family members, which became larger than guest worker migration (Lucasson 2005).

The Ethnic German Concept of Race

The German concept of nation, developed from her conception of race which was an idealized view of cultural and biological homogeneity, according to Brubaker (1992) was developed during the French occupation in the 18th century, when the romantic thought and the Prussian reform movement were developed. This formed the basis for *jus sanguinis* citizenship, the belief that there was something peculiar about being German. History holds that prior to this period that German states actually held to the principles of *jus domicile* which is synonymous with *jus soli*. The *jus sanguinis* law 1913 *Reich-und Staatsangehörigkeitsgesetz (RstAG)* was consolidated by the 1919 constitution that ingrained article 116 of the basic law of the German constitution. German citizenship was defined as a community of descent, regardless of birthplace and residence. This was exploited by the Nazi regime to carry out genocides on populations regardless of residing in Germany who were considered non-German. The Jews were as examples stripped of their citizenship on the premise that only *volk*-comrades can be

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German citizens, which opened the way for their mass murders perpetrated by the Nazi regime. The justification for not abolishing the *jus sanguinis* after World War II was the recrimination challenge faced by ethnic Germans in the Eastern parts of Europe. It was considered as a human right issue, and to continue to pursue avenues for them to be able to reunite with their ethnic Germans, and the political tensions between the East and the West whereby those who could make it to Western Germany from the East where granted citizenship (Howard 2009). The German partitioning after the Second World War and the historical movement of ethnic Germans and frequent changes to German borders led to a configuration of German citizenship that diverged from the European norm. The federal Expellees Act (*Bundesvertriebenengesetz, BVFG*) of 1953 gave generous provisions for those ethnic Germans estimated to be 12 million, who found themselves outside of the German borders in the post war era. This was to enable them trace their ethnic ties to Germany. Until the 2000s Germany has no provision for citizenship for those born on the German soil *jus soli* while other European societies already were practicing double *jus soli* whereby a child born to nationals of the nation or born on the nation's soil had access to citizenship (William 2015). The collapse of the Soviet block and the re-unification of East and West Germany increasingly made the *jus sanguinis* policy unjustifiable, as well as the receiving and granting citizenship of 2 million Aussiedler between 1988 and 1996. Many of the beneficiaries, could barely speak German and some were only able to prove their German ancestry from fake documents that were purportedly on sale at that time. As against the presence of three generations of Turkish migrants speaking fluent German, having acquired German education, an understanding of German culture productively performing their civic duties can no longer be justifiable either morally or economically. International pressure and criticism that holding to the 1913 law was unjustifiable. The quest for international acceptance, pressures from international and supranational bodies of the European Union, the Council of Europe, the European Court of Human Rights and the European Court of Justice, as well as the economic considerations for attracting highly skilled workers for its labour market were instrumental for the liberalisation of the *jus sanguinis* rule.

The 'generous German asylum law' had attracted many mixed populations from the former Yugoslavia civil war, Kosovo had created demographical changes. The German legal system would not detach political rights from nationality rights, stating that both must exist side by side. Post War German political features served as a check against the far right parties and extremist groups, preventing them from making racists statements stirring people up against migrant populations and such regulations were enforced by the constitutional courts. The political debates by the political parties all led to the 1990 citizenship law which liberalised howbeit slightly the requirements for naturalization. This made

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provisions for children born to parent(s) who had lived in Germany for eight years with a residence permit of three years qualified for citizenship, with the clause to choose between the German nationality and their other nationality when they turned eighteen. This insistence on non-acceptance of dual citizenship has shown to be the reason why long-term residents are not keen to pursue the process of acquiring German citizenship and the claim that German public are not receptive to foreigners following right-wing extremist campaigns and debates on the leading culture *leitkultur*. Lucasson (2005) critically contends with this view of the German nation's citizenship as contained in the 1913 Nationality Act as restrictive to foreigners, which he says contain no ethnic criteria that make naturalization impossible to foreigners, he claimed that since 1993 citizenship was automatic to those who met the criteria. Lucasson pointed to the focus on the public debates, xenophobia and racism as clouding on-going integration processes. He cited the arguments of leading German scholars Klaus Bade and Michael Bommes that from the 1970s a defacto structural integration policy had developed the concept that Germany was not a migration country promoted by successive governments was so presented to divert the public attention from the actual integration taking place. With the granting of a plenary of rights to guest workers by social partners employers and the unions elected guest workers and other immigrants as representatives in company councils, hiring firing and promotions, also led to ethno-politics on the part of various nationalities in the companies and unions (Lucasson 2005 p 154-5).

Gastarbeiter- defacto integration -unconsciously integrated.

The conflicting perspectives on what integration actually is, among societal strata, within and outside social circles which includes the scholarly community can be problematic for understanding and actually fathoming an unfolding of an integration process. The European Union defines integration as the ability of immigrants to participate socially as their European counterpart. The structural integration policies in Germany, which granted embedded rights via the wage earning system where both German citizens and the guest workers earned the same amount in wages and contributed to the same social welfare schemes, treated them as equals in the nationality blind welfare state. The economic down turn in the 70's led to the ban on labour migration in 1973, following this the government introduced family reunification in the same year, which allowed the resident immigrants to bring their spouses and non-adult children (Oner 2014)⁹. This new law put an end to labour migration and the paying out of family allowances to children resident abroad. The existing structural integration in education and the labour

⁹ Oner, S.,(2014) Turkish Community in Germany and the Role of Turkish Organizations. European Scientific Journal, vol 10 No 28 ISSN 1857

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market of the welfare state made the immigrants more German (integrated) than the German population realized whose focus was on their adherence to their religion, considered as illiberal, adherence to their faith could be an outright rejection of the socially deviant attitudes they witnessed in the German society of egoism, laxity and Christianity (Lucasson 2005) howbeit unrepresentative of the generality of German public. From the foregoing Murphy (2013) critic of (Castle & Miller 2003) note on integration policies that they represented a slower and gentle form of assimilation. Raising the point that targeted integration can resonate a form of other-ing, she cited Weilers observation that concern for cultural linguistic and ethnic integration of aliens may sends signals, which accentuates otherness of the alien and the host's society's intolerance for their otherness. Regardless of the conscious cultural and linguistic integration by the host, immigrants day-to-day interaction has the capability of making them more integrated than the conscious policy for integration could achieve exemplified in Lucasson's (2005) analogy.

Since 2005, Germany has followed through with a national integration plan, expected to make immigrants more inclusive in the German society; NGOs are one of the main actors in the national integration plan similar to the role they played in the guest worker migration. Intermediary between government institutions and the immigrants promoting the welcoming culture and promoting the paths to integration

Hungary: Migration and Integration History.

Hungary can rightly be described as a migration hub, in its classification as a sending, transit and destination country (Juhász 2003), which has roots in her history that date back into centuries. The country's geographical location has placed her in the centre of important European events, bringing about several shifts to her borders or fluid borders (Juhász 2003), this left several ethnic Hungarians trapped in the border countries of many of her neighbours. Some of these events are the consequences of the post-World War I Trianon Treaty of 1920, which stripped the country of two third of her land and three fifth of her population, (Kovacs & Toth 2009). With the several re-evaluation of the geo-political position of Hungary in the 20th century changes to the broad frameworks of the nation occurred (Hajdu 2004). Though some of the lost territories had mixed populations the treaty divisions made over 3 million Magyar national minorities with over 1.7 million in Transylvania, Romania (Brubaker 1996). Another significant event was the Armistice agreement of 1945, which brought about new treaties on evictions and forced resettlements. 200,000 Germans were evicted, a population exchange between Hungary and Slovakia, Czechoslovakia, Transylvania, Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union (Johasz 2003).

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These population exchanges also led to further shifting of borders where several Hungarians lost their Hungarian nationality. The Communists' rule from 1947 sealed up the borders, the struggles leading to the 1956 Revolution aroused further emigration of several Hungarian nationals. Following Independence in 1989 and an enduring stability the primary focus then shifted to how to identify with ethnic Hungarians who had lived outside its borders for many decades. While the focus of this research is not on ethnic Hungarians it is essential to know how the trajectories of ethnic kinship have shaped this policy focus of successive governments in Hungary, it has made the governments less interested in the integration of third country nationals. The challenge is not peculiar to Hungary alone as such several research has captured this challenge (Mabry et al. 2013;Csergo et al not dated). Owing to the concern for the challenges facing ethnic Hungarians in the neighbourhood of the nation government policy was not about the immigrants on Hungary's soil but the ethnic Hungarians outside its borders. Where the admonition by King Saint Stephen, founder of the Hungarian state to his son, did not hold much relevance, when he said "countries with but one tongue are weak and frail ... Thou shall benevolently protect the guests of thy country and thou shall hold them in great regard so that they prefer staying here to living elsewhere" (Szoke 1992). Going after the "missing kin" was at this point more important; this pursuant of ethnic kinship is not reflective of 18th century immigration which shaped multicultural Hungary evidenced in the Habsbourg Empire with different foreigners Germans, Slavic groups, Romanians, Italians and Jews settled in Hungary. A product of an initiative by the ruling class to promote immigration an invitation to Germans to farm and revive the country economically after its freedom from Turkish occupation. The search for the missing kin led to the Act on Benefits for Ethnic Hungarians, passed in 2001 (Juhasz 2003) and implemented in 2002 (Laihonen & Nyysönen 2002), a quasi-form of citizenship, providing employment, health benefits and other benefits to ethnic Hungarian resident in neighbouring countries known as the Status Law of 2001 which created unilaterally the non-resident, trans-border citizenship for ethnic Hungarians championed by the World Federation of Hungarians. This decision attracted angry responses from neighbouring states that harboured ethnic Hungarians, (Kusa & Lordachi 2009) in the same volume where the states accused Hungary of irrendentist nationalism, creating a veiled form of dual citizenship, which called into question the sovereignty of the neighbouring states. The EU also frowned against the decision of Hungary for not consulting with the states at least on the extra territorial aspects of the law

Hungary geographical path, is at the crossroads of Eastern and South-Eastern migration routes, irregular immigrants without the appropriate entry visas have been known to find access into the EU through countries at border points in the European Union and Hungary lies at one of them, from where

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they subsequently find their way to the country of their choice usually the more industrialised countries in the West and the Scandinavian countries, taking advantage of the freedom of movement within the countries in the European Union. Hungary as a country on the border of the EU has therefore treated the inflow of immigrants as a short term, deviant phenomenon affecting public order, policy measures were ad hoc and temporary with no comprehensive social, economic or political strategy developed (Juhász 2003)¹⁰ to address immigrants entry and integration. This is why third country nationals predominantly consider it a transit country and this could account for the low population of third country nationals.

Hungarian ethnic inclination is similar to German immigrant integration where its major concern was more for ethnic Germans outside the territory of Germany after the Second World War which brought about the promoting of policies that would encourage more of the ethnic Germans to return 'home' and take up German Nationality. Hungary's Strategic Principles on National Policy for Hungarian Communities, as the founding principle of the Migration Strategy – as stated in the Fundamental Law of Hungary – is that Hungary feels responsible for Hungarians living outside its borders. In the light of this principle, strategies were created to reach out with this information to likely beneficiaries. Accordingly, this is a simplified naturalisation process that is highlighted, probably to check future demographic shortages in Hungary. By attracting those who share the same ethnic identity, the common language, culture and history, the ethnic Hungarians create a positive effect on the migratory situation of Hungary where the challenges stemming from the different cultural, religious background of the migrants and the host society that are presently a topical field of research studies in major parts of Western Europe do not occur. Furthermore, the strategy also facilitates maintaining the ties with the country of origin by examining the possibilities of circular migration. s.¹¹ In pursuance of the principle of homogenous community in Hungary several ethnic Hungarians resident in other countries where given automatic citizenship of Hungary despite not having permanent residence in the country (Gyulai 2016). This policy is not novel to Hungary; the events that led the Trianon Treaty of 1920 were the result of migratory patterns of which the countries of the 'Holy Crown' Hungary proper and Croatia featured greatly and the result of the treaty put Hungary at a disadvantage with regards to the size of its population. Post Second World War forced migration also brought about the expulsion of 68,000 ethnic Hungarians from Czechoslovakia in its attempt to create an ethnically homogenous state and an additional 45,000 left Slovakia of their own free will. As well as Hungarians numbering 210,000 fled

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¹¹Hungary's Migration Strategy and the seven year Strategic Document related to Asylum and Migration Fund Established by the European Union for the Years 2014-2020

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from their homes in Transylvania and the Vojvodina Region of Yugoslavia (Laszlo 1992). These groups were finally settled in empty villages left by ethnic Germans fleeing from Hungary following a series of controversies. (Gyarmati 1982). Several Hungarians numbering in thousands from the Hungarian bourgeoisie and top aristocrats left for the west who according to the authors are a notable example of changing class origin of politically motivated outflows. Also the disowned middle class left the country and their direction was the United States of America. (Portes & Borocz 1989). Ethnic Hungarian refugees from Transylvania in 1989 as a result of the civil war in Romania had always been welcomed in Hungary and the public attitudes towards them has always been that of understanding but this understanding did not stretch to Gypsies from Romania and the USSR, or either Arabs, Africans and Muslims who may from time to time experience xenophobic outburst, although no known mainstream political force identified with this tendencies (Laszlo 1992).

Hungarian Refugee Integration

On March 14 1989 Hungary acceded to the Convention of 28 July 1951, relating to the Status of Refugees and to the New York Protocol of 31 January 1967 that amended it, but with geographical limitations to provide protection only to refugees arriving from European states, as the Hungarian nation had been receptive to refugees from the Second World War in Europe. The initial group of refugees were ethnic Hungarians from Romania, and later became more diverse. Refugees from the former Yugoslavia led to a large influx whose stay was expected to be temporary. (Dövényi & Vukovich 1994, pp. 187-205) Refugee otherwise *'menekult* and asylum seeker *menedekkeö* are used interchangeably bringing some form of confusion (Laszlo 1992). The UNHCR provided protection for asylum seekers from non-European states who arrived in Hungary. Gradual provisions began to be adopted into the legal norm including norms that contribute directly or indirectly to the integration of refugees. There was however no comprehensive government policy for the integration of refugees (Demény 2011). Prior to Hungary acceding to the convention its refugee policy was based on the 1949 Constitution of the Hungarian People's Republic which recognised only socialists and communists as eligible for asylum, this approach was highly selective and politically motivated, shrouded in secrecy evidenced by the undocumented procedure for granting 400 Chileans asylum between 1973-1974 (Nagy 1989).

Hungary became a member of the European Union in 2004, which brought about a transposition of the norms of the European Union on asylum, and the national legislature adopted a new law on asylum that

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came into force on 1 January 2008.¹² Successful refugee integration required various aspects to be covered, these are legal, economic, educational and cultural integration, a comprehensive plan, but this was not in place. The UNHCR puts at 8075 the number of refugees in Hungary by the end of 2006 with only 47 naturalised, the majority of the recognised refugees left the country while some left before the result of their asylum application was out. This incidence was gradually reduced with the introduction and application of the Dublin mechanism, which specifies that asylum claim, can only be examined in the EU country of first asylum application.¹³ However, asylum applicants still move away to other EU countries for fear of being rejected and risk deportation. Hungary's accession to the European Union brought about modification for immigrants to be naturalized under policy conditions of eight years residency, passing the Hungarian language test and evidence of economic stability with tax returns. Unlike Germany, Hungarian citizenship policy for immigrants allow for dual-citizenship, which theorist have attributed to the country's historical focus on the larger ethnic populations living outside its borders who also hold citizenship of their country of residence this has also paid little attention to immigrants on its soil and their integration (Howard 2009). The focus on ethnic Hungarians can explain why the policy for immigrant integration is unconsolidated. Statistics showing the actual population of legally resident foreign workers are unavailable therefore researchers still depend on estimation for analysis (Juhasz 2003). The quasi integration plan are a barrier for finding suitable jobs for immigrants even among those with a residence permit due to challenges of lack of provisions for language skill, lack of the right skills to enter the European job market in Hungary. Many migrants have turned to creating small enterprise businesses as the process of establishing a business is easier than obtaining a work permit. (Ibid).

Migration trends (asylum seekers) to Hungary in say 10 years before 2013 had been relatively stable around 2,000 to 3,000 annually. However, in 2013 there was a dramatic change in the figures as the number of asylum seekers rose to 18,900 surpassing any previous records. Asylum seekers came from over 70 countries, the main countries of origin: Kosovo (6.216), Pakistan (3.081), Afghanistan (2.328), Algeria (1.116), and Syria (977). The European Refugee Fund (ERF) enabled the development of the reception conditions and services in 2007-2013.

¹²Act LXXX of 2007 on Asylum came into force on January 2008, with the exception of the provision that modifies the Act LXXIX of 1993 on Public Education, which came into force on 2 July 2007. 'Act LXXX of 2007 on Asylum' [2007] 29 Jun Magyar Közlöny 6088–6108, 90. § (1) and (2), 6106

¹³Council Regulation (EC) No 343/2003 of 18 February 2003 establishing the criteria and mechanisms for determining the Member State responsible for examining an asylum application lodged in one of the Member States by a third-country national (Official Journal of the European Union L50 of 25/2/2003, 1–10.) Article 13, 5

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During this period 13, 000 asylum seekers received social/language assistance and/or legal aid; furthermore, 1,750 beneficiaries of international protection were provided social assistance, psychological/ health care and material aid. The pressure meant extraordinary challenge for the asylum system. To ease the burden on the reception system, Hungary made use of the emergency measures of ERF.¹⁴

Hungary's geographical location and economic reality has contributed to her remaining a transit country. Like most of Europe Hungary treats migrants in-flow as a short-term deviant phenomenon affecting public order, as against a complex social and economic issue (Juhasz 2003). The many European countries which have come to terms with the immigrant challenge and mapping out integration measures had the same perception of temporality of the challenge. The fear at a time real or imagined promoted by political rhetoric in the media that migrants invasion will cost Hungarians their jobs has since been laid to rest. The larger number of emigrating Hungarians and an aging of society, led to decreasing labour supply throughout all EU countries, especially in the new EU member states Hungary being one of them. This was further confirmed by anxieties from employers of labour in Hungary who desperately pressurize employments agents and NGOS working with migrants for workers who confirmed this during the interviews.

Murphy (2013) advocates for the same rights to be given to third country nationals which mean that they would have no need for integration. However in the case of Hungary despite it focus on ethnic Hungarians who had the same socio/economic rights as resident Hungarians the government had depended on NGOs to integrate new comers that took advantage of the status law of 2001. The Hungarian society is traditionally used to NGOs mitigating in the societal challenges Kuti (1996)¹⁵ highlights the historical roots of the non-profit sector in Hungary dating back to the middle ages and reaching into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Pointing to how organizational volunteerism and a perseverant Hungarian public was instrumental to making the communist regime tolerable. The foundation of the out burst in NGO activity she avers is rooted in the historic traditions of volunteerism. Integration is therefore an essential mechanism for creating an all inclusive society for which NGOs have competence.

Table of Historical and Contemporary Similarities: Germany and Hungary.

¹⁴National Programme AMIF

¹⁵ Kuti, E., (1996) *The Non-Profit Sector in Hungary*, New York. Manchester University Press.

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Hungary	Germany
In the 19 th Century Hungarian Nationalistic elite sought to create a linguistically and culturally unified nation state. The magyarization of education and official bodies	In the 18 th Century under the occupation of France Romantism was developed, the Prussian reform movement, which speaks of the peculiarity of the Germans, which has brought about the idea of maintaining biological and ethnic purity.
Experienced population and territorial losses at the end of the World War I and II. Creating fluid borders and ethnic populations trapped in neighbouring countries	Lost territories in the follow-up treaties by the allied forces to force her to compensate for her role in World War 1. At the end of World War II many of her population were scattered all over Europe
Went after missing ethnic nationals with the intention of offering them citizenship	Enticed ethnic nationals with the offer of citizenship should they return home.
Differences in internal party politics and public address of the question of Hungarian minorities trapped in the neighbouring countries. The political kin-minority rhetoric is often addressed to the domestic public	The political rhetoric that Germany is not a migration country was actually to divert the public who wanted to hold on to this idea, while the government gave embedded rights to immigrants that put them in equality with citizens and consolidated their stay.
According to the Hungarian Act a person who declares themselves Hungarian, with knowledge of Hungarian, membership of a minority organization, a political party, an NGO, congregation or official data indicating the person is of Hungarian nationality is entitled to apply for Certificate of Hungarian Nationality.	The federal Expellees Act provides assistance for resettlement to ethnic Germans. If they declare commitment to German traditions and learned the German language. Entitles them to German citizenship.

Figure 4

Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, the research draws a reference from the volume Bauböck et al (2009) on citizenship policies in the new Europe. The common thread in all the research is the concept of ethnicity as the focus for citizenship and naturalization in the new Eastern and Central European member states which accessed to the European Union as different from the policy perspectives of the first fifteen members (Western) on citizenship and naturalization. The effects of the resolutions of the

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Triannon Treaty after WW1 that brought about the splitting of these nations among various states are partly the reason behind this. Successive governments in Hungary, one of the affected states, felt the need to address the challenges of a dispersed nation as a counterbalance to the nation's troubled history (Kovacs & Toth 2009, pp. 151-169). This ideological fear of a threatened Hungarian ethnic identity resulted in the encouragement of ethnic Hungarian in neighbouring state to identify with the Hungarian state. Evidence of this is the nationality legislation and migration law on the issuing visas between persons of Hungarian descent and third country nationals as well as the differences in the rules between ethnic Hungarians and other nationals on the issues of social economic integration of migrants, naturalization and citizenship. There is a justification for negative decision in case of applications by non-ethnic aspirants hinged on the sovereign power of the state where no legal remedy is admissible by law, but usually the missing ethnic and cultural ties to Hungary are behind the negative decision. Ethnocentricity is a characteristic shared by both countries, Hungary and Germany, citizenship in German state has attracted several contestations, a diverse country both culturally and ethnically for many decades, yet not allowing non-heritage based citizenship laws until the millennium. It remained adamant on the perception of not being an immigration country despite several decades of its cultural and ethnic diversity. The changing policy environment in Germany is best captured in the abbreviated version of Anderson (1994, p. 5) including the definition of policy a purposive course of action undertaken by a set of actors in dealing with a problem or matter of concern.

In the next chapter we will look at the European Union treaties and the directives for the integration of third country nationals and their influence in member states management of the challenge.

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Chapter V

European Integration Theories and the Treaties/ Policy Development of EU Immigration/Immigrants Integration

This chapter looks at the treaty development of the European Union and each treaty provisions for immigration and the integration of third country nationals against the backdrop of the European integration theories. The various Treaties of the European Union spell out various levels of governance,

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the institutions, and the areas where each institution has competences. The session looks at some of the intrigues studied and analysed by scholars that led to new modifications in follow-up treaties.

Treaties are legal undertaking both in international and domestic law. A treaty becomes binding in international law once it come into force. A treaty in international law is a legally binding agreement between and among nations. It is an important means among other things for warfare and diplomacy to regulate relationships among sovereign states (Belmessous 2014). It is an agreement or compact between two or more sovereign nations, for the benefit of those nations. Treaties may not result as intended with examples from the Versailles Treaty, which led to the very challenges it was meant to check, leading to the promotion of sentiments of glory of the German race "Deutsches Reich" (Ralph 1990 pp 227-242) which eventually led to the Second World War. The lessons learnt from the negative outcome of the Versailles treaty, the need for a safer and peaceful Europe, after being in the centre of two World Wars. A gradual rejection in practice of its own idea of the nation-state (Linberg 1963, p. 1) led to the agreement for the building of a more unified Europe, through the testing of new treaties: the ECSC European Coal and Steel Community, EEC European Economic Community and EURATOM European Atomic Energy Community. Spill over from the seeming success of these economic treaties, Europe's protectionism, resulting in high production cost, (Lindberg 1963) gave birth to the formation of the TFEU Treaty of the Functioning of the European Union. It was revised severally according to ontological perspectives of its members which according to Hoffman (1966, p. 864), is characteristic of an international system to unfold its inner logic according to the geo-historical situation and diversity of domestic determinants. The new character of regional integration in the EU with ontological perspectives, intrigues and spill over effects is revealed in the treaties and directives are the focus of integration theories by scholars.

Neo-functionalism was introduced by Ernst Haas in his work *Unifying of Europe*, to theoretically explain the European integration through his analysis of the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC). The European Union was presented as the pioneer in this kind of regional integration where sovereign states were willing to peacefully unify on such a large scale, the voluntary submersion of national sovereignties into a larger entity (Haas 1958). Haas defined integration as follows: *political integration is the process whereby political actors in several distinct national settings are persuaded to shift their loyalties towards a new centre, whose institutions possess or demand jurisdiction over pre-existing national states*. The theory of neo-functionalism with intellectual roots in the functionalist, federalist and communication theories common to early group American political science theorist

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(Niemann 2006 p 12), pioneered by Haas and Lindberg. Lindberg approaches his definition of integration more cautiously looking at the flaws in Haas definition. He defines integration as, (1) *the process whereby nations forego the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independent of each other, seeking instead to make joint decision or to delegate the decision making process to a new central.* (2) *The process whereby political actors in several distinct setting are persuaded to shift their expectations and political activities to a new centre.* Several criticisms trailed this theory for the conclusive nature of their definition of integration as a process not a state and the focus on institutions (Niemann 2006). The significant difference in their views is evident from their definition, while Haas points to a shifting of *loyalties* of political actors to the new centre, complete institutionalism of decision-making process. Lindberg subscribes to an attitudinal shift of their expectations and not their loyalties and splits their decision making process into institutionalism, *delegate* and intergovernmentalism of the *joint decisions*. The neofunctionalist concept of changing the character of the states is encapsulated in spill overs, occurring regardless of expectations (Haas 1958, p. 297). Spill over is the deepening initial integration in an economic sector, which produces pressures for increased economic integration within that economic sector and beyond it (Haas 1968). It is a situation where an action related to a specific goal can only be realised by taking further actions (Lindberg 1963, p. 10). Spill over is broken down into functional spill-over, political spill-over and cultivated spill-over (Tranholm Mikkelsen 1991). These three forms of spill over are analysed by (Niemann & Bergmann 2013 p 5) with interest as the centrality for the justification of actors action. With *functional spill over* the interdependence of policy sectors and issues drive further integrative action, endogenous interdependencies therefore induce policy makers to take additional integrative steps to achieve original goals. The inability to address issues of substantial interest effectively at domestic level brings about *political spill over*, which Haas (1958 ch 8 & 9) expresses as a shifting of loyalties to the new European centre as a result of unforeseen activities of non-governmental elites (Niemann & Bergmann 2013). Similarly, Guiraudon (2000, 2003) captures member states response to the activities of local actors (NGOs and the Judiciary) as attempts by member states to introduce stiffer restrictive migration policy as a response to migration pressures venue shopped to the supranational EU in an attempt to achieve their policy preferences. This could not be achieved at the domestic level due to barriers from the activities of local actors. Soliciting help from the supranational actors (institutions) results in *cultivated spill-overs*, the institutional actors who are also interested in increasing their own powers become agents of integration, as the process result in their benefits. State actors preferences are dependent on their interests, protected in the structures

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neither fixed nor determined; the result of regional integration is the reliance on supranational institutions to achieve their interest as against relying on their own governments. This use of supranational institutions by state actors in the advancement of their interest causes the strengthening of these supranational institutions both authoritatively and legitimately. This kind of political community need not presuppose the emergence of a federating state, though it was one of the possibilities on the minds of many EU pioneering state men and thinkers (Haas 1958, p. 7). The co-existence of the national governments in Europe is possible through the institutions having a supranational character and the intergovernmental approaches in areas that are off limits to the institutions. Supranationality in structural terms is therefore the existence of governmental authority closer to the archetype of a federation than any international organisation but not identical with it (Haas 1958 p 59). He discusses the high and lows of the federalist and anti-federalist because of the perceived powers wielded by each, federalists point to the amount of power wielded by the Council (an intergovernmentalist institution) because it is thought to apply the conventional diplomatic breaks on the integration process (Haas 1958, p. 486). Claims of obsolete regarding the neo-functionalist theory in the opinion of Schmitter (2004) that real-life neofunctionalist may be going extinct but neo-functionalist thinking is still very much alive, rebranded as a different animal (Nugent 2006, p. 563; Lee 2007).

The proponents of intergovernmentalism (Hoofmann 1966, 1982; Milward 1992, 1994, 2000) highlight the role of the member states governments as the primary/paramount actors. The intergovernmental structures of the states as the main initiators of integration, they transfer powers to the supranational structures only when joint gains are large. Here the role of the supranational is downplayed, and the writers show a strengthening of the nation states as they further sovereignty in policy areas amenable to their national interests. The authors emphasize periods of radical and accelerated changes in the integration framework when their interests converge and a slowdown in certain periods when their preferences diverge and there are barriers to striking a bargain then integration is slowed down. In follow-up to the negotiations on the Treaty of Rome (Milward 2000, p 223) remarks *if we ask why Europe has to be organised in this way the answer is clear, the will of the European nation state to survive as an organizational entity is dependent on the prosperity which is sustained through the domestic post-war compromises everywhere.* Moravcsik (1998) in 'The Choice of Europe' as a follow-up to intergovernmentalism, introduced liberal intergovernmentalism, which also laid emphasis on the national government as the key actors, incorporated preference formation. Here member states preferences are the main drivers of their bargaining motives with other members and the use of supranational institutions is to ensure that all members honour the agreements reached. Niemann &

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Biegmann (2013) present a foreign policy classification an high politics to which the issues of immigrant challenge also belong to, is such that is close to the heart of national sovereignty and security. Convergence in this area of domain is usually slow except when the national preferences are convergent then policy decisions are accelerated.

The Maastricht Treaty

The Maastricht Treaty signed in Maastricht on 7 February 1992 gave birth to the European Union; it came into force on 1 November 1993. Power within this treaty was classified into three pillars, though the term pillar was not included in the document (Nugent 2010).

The first ‘pillar’ which consisted of the European Communities, providing a framework where the powers of the Member States in the areas were governed by the Treaty, had transferred sovereignty to be exercised by the Community institutions. These community institutions are spelt out in Article 13 of the Maastricht Treaty, which are the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council of the European Union, the European commission, the European Central Bank, the Court of Justice of the European Union and the Court of Auditors. Community institutions are different from the European Agencies. In his analysis of rational choice institutionalist Laursen (2008, p. 7) position is that actors are driven by behaviours to maximize the attainment of preferences, which they always have. He perceives politics as a series of collective action dilemmas laying emphasis on the role of strategic interaction in the determination of political outcomes. He cites rational choice theorists (Hall & Taylor 1996, Pollack 2003, and Moravcsik 1998) who tend to explain institutions in relation to the function they serve.

The second ‘pillar’ was the common foreign and security policy laid down in Title V of the Treaty. The third ‘pillar’ was cooperation in the fields of justice and home affairs laid down in Title VI of the Treaty. Titles V and VI provided for intergovernmental cooperation using the common institutions, with certain supranational features such as involving the Commission and consulting Parliament.¹⁶

The third pillar is related to migration and issues TCN as it spells out the

- rules and the exercise of controls on crossing the Community’s external borders;
- combating terrorism, serious crime, drug trafficking and international fraud;

¹⁶ European Parliament at Your Service,

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- judicial cooperation in criminal and civil matters;
- the creation of a European Police Office (Europol) with a system for exchanging information between national police forces;
- controlling illegal immigration;
- common asylum policy.

This third pillar is hinged on the four freedoms upon which the European Community was founded in 1957. This provided for the free movement of workers within Europe initially applicable to only economically active citizens and their families. This was later expanded in the European Community Treaty Article 8, which addressed citizenship of the Union with the exclusion of third country nationals' resident in the European community (Hunnings & Hill 1992). The initial text of the Treaty of Rome did not contain provisions for the co-ordination and harmonisation of visa, asylum and immigration matters. The functional spill over of the common border policy brought about a need to consider a common European agenda on the governance of immigration and third country national raised in the Tindemans report of 1975. It was discussed more intensively during the plan for the elimination of internal border control at the European Council in June 1984 in Fontainebleau, which gave birth to the Single European Act 1986 (Niemann 2006 p 187) abolishing internal border control between member states of the community (Nanz, 1994 p 123). The events as it relates to third country nationals in the end of 1980s and early 90 were the actual revelation (Lobkowicz 1994 p 99) and the growing pressure of the world refugee problem and the need to reform the international systems of refugee protection. (Lavenex 1999 p 34) these prepared the ground for the declaration of cooperation in matters of admitting third country nationals as well as their residency. The third pillar of the Maastricht treaty concretized the issues of asylum/refugee, visa and immigration policy into the framework of the Union putting it in the intergovernmental sphere of cooperation, following the negotiation, which led to the signing of the Dublin convention in 1990 (Niemenn 2006).

The Amsterdam Treaty

The treaty came into force on 1 May 1999 earlier signed on 2 October 1997. The treaty was structured based on amendment of the Treaty on the functioning of the European Union, the treaties establishing the European Communities and certain related acts. The treaty became established prelude to the intergovernmental conference of 1996-97, which was a mandate to deal with unclear and contentious issues in the Maastricht treaty, and made a way for the signing of the treaty of Amsterdam. It was not

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the radical institutional change common to previous intergovernmental conferences, which primarily focussed on the Union's extension and the sustenance of economic projects but it sustained the notion of turning points, step by step constitutional politics and a return to intergovernmental politics (Neunreither & Weiner 2000).

It incorporated and restructured the Social Policy into the EC Treaty. For example, some major areas under the 'third pillar' such as immigration, customs cooperation, crossing external borders, combating fraud, judicial cooperation in civil matters, and other cooperation's under the EU and Schengen agreement. The treaty 'communitarised' in other words submitted to ordinary community rules (Piris 2010). The third pillar relating to visas, asylum, immigration relating to third country nationals and free movement of persons (Schengen acquis), these issues relating to TCN moved to title 111a of the EC Treaty: Arts 73a-q from the JHA, therefore moving it from an intergovernmental approach to institutional EU level by the European council. With a follow-up mandate to adopt measures aimed at ensuring free movement in accordance with the article, as well as working out measures relating to external borders control asylum and immigration, within five years of its entry into force. The move from intergovernmental approach to institutional EU coincides with the period when migration pressures were forcing member states with Germany in the lead to adopt restrictive migration policy (Lavenex 1998, 1999). Activities of the local actors, NGOs and the judiciary, as obstacles to achieving their aim, member states 'venue shopped' (Guiraudon 2000, 2002) to the EU because they were encountering obstacles in their traditional policy venues, domestic obstacles made member states to begin to favour cooperation at institutional EU level. This title and article 111a Article 73a-q¹⁷ also provided for measures for third country nationals of which the UK, Ireland and Denmark do not participate. Denmark participates on the measures that build on the former Schengen acquis for only EU nationals.¹⁸ This optional participatory decision of member states (Stubb 2000 pp 153-174) attributes to flexible clauses in the Amsterdam treaty hold different meanings for member states, but the aim of the flexibility clauses was to further integration without the awkward and unwilling member states, safeguarding their interest in various areas, while also preserving the basic principles of the treaties. Separating the various flexibility clauses into *enabling clauses* (Article 43-45 TEU, Article 11 TEC relating to the first pillar and Article 40 TEU) which allowed willing and able members to further integration in policy areas within the institutional framework of the Union. The provision for *Case by*

¹⁷ Treaty of Amsterdam, amending the treaty on the European Union, the treaties establishing the European communities and certain related acts. Title 111a visa, asylum, immigration and other policies related to free movement of persons. Pp 28-31

¹⁸ Ibid p31

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case flexibility (Article 23 TEU), where members abstain from applying or voting on a policy area, which decision will have no effect on the Union moving ahead with the proposed plan. The *pre-defined flexibility*, (protocol no 2 Schengen acquis in the EU frame work, protocol No. 3 application of certain aspects of article 14 to Britain and Ireland protocol No. 5 applying to the position of Denmark in Schengen) covering specified fields, pre-define in all its element covering objectives, scope and applicability. Cooperation are hinged on respecting the power of the European Community as laid down in the third pillar, which enable rapid development of the union in the areas of freedom, security and justice but allows the commission to only provide non-binding opinion on initiatives put forward by member states. Only the participating member states have the right to decide inclusion of a non-participatory member state in the flexible clause. (Stubbs 2000).

Title 111 article 73j reads thus ...measures with a view to ensuring, in compliance with Article 7a, *the absence of any controls on persons, be they citizens of the Union or nationals of third countries, when crossing internal borders*. The changing atmosphere in migration has brought about changes to this provision, as third country nationals are now subjected to random security checks when crossing internal borders in the European Union.

Title 3a 73k subsection 2b provides for, promoting a balance of effort between Member States in receiving and bearing the consequences of receiving refugees and displaced persons, led to the creation of Article 80 TFEU regarding to asylum sharing promoting a balance of efforts between member states in receiving and bearing consequences of receiving refugees and displaces persons. The European Asylum Office EASO is a result of this negotiation but follow-up to this provision suffered a setback in the refusal of some member states to admit into their state migrants from the hotspots to implement a solidarity of redistribution by EASO to reduce the burden of caring for migrants on the member states at the point of entre for irregular migrants.

The **Tempere Conclusions**; The European Council on October 15 & 16 1999 created a five year program for JHA on a common asylum and immigration policy to facilitate the realization of the provisions of the Amsterdam Treaty. It allowed for the creation of an area of freedom, security and justice, in four policy categories a) partnership with countries of origin b) a common European asylum system c) fair treatment of third country national and d) management of migration flows.¹⁹ The common policy provisions of the Tempere conclusion were adopted by member states in Council Directive 2003/86/EC, of 22 September 2003 family reunification and long-term residence status

¹⁹ Conclusions of the Tempere European Council of 15 and 16 October 1999

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2003/109/EC of 25th November 2003. The Tempere conclusions were classified as ambitious and needed to be reviewed.²⁰

The Treaty of Nice

The signing of this Treaty took place on 26 February 2001 and it came into force on 1 February 2003. Unresolved issues in the Amsterdam Treaty were tidied up by the Treaty of Nice. It prepared the ground for the enlargements of the EU to the east and south on 1 May 2004, and 1 January 2007. Hungary was one of the countries which became a member of the EU in 2004. Questions raised in the Laeken Declaration of 15 December 2001 were addressed; these questions bordered on forstering a closer relationship between the EU and the European citizens and a more democratic European Union, (Piris 2010). Efforts were also made by the European Convention to form a new legal base for the Union in the form of the Treaty Establishing a Constitution for Europe. It was meant to enhance the legitimacy and efficiency of the EU.

The treaty mostly focused on weighting of votes in the Council, The European Commission, The European Parliament, reform of the judicial system, legislative procedures, and enhanced cooperation.

The Tempere Conclusions gave birth to the **Hague programme** of 2004 which less ambitious but more detailed. It provided for a more comprehensive approach to all stages of migration. It emphasised the role that legal migration will play in enhancing knowledge-based economy in Europe. This informed the directive for facilitation of the admission of students and researchers into the EU.²¹ The Hague program established the common basic principles in the integration of third country nationals, viewed as important for social stability and cohesion.

The Lisbon Treaty

The Treaty of Lisbon is a further amendment of the Treaty on the European Union and the Treaty establishing the European Community (OJ C 306, 17.12.2007). It came into force on 1 December 2009. The failure to achieve a constitutional treaty for Europe is what gave birth to the Lisbon Treaty, to address the issues that are an impediment against further integration preventing the achievement of a more united Europe. To check the growing climate of distrust and nip from deepening the growing feeling that the European Union was in crisis (Piris 2000), especially against the backdrop of the

²⁰ Ibid p20

²¹ Council Directive 2005/71/EC on a specific procedure for admitting third-country nationals for the purpose of scientific research, 12 October 2005, OJ 2005 L 289/15.

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perceived shortcomings of the previous Treaty of Nice which had been viewed as falling short of expectations especially in relation to federalists ambitions (Zoltan & Balint 2010, p. 20). It distinguishes three types of competences: exclusive competence, where the Union alone can legislate which is the supranational powers of the EU where policy initiatives emanate from the Union and Member States only implement the policies. The second is shared competence, where the Member States legislate and adopt legally binding measures of the Union if they had not done so; in the policy domain of intergovernmentalism and supporting competence, where the EU adopts measures to support or complement Member States' policies. Union competences can now be handed back to the Member States in the course of a treaty revision²² (Maurer & Parkes 2007 Lavenex 2006). The venues keep shifting depending on what best suits the interest of the policy makers intergovernmentalist approach or supranational as well as the use of transit countries to manage the migration challenge.

The Lisbon Treaty gave the EU full legal personality while abolishing the three-pillar system and provided the European Union with a single legal framework and the renaming of the "Treaty establishing the European Community" TEC to the "Treaty on the Functioning of the European Union" TFEU (Zoltan & Balint 2010 p 49). The procedures for members to withdraw membership whenever the need arose in accordance with Article 50 of TEU, established in the treaty. This personality also empowers the EU to sign related international treaties and the power to join international organisations. It also subjected Member states to sign international agreements strictly in alignment with EU law.

The provision in this treaty as it relates to TCN is in the areas of freedom, security and justice stating the *qualified majority rule* (when the Council votes on a proposal by the Commission). The High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy must be supported by qualified majority and a qualified majority is reached if two conditions are met: 55% of member states vote in favour (16 out of 28) and the proposal is supported by member states representing at least 65% of the total EU population. Only then is it applicable to the Union's external border control and asylum. This is to enable the Union harmonize rules governing the granting of asylum, to put an end to complex systems where rules are inapplicable in member states and finally it is to achieve a common asylum policy. Others are the establishment of an integrated management system for external borders, for the strengthening of FRONTEX, the European agency for the management of operational cooperation of external border control and the strengthening the fight against illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings.

²² *ibid.*

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Prior to the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty, decision making in the third pillar is upon the initiative of any of the member state or the commission (Zoltan & Balint 2010, p. 186). It meant shared competences in the initiating framework decision as it bordered on the third pillar, between the Commission and the member states. Notably during the migration surge of 2015 Hungary introduced measures to check irregular migration flows of persons attempting to enter the EU through its territory through the construction of a 175 kilometre fence at the border between Serbia and Hungary. Under the old framework of the third pillar, the action of Hungary would have been in order as long as the Parliament was notified in advance of the relevance of its action to the community. But since the pulling down of the member states competence to make this initiative under the third pillar, it was replaced with proper parliamentary and judicial control in order to improve the balance between security and judicial protection of citizens (persons) in the Lisbon Treaty (Paris 2010, p. 178). This move by the Hungarian government met with some voiced opposition within the EU, but as Piriš (2010) point out the argument that since the '9/11' tragedy the fight against terrorism has become such a priority for the EU that this balance has not been respected.

Immigrant Integration: Regulations Adopted by the European Union

Immigration policy is understood from the perspectives of two components immigration control and immigrant integration. It is distinct from policies guiding forced or irregular migration (Money 2010, Hammar 1985, 2000). Since 2008, various significant directives on immigration have been adopted. The European immigration policy has as its key objectives solidarity and the achievement of a common immigration policy among member states as its focus. It aims at the adoption of various directives in the areas of regular migration enabling attraction of third country nationals for the purpose of study and work into the European Union. The main goal of the various directives is to discourage irregular migration while creating channels to promote regular immigration. Theoretical reasoning on migration policy has pointed to three main factors the number, the type and the country of origin of immigrants accepted into a state as determining states immigration policy (Zogata-Kusz 2012). The challenges with irregular migration are that it takes away the prerogative to exercise this will to determine the kind of immigrants accepted. This has been a challenge in the European Union as immigration surge has brought about challenges in the implementation of the Common European Asylum System and the Dublin arrangement; consequently the vulnerability of the design and implementation of the system was exposed. The characteristic challenge in the adoption of the CEAS across member states and the implementation of the Dublin Regulation, which led to the suspension of Dublin transfers to Greece

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since 2011. Also the differences manifested in the handling of asylum applications as it relates to the length of asylum procedure, and reception conditions across member states as encouraging secondary movements across member states and thereby promoting trafficking of persons within the EU. For instance between January and September 2015 the recognition rates of asylum seekers from Afghanistan varied between Italy and Bulgaria from 100% in Italy to 5.88% in Bulgaria.²³ This exposes the differences of perception in the way asylum/immigration policies are implemented within the European Union. With the coming into force of the Lisbon Treaty and the various instruments and regulatory directives in operation in the European Union founded on the Common European Asylum System, one would expect a closer if not unified system of admission and recognition of asylum seekers within the EU. The poles apart gap of the above statistics of two EU member states, calls for closer attention to understanding immigration and control policies. It is a phenomenon of Immigration Control policies (ICP) influenced by the internal politics of the member state. A cursory look at the rates of recognition in 2014 between the two member states that form the focus of this research. Germany was 40% as against Hungary with 9% in the year under review.²⁴ In 2016, Germany had 69% positive of their decisions on asylum seekers and Hungary was 9%.²⁵ The positive decisions are on three forms of recognition, refugee status, subsidiary protection and humanitarian reasons; the first two are recognised under EU law as provisions of the Geneva Convention of 1951 while the humanitarian reasons are specific to national legislation applicable only in some member states. Zagota-Kusz (2012) points to various theorising, which distinguishes between what shapes states immigration policies from the actual migration impact by way of policies. In addition, distinction is drawn between actor-based approaches and factor based approaches. In the factor-based approaches factors such as economic interest, national identity, foreign policy considerations, security, globalisation and human rights as well as humanitarian considerations, are the variables driving immigration control policy while the actor-based approaches refer to immigration politics. These two approaches are difficult to separate because the actors use factors as reasons for whatever policy decisions they decide to pursue. Research theory on immigration control policy has tended to look at domestic political factors as the main force driving the degree of state openness to immigration (Money 2010). This can explain the rates of

²³ European commission: Towards a reform of the common European Asylum system and enhancing legal avenues to Europe. Brussels COM (2016) 197

²⁴ This represents first instance decision by outcome and recognition in 2014 and it included recognition based on national legislation. The source of the Data is by Alexandros Bitoulas, Populations and Social Conditions, Eurostat Data in focus March 2015

²⁵ Distribution of first instance decision on non-EU asylum applications in 2016. Eurostat.

http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Asylum_statistics#Decisions_on_asylum_applications

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recognition granted to asylum applicants in the different states in the EU. Money also points to nativism as being the determinant for public and political response to foreigners, but one oversight is who or what shapes the existing nativism that tends to determine response to foreigners. The role of the government in power in influencing public perception and thereby shaping its immigration policy is based on that presumed public perception. Observations have shown the sitting government determines perception; efforts through the media promotions force the public to fall in line or see immigration and integration from the perspective of the ruling government. Nykänen (2016) analyzing Chancellor Merkel of Germany on causal belief and cognitive framing process, points to the leader as influencing perspectives both domestically and internationally. The author analyzed cognitive mechanism of framing as a strategy for fixing meaning and organizing experience because successful framings can resonate with broader public understanding of an issue and lead to adopting ways of talking about it. The contradictory views of between the leaders of Germany and Hungary during the migration crisis are sustained by their synergies (Putman 1988) which according to Moravcsik (1993) can lead to double edge strategizing in their several persuasive tactics to further their aims. This has influenced the immigrant policy direction of the individual member states regardless of the provision of the treaty and the various policy directives framed by the European Union.

In the areas covering *Regular immigration* the following approaches, were adopted which consist of sectoral legislation, by category of migrants, in order to establish a regular immigration policy at EU level.

- Directive 2009/50/EC on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of highly qualified employment. It created the ‘EU blue card’, a fast-track procedure for issuing a special residence and work permit still being revised by the Parliament and the Council.
- The Single Permit Directive (2011/98/EU) sets out a common, simplified procedure for third-country nationals applying for a residence and work permit in a Member State. Article 12 of this directive deals with issues relating to workers pay, dismissals, health and safety of the workplace, and freedom of association and membership of trade unions.
- Directive 2014/36/EU, adopted in February 2014, regulates the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purpose of employment as seasonal workers. Migrant seasonal workers are allowed legal and temporary stay in the EU for a maximum period of between five and nine months (depending on the Member State) to carry out an

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activity dependent on the passing of seasons, while retaining their principal place of residence in a third country. The directive also clarifies the set of rights to which such migrant workers are entitled. Research by FRA has shown that the status of seasonal workers is burdened with circumstances that increase their risk of exploitation, since the regulatory provisions ties the migrant workers to the employer exposing them to vulnerability at the mercy of the employer or the work agency this directive also prevents them from recourse to social assistance programmes. The legal status of the seasonal worker creates a situation of vulnerability to labour exploitation. Monitoring is the only way that this risk of exploitation can be countered or reduced (FRA 2015,p. 30)

- Directive 2014/66/EU on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals in the framework of an intra-corporate transfer adopted on 15 May 2014. The deadline for transposition of this directive was 29 November 2016, creating a more conducive business environment for businesses and multinational corporations to temporarily relocate their managers, specialists and trainee employees to their branches or subsidiaries located in the European Union. This and other liberal action by the EU has not been without criticism with many holding neo-liberalist view of the European Union integration who are of the opinion that such liberalism tends to undermine the principles of democracy, justice and community which are better upheld at national level (Anderson 2009).
- Directive (EU) 2016/801 on the conditions of entry and residence of third-country nationals for the purposes of research, studies, training, voluntary service, pupil exchange schemes or educational projects pairing, adopted on 11 May 2016, waiting transposition by 23 May 2018. It replaces the previous instruments covering students and researchers, broadening their scope and simplifying their application.

Lastly, Council Directive 2003/109 /EC, as amended in 2011 to extend its scope to refugees and other beneficiaries of international protection regulates the status of long-term residents TCN, in the European Union. Prior to the issuance of this directive in the EU, the European Parliament commissioned the International Organization for Migration IOM to carry out a research on related laws in the 27 member states. This was essential for creating a common immigration policy, which the European Commission had deemed essential in the adopted single market and free movement of person's policy of the European Union (IOM 2009). The report showed the variety of approaches in migration management across the 27 EU member states.

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The European Agenda on Migration (EAM) adopted in 2015, focussed on discouraging illegal migration, which is part of measures put in place to check the human tragedy in the Mediterranean, while putting measures in place to strengthen legal migration. The key points in this agenda are:

- Reduction of incentives for irregular migration
- Border management- saving lives and securing external borders
- Developing a strong asylum policy
- A new policy on legal migration

MIPEX, Migrants Integration Policy Index has developed measurement for assessing member states policy across the EU policy measures to integrate third country nationals as well as that of other OECD countries. MIPEX measures how close each country's policies come to the European standard of best practices.²⁶ Drawing from the above agenda on migration, EU countries are adopting this agenda to cut down on incentives that encourage irregular migration. Recent measures taken by Hungary to discourage irregular migration are in line with this agenda. The closure of refugee accommodation and withdrawal from refugee integration contract since June 2016 are measures put in place to discourage irregular migration as well as the revisiting of asylum claims every three years to ascertain if the qualification for which the status was issued has been resolved in the origin country.

Measures to combat irregular immigration in the EU were further strengthened in the Hague programme under the provisions of collaborating with the third countries, to prevent and combat illegal migration with a view to combating trafficking in persons. The council welcomes the development of policies with emphasis on checking the root causes of illegal migration eliminating push factor and offering strategies for poverty alleviation.²⁷ It proposes partnership with countries of transit, both on the Southern and Eastern borders of the EU to enable these countries manage asylum flows²⁸.

Council Directive 2002/90/EC, code named 'facilitation package' sets out a common definition of the crime of facilitating unauthorised entry, transit and residence, and Framework Decision 2002/946/JHA, establishes criminal sanctions for this conduct. These were complemented by Council Directive 2004/81/EC, providing for the granting of a residence permit to trafficked or smuggled persons who

²⁶ Inequality workshop 2013, Considering the Phenomenon of Labour Market Integration Relative to Russian Immigrants in Finland, School of Social Sciences and Humanities, University of Tampere.

²⁷ The Hague Programme (2005)C53/01), 1.6.1

²⁸ The Hague Programme (2005) C53/01), 1.6. 2/3

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cooperate with the competent authorities on trafficking, (see fact sheet on Judicial cooperation in criminal matters Moreover, in May 2015, the Commission adopted the EU Action Plan against migrant smuggling. The following are directives as efforts in the EU to check irregular migration.

The ‘Return Directive’ (2008/115/EC) sets out common EU standards and procedures for returning irregular resident third-country nationals. Directive 2009/52/EC specifies sanctions and measures to be applied in Member States against employers of illegal resident third-country nationals Directive 2003/86/EC sets out provisions on the right to family reunification. Implementation report in 2008 concluded that it was not being fully and correctly applied in the member states, therefore the Commission published a communication, in April 2014, providing guidance to the member states on how to apply it. The Council regulation EC No 343/2003 which is the *Dublin regulation*, established the principle that allows only one member state to be responsible for examining an asylum claim. The objective is to prevent abuse of the asylum system (asylum shopping) (Karakas 2014). The large influx of irregular migrants since 2015 has exposed the insufficiency of the Dublin regulation, and brought about divergent views in the EU on how to deal with the social and economic challenges of migration insurgency, border control and humanitarian aid. The present policies castigate free-market driven European integration while instituting neo-liberal interpretation (Favell 2014, pp. 275 -28)

	Western Mediterranean	Central Mediterranean	Eastern Mediterranean	Western Balkan	Eastern Borders	Albania to Greece
2014	10000	190000	50000	50000	5000	10000
2015	10000	180000	910000	795000	5000	10000

Figure 5 Migrants detected entering the EU Illegally 2014-2015 Source; FRONTEX.

The above table shows the sharp changes in irregular migration into the EU from the various routes. While the Western Mediterranean, Eastern Borders and the route from Albania to Greece remained constant the others experienced a sharp increase in the numbers crossing into the EU.

Non-Governmental Organizations as EU Integration Partners

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The Supranational structures of the EU have gained competence in the field of immigration and integration of third country nationals. It happened despite the illusion to this policy field belonging to the security, sovereignty and national interest, which theorists describe as 'high politics' closer to the heart of member states. Integration measures of the member states are intergovernmental in origin (Moravcsik 1991, 1993), however, spill-over effects of integration in one area of migration administration have expanded integration in that policy field and spilled over into other related fields, identified as neo-functionalist (Haas 1958; Lindberg). With many unforeseen factors driving the integration of third country nationals, the resolve to venue shopping by member states (Guiraudon 2000, 2002) to solve domestic challenges are some of the politics that has further increased competencies of the EU. It increased her capacity to initiate policies binding on member states at a supranational level, the EU emphasized the role that successful integration of third country nationals plays in the stability and cohesion within the European society. It stressed the need to develop effective policies to prevent the isolation of certain groups. A comprehensive approach comprising stakeholders at local, regional, national and European level is therefore essential (Hague 2005 C53/01, 1.5) Existing instruments include the European Migration Forum (formerly the European Integration Forum) and the network of National Contact Points on Integration. In July 2011, the Commission adopted the European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals and in June 2016 the Commission put forward an action plan, setting out a policy framework and practical steps to help Member States integrate the 20 million non-EU nationals legally resident in the EU. According to the Hague programme integration

- Is a continuous two-way process involving both the legally resident third country nationals and the host society
- Includes but goes beyond anti-discrimination policy
- Involves respect for the basic values of the European Union and fundamental human rights
- Requires basic skills for participation in society
- Relies on frequent interaction and intercultural dialogue between all members of the society via common forums and activities to promote mutual understanding
- Extends to various policy areas including employment and education.

The NGOs are relevant stakeholders in the integration of third country nationals at both the EU level and the member state level. NGO influence in the area of EU policy processes is under contestation. The European Union institutions had as a check against claims of her perceived

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illegitimacy. Moravcsik (2000) defended the EU as misjudged against existing advanced industrial democracies and outlining its attributes that makes it a prototype of a democratic institution. Meanwhile, Majone (2000) describes the European Community regulations as an impressive body of public law. These positions had been countered by Hix & Follesdal (2006) on the key element of whether a democratic polity requires contestation for political leadership over policy. The EU 'venue shopping' strategy for presenting a more democratic picture of itself, in the bid to regain the confidence of the EU citizens and bring them closer to it (Zittel & Fush 2007), possibly develop the missing EU identity (Koller 2016). The EU outsourced collaboration with civil society, a necessary key third sector in the policy making process (Edward 2011), a distinguishing of concept in NGO participation as an alternative service provider with the ability for more effective delivery of service than the state, further distinguished as an instrumental and transformative participation (McGee 2002, p. 104) where transformative is the facilitation of people to decide on what and how to prioritise (decide on their own priorities) and instrumental is getting people to be part of the donor's project in the interest of cost sharing and equal commitment for project sustainability. The NGO focus on the integration of third country nationals' seen from the perspectives of (Murphy 2013) where she discusses functional and wider aspects of integration, with centrality on functional aspects of integration, providing legal status, and core services of education, welfare and health services. The elements identified by NGOs during the interview as the needed tools for integration are the same except the additional essential of having a regular source of income.²⁹ For Murphy (2013) the wider perspectives are the legal channels by which seeming stalemates are resolved, but for the sake of this research, wider perspectives are the politicking among stakeholders in the immigrant integration challenge. NGO expertise is undermined in the field of TCN integration if they are only viewed as vehicles for the legitimization the EU decision making process (Hurt 2006; Saurugger 2008, p. 1286) which is supportive of their interest traceable to rhetoric commitment (Friedrich 2008 p 67). In the view of (Dagnino 2008, p. 57) so called participation is at best a mere limit to implementation shrouded in disguise of co-evolution, lending credence to the plea for participation of non-state actors in the policy making process as a rhetoric commitment. Jelle (2013) sees collaboration as elitist and functional basis for which the criticism of participation is limited to implementation. The criticism is formulated in neo-Gramscian terms as the deliberate penetration and co-optation of NGOs by the hegemonic bloc, whereby rights guaranteed by the constitution and political expression given by way of parliamentary representation are window-

²⁹ Interviewee April 14 2017

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dressings for bourgeois rule (Cohen & Arato 2004, p 146). The EU position for equipping immigrants with the same tools as citizens as a panacea for proper integration is where this research will rather premise collaboration, if for nothing else but genuine concern for projected labour market shortages in Europe.

Europe's shrinking working-age population		
Year	Baseline Scenario: potential workers over the next 50 years (million)	No Migration: workers without migration (million)
2010	305	305
2020	306	301
2025	303	295
2030	300	285
2035	295	270
2040	290	260
2045	279	240
2050	271	228
2055	270	220
2060	263	212

Figure 6 Europe 2012 convergences, in case of no migration scenario. Source: EUROSTAT

We look at the functional aspects of integration outlined in research perspectives and the challenges of implementing integration from states interpretation of the regulatory directives.

Labour market integration.

Labour market integration covers the education level, labour force participation of men and women, unemployment rate, labour market segmentation, socio-professional mobility, individual and/household income (Solak 2006). There is an increasing call for early labour market integration of refugees' and asylum seeker, as indicators show that refugees fare far worse than third country nationals resident in the European Union. The asylum flow of 2015 where 1.2 million found their way into Europe because of the crisis in the Middle East means that drastic measures were to be taken to integrate asylum seekers (refugees) persons under the protection of the 1951 Geneva Convention. Subsidiary protection,

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also a provisional directive under the Geneva Convention where individuals do not particularly qualify for refugee status can lay claim to the protection from international human right law on certain grounds. It must be supported by proof of substantial risk of torture or serious harm if returned to their country of origin for reasons like war, violence, conflicts and human right abuses (Gil-Bazo 2006). This category of migrants is particularly vulnerable group, because of the forced and traumatized nature of their migration. They therefore require targeted, co-ordinated and comprehensive policy responses (Konle 2016). They usually arrive with relatively weak qualifications and skills, which need to be adapted to the European labour market. The main challenge with this group of persons is the fact that they lack the ability to provide proper documentation due to the hurried movements (OECD 2016). Available data shows a 5 to 6 year period needed for the integration of more than 50% refugees into the labour market in the EU.

Eurostat, the EU's statistical agency presents data showing that of 729,000 asylum-seekers registered between May and October 2016, 82% were younger than 34 years. Their median age is around half that of Germans, which is 46. Some of those arriving are poorly educated, but as surveys of refugees arriving in the Netherlands show, many have secondary schooling and even university-level education, especially those fleeing conflicts in Syria. In addition, a significant proportion has skills and experience in various professions and trades.³⁰ The European Council on Refugees and Exiles, ECRE emphasize integration as long-term legal, social, economic, educational and cultural perspectives. They point out that lack of access to labour market during reception phase is responsible for hindering integration in the long term. ECRE recommends a maximum of 6months restriction from the time application is lodged for asylum³¹ Directive 2011/95/EU of December 2011(8) observes disparity in member states administration of the asylum procedure. It advocates initiatives for input in the process of the Common European Asylum System (14) provides for member states discretion to introduce and maintain more favourable standard for asylum seekers admittance (15) and places this discretionary recognition by member states for TCN outside of the directive. This prerogative is exploited by member states depending on their political will. In literatures on immigration control policies a number of factors explain the reasons behind themmigration policies of states.

Directive 2013/33/EU encourages early access of asylum seekers to labour market, not more than nine months. Member states are complying with this provision Germany and Hungary have reduced waiting

³⁰ Analysis from The Economist. A consideration for labour market integration. Getting the new arrivals to work.

³¹ ECRE: Key Conclusion in the Integration of Refugees in Europe

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times³² increasing emigration impacting on the labour market in Hungary may have been instrumental for adopting this decision to reduce waiting time. Asylum seekers yet to be recognised had no access to labour, hitherto because the country was concerned about the likely unemployment challenge it will pose to citizens should asylum seekers have access to the labour market. Leading to the popular rhetoric “don’t come and take our jobs” but population statistics and labour shortages because of emigration of Hungarians influenced the relaxing of access to the labour market.

In addition to government programs, there are numerous private sector initiatives in Germany to help refugees into the workforce. Unfortunately, the current private initiatives are focused on low-skilled jobs, internships and temporary positions that, which rarely leads to fulltime employment. For instance, some 300 companies included in the Network of Businesses Integrating Refugees” employed 2,500 refugees in October 2016. This figure, however, also included temporary employment contracts, internships, and training programs. German businesses tend to be careful when hiring refugees and often use internships to evaluate the suitability of refugees for subsequent vocational training programs. This means that refugees on this track are often still years away from actual fulltime wage jobs.” Concerns about the wide margins of employment levels between TCN and EU citizens have created the need to increase TCN integration processes. The European Council in its Stockholm programme December 2009 invited the Commission to identify modules to support integration and created indicators for monitoring results.

There are substantial potentials in migration. Unfortunately, there are various types of resistance against human mobility due to political misrepresentations, misunderstanding and negative judgmentalism of the facts. Perception and policy influence each other in both positive and negative ways (Beutin et al 2006). Measures at countering unfavourable media and public discourse on migration are such campaigns by the IOM through the project *I am a migrant*. This is essentially a tool of giving a human face to the immigrant narratives; through the presentation of audio narratives from the migrants own stories of migration told by them.³³

Education: language learning and vocational skills acquisition.

The 'Lisbon "Strategy", conclusions in Lisbon of March 2000, highlighted the indispensable need to give room for social cohesion and inclusion of some categories (children, the elderly, minorities, and

³² Eurofound/ Eurwork

³³ IOM Budapest

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disabled people) in various training, employment, health, education and housing policies as important parts of the EU agenda. Though some member states are involved in this agenda, the participation of members varies at different levels and activities.

In the Amsterdam Treaty in 1999 the Community applied European-wide capacities to attend to vulnerable groups in the EU. Diversity and inclusion have since become a norm within the member states in the areas of education. Article 149 of the EC Treaty clearly highlights that educational content, teaching and organisation of educational systems, cultural and linguistic diversity rests on the member states. However, there is disparity in efficiency by member states in terms of standardizing these developmental issues due to differences in the economies of member states. Hungary does not directly have language and skills development programmes as it has withdrawn from this provision since 2016. The AMIF fund and other initiatives by NGOs are the primary source of language and skills training accessible to TCN in Hungary.

The most ground-breaking effort to support higher education for refugees is the establishment of the non-profit Kiron University in 2015 fully dedicated to the education of refugees. This program exists due to co-operations between the online education forums like course era or edx, that specifically provides online education with existing course patterns of Harvard University and the University of Cambridge. The University provides each refugee student with a free laptop and access to the internet. Although Kiron does not operate as a recognized university in Germany, it allows students to transfer to some regular Universities after spending four basic semesters at the Kiron. Syrians make up to 80% of the students, in the 2016 winter semester, a total of 1,140 refugees were matriculated at German universities, the majority of whom were from Syria.³⁴

The indispensability of language as a primary tool for new arrivals to integrate into the host society is emphasized in the European Union, informed the development of a European framework of reference for language level descriptor.

Housing and urban issues.

The various situation related to national migration and histories of integration and national policies among the 27 EU member states and their varying institutional frameworks gives a complex variety of policies and instruments formulated to promote social cohesion throughout Europe. However, this study evaluates integration and social cohesion on the basis of the multi-faceted actions geared towards various social, economic, political, legal, and cultural dimensions.

³⁴ Edx online Partnership with Kiron University.

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The basis on which housing policies find meaning in respect of immigrant integration is provided by the CBP 7, which reads: ‘frequent interaction between immigrants and Member States citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration. Shared forums, intercultural dialogue, education about immigrants and immigrant cultures, and stimulating living conditions in urban environments enhance the interactions between immigrants and Member State citizens³⁵

The Treaty of Maastricht embodies the objectives of European economic integration and the promotion of social cohesion. Unfortunately, immigrants, refugees and the minority community are still having difficult time in seeking decent accommodation in the European Union especially in those member states who do not have a housing policy for the target group. Anti-migrant sentiments occasioned by security challenges and negative media has made the housing market discriminatory to this group, hinged on recent terrorist attacks connected TCN. Migrants face the risk of exclusion in Hungary as real estate agents acting on the sentiments of home owners have become increasingly reluctant to give accommodation to the target group. EU policies created to address this problem have not been fully implemented because member states use the legislative tools within their countries to subvert the directive on social inclusion. Though the EC Directive 2000/43 ensures the legislative framework to check housing discrimination, there is a lack of mechanisms structured to monitor compliance.

Directives checking discrimination and the challenges.

The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union 2010/C 83/02 makes provisions for the respect of human dignity. EU member states unanimously agreed to combat discrimination emanating from racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation.

Recent legislation in national laws by EU member states against immigration is gradually giving rise to new forms of discrimination, racism and other manifestations of hate crime. Member states governments’ politicization of the challenge is by raising awareness against the perceived enemy of Europe through the media stands contradictory to EU policy on discrimination and racism. These legislations and media propaganda were founded on by the security challenges of the refugee flow to Europe and the subsequent terrorist attacks as they appeared in France, Belgium and Germany amongst others. There was culpable fear and apprehension for immigrants and asylum seekers.

³⁵ Council Document No. 14615/04 (19 November 2004) Common Basic Principle for Immigrant Integration Context of the EU

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There are social and economic disadvantages to ethnic minorities, refugees and migrants where ever there is racism and discrimination. Evidence for the continuous need to check racism was recently reflected in the results of a Eurobarometer survey which states that one European in three (33%), declared themselves 'very' or 'quite' racist.

The Council established a permanent Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. The Treaty of Amsterdam also inserted a new Article 6a which empowered the EU a binding legislation to challenge racial discrimination. Article 1 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union guarantees the right to human dignity; Article 10 protects individuals' right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; Article 21 provides for the right to non-discrimination. Furthermore, Article 47 specifies that individuals have the right to an effective remedy and a fair trial. In order to ensure justice for hate crime victims, interviews with professionals as conducted by the EU Agency for fundamental Rights reveal that there are key factors that impede victims' access to justice. Such factors include the "level of awareness of rights and of available support services; reaching out to victims and enhancing their trust in the authorities; practical measures to encourage reporting of hate crime offences; raising awareness and understanding of hate crime offences among professionals." (FRA 2016).³⁶

Based on the above report, it is suggested that EU Member States should evaluate the extent which definitions of several criminal laws should cover the most frequent forms of hate crime, insult, assault and vandalism so that discriminatory offences are swiftly punished. Moreover, legal practitioners should make it a priority to respond to victims of hate crime. Getting the message across in order to entrench European values and to promote its harmonization policies, the European Union used various tools and mechanism to create awareness among its citizens. For example, such was the campaign "For Diversity Against Discrimination" was an EU initiative to create awareness in the residents, of their rights, duties and responsibilities. Several Public events, competitions for young people and awards were presented to journalists were the efforts made to create this awareness.

Financing projects.

The Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) under the regulation EU 516/2014 focusses on people flows and the integrated management of migration. It supports actions addressing all aspects of migration including asylum, legal migration, integration and the return of irregularly staying non-EU nationals.³⁷ The fund was designed to constitute an area of freedom security and justice to be achieved

³⁶ Ensuring justice for hate crime victims: professional perspectives – Summary. April 2017.

³⁷ <https://ec.europa.eu/sfc/en/2014/fund/amif>

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through common measure framing a policy on asylum and immigration based on solidarity among member states which is fair towards third countries and their nationals. A flexible and coherent financing strategy within the Union was created to support policy developments within the field of asylum and immigration.

The fund application is based on flexibility and simplification and a transparent distribution of resources that meet general and specific objectives laid down by the regulations. The Fund supports the efforts made by member states to provide international protection and a durable solution in their territories to refugees and displaced persons identified as eligible for resettlement by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Assessment of the resettlement needs of groups and individuals must be performed with a view to granting them a secure legal status and to promoting their effective integration.³⁸ Since the Hungarian government pulled out of refugee integration since June 2016, this fund has been instrumental for NGOs efforts at integrating immigrant in Hungary. The sharing formula of 75% from the AMIF and 25% from the member states for projects initiatives for the integration of immigrant is carried out.

Challenges to policy harmonization.

The creation of the Common European Asylum System was answer to check challenges associated with administering the 1951 refugee convention in a borderless European Union. Prior to its creation, it was possible for asylum seekers to apply for refugee status in more than one member state this action is called asylum shopping in scholarly literature. However with the adoption of CEAS, the Dublin Regulation which determines which country is responsible for and asylum seeker in the EU; (usually the country of his first application regardless of other applications in other member states) and the introduction of EURODAC. An acronym for European dactylographic system, an automated biometric identification allows for instant and exact comparison of unique physiological features from individual's iris, face and finger print for law enforcement purposes (Aus 2006). This has brought a check on asylum shopping. The Refugee influx in Europe has put pressure on the member states and

³⁸ <http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:32014R0516>

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states look for varying means to constrain the influx, as a check against asylum abuse and ‘asylum shopping’ in an integrating Europe striving for a full-fledged harmonization of substantive and procedural refugee law (Aus, 2006). EURODAC brought about a convergence, because of the advantage of saving member States involved in the Common European Asylum directive, from conducting “one-to many checks” in this category, this was the unanimous justification for the adoption of EURODAC approved by the Council of the European Union on 12/11/2000 and 02/28/2002 (Council 2000a; 2002). Member states who took advantage of the opt in/out provision, a la carte in the Amsterdam Treaty, for example Denmark despite being a member of the Schengen zone cooperates only in the common visa policy and not the asylum policy, the UK and Ireland opted out of EU migration discussions, but unanimously these member states opted in for EURODAC. However, there are conflicts of interest between national laws of member states and the laws of the EU. Harmonization policies with the European Union are to ensure that laws, standards, regulations and guidelines are regulated and agreed upon based on a common ground of understanding in such a way that one country does not take advantage of another member state. It also reduces the cost and burden of operation on a single country. Unanimity is required as contained by the founding rule of the Treaty of Rome. Since 1987, the qualified majority voting was introduced in the Single European Act for the harmonization of the Internal Market. The Lisbon Treaty came up with the qualified majority harmonizing EU law in 2009. However, Art. 6 TFEU in the Lisbon Treaty does not include the harmonisation of national laws. It clearly states "The Union shall have competence to carry out actions to support, coordinate or supplement the actions of the Member States. An objective of the European Union to achieve uniformity in laws of member states is to facilitate free trade and protect citizens. (Nygh & Butt 1997 p 543). Two levels influences harmonisation within the European Union, the national and European level with shared legislative responsibilities. No part of these levels has control over the whole. The European Court of Justice may however determine the extent of harmonization when determining cases (Hesslink 2006 p 50).

The economic and social burden caused by the influx of refugees in 2015 forced the EU ministers to vote by a majority to relocate 160,000 refugees EU-wide. Hungary has been very out-spoken against the re-distribution of refugees among member states, regardless of the fact that this initiative is part of the policy of solidarity, which the European Union adopts to ameliorate pressures on member states whenever the need arise. Hungary rejected the quota redistribution. The UK opted out of the quota system but, according to Home Office figures, 1,000 Syrian refugees were resettled in the United

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Kingdom, under the Vulnerable Persons Relocation scheme in 2015 with a promise to accept up to 20,000 refugees from Syria for five consecutive years.

Number of people countries have agreed to relocate from Greece and Italy in 2016	
Country	No. Of people
Germany	28000
France	19000
Spain	18000
Poland	7000
Netherlands	6500
Romania	3000
Belgium	4000
Sweden	4000
Portugal	3000
Czech republic	2900
Finland	2000
Austria	2000
Bulgaria	1000
Hungary	1000
Croatia	900
Slovakia	900
Lithuania	800
Ireland	800
Slovenia	800
Luxembourg	700
Latvia	600
Estonia	300
Cyprus	200
Malta	100

Figure 7 Table showing relocation distributions from Greece and Italy. EU solidarity measures for countries in the hotspots. Source: European Commission. Distribution by EASO.

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Germany became a member of the Refugee Convention on 01 Dec 1953 and signed the Protocol on 05 Nov 1969. Hungary on the other hand signed the Convention and the Protocol on 14 March 1989. The role of Germany and Hungary during the mass exodus of Syrian refugees in 2015 was a remarkable period in the history of asylum. Hungary argued that the refugees passed several safe countries before they arrived in Hungary. It therefore discouraged the entrance of asylum seekers by building a 175 kilometre razor-wire fence along its Serbia and Croatia boundaries. This fence was completed on Tuesday 30 August 2016. A law was also put in place against intruders through penalties for people who cross the barrier. Illegal crossing of the border carries a jail term of three years in prison sentence, while five years prison sentence shall be invoked on whoever damages the fence.

Germany received these refugees as a way of expressing their obligation as signatories to the 1951 Refugee Convention, as well as the solidarity of the sufferings refugees were undergoing. The act by Germany brought about friction among member states leaders, laying blame at the doorsteps of the German Chancellor for encouraging illegal migration with Hungary in the lead of this backlash. Interests lies in the heart of decisions by political actors, it is not clear whatever the real reasons were for Germany's decision to accept large number of immigrants, perhaps a short cut to finding solutions to demographic changes in the country and on the continent. With a national action plan in place following its admittance that it was a migration country after several years of denying this obvious fact, due to political pressures. But as much as Germany intended to be generous about its admittance the pressures from refugees led her to admit that Germany cannot take in all the refugees.

The shrinking populations of European countries are the major reason the European Union is looking at attracting qualified migrants that will make-up for its low birthrates. While it is looking at attracting these persons, there are already various categories of immigrants on the Union's soil, because of the 2015 refugee surge, as well as old cases of refugee and other cases of irregular undocumented migrants. The need for proper inclusion of these populations who tend to hang on the European fringe is no more evident than now as research has shown that the lack of interest in the well being of these populations over time has adverse affected European societies . Evidences from the impact that the migrants presence has made economically in the continent is proof that well designed integration programmes for education, skills and language training can lead to successful integration of the target group to make up for the demographic gaps of a shrinking population. But the right policies for social cohesion has to be designed under an all European framework. Awareness has to be raised for citizenship participation in the integration of the target group. But the government is duty bound to explain to citizens the

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presence of the new comers in their neighbourhood and if their presence will affect the environment positively or negatively. Or they will hear only the messages from the far right parties who will promote populism as it will increase party chances in the next election by shouting *kick them out*. Or the far left who says there is nothing to it everything is fine without explanation to the generality of the public why bomb are going off around them. Regardless of who is asking the questions research is the toolkit for seeking out the challenges and interpreting research is the best way to forge ahead with solutions.

Spill-Overs in Policy Administration

The inevitability of spillovers as a result of integration in the European community, discussed by Haas where he points to the expansive logic of sector integration in relation to the economic community, after the integration of one sector technical pressures push states to integrate other sectors (Neimann 2006 p 17) stresses the fact that the sectors are interdependent and that isolating them from other related sectors become impossible therefore the functional integration of one task generates new challenges that can only be resolved by generating yet more tasks, which brings us to functional spillover denoting the functional economic rationale for further integration (Neimann 2006). Haas expansive logic of sector integration has also played out in political circles specifically as it relate to this discourse of the integration of third country nationals. The progressional changes are evident in the decisions on how to deal with issues concerning third country nationals, in the areas of issuance of visa, asylum, immigration and integration of the target group. Various instruments have been applied over time to check spillover effects in the attempt at integrating third country nationals in the EU. The effect of spill-overs brings us to the discussion of spillover between issues, negative and positive spillovers developed by Johnson & Johannes (2012) in their theory of regime integration. They aver that positive spillovers exist when cooperation in one issue area aids the pursuit of objectives in another issue area and negative spillover is when cooperation in one issue area impedes the pursuit in another issue area. An example is the cooperation on visa issuance in the EU where information about visa issued to a TCN circulated among member states. Free movement was extended to third country nationals because of Schengen acquis common to EU states citizens, and spilled over in the development of CEAS to check the movement of asylum seekers around the EU without proper documentation and the security risk of their movement in the EU. The Dublin rule came about because of the spillover effect on the administration of CEAS in the Union. Asylum shopping gave justification for checking this negative spillover effect through the introduction of the EURODAC so that once information about an asylum application is uploaded by a member state the country of first application

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is registered on the system. A challenge identified to this directive is the avoidance of asylum burden noticed with the applications in Greece where officials would not upload an application as long as one week. On the other hand EURODAC have been less successful in illegal border crossing because of the delay by member states in the hotspots of irregular crossings to send information to the central processing unit in a suspicious attempt at undermining the Dublin directive (Papadimitriou and Papageorgiou 2005). Finally it leads to the point made by Bierman et al (2009) the contextual point of conventional wisdom that suggest that spillovers foster issue linkages and further integration.

EU Sanction Policy on Integration of TCN

The European Union Treaties and directives on migration and integration bring about positive differences in the way member states administer the integration of TCN. The EU provisions are seen to be implemented in the way member states design and implement integration policy. Defaulters are cautioned, and other follow-up measure to bring them to align with general principles or agreements reached.

The sanction policy of the European Union is the instrument used to get member state to adhere to rules laid down in the binding treaties. The European Commission on the 14th of June 2017 launched Infringement notices against Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland for non-compliance with their obligation under the 2015 Council decision on relocation, this infringement notice comes after several calls on these member states to honour their obligation to participate in the relocation of asylum seekers/ refugees.³⁹Other infringement notices against Hungary on her violation of EU directives in the integration of third country nationals who are refugees are documented in the table below:

Decision Date	Policy	Infringement Number	Title	Decision Type	Press Release
07/12/2017	Asylum	2015/2201	Incorrect implementation of EU asylum acquis	Reasoned Opinion art. 258 TFU	IP/17/5023
26/07/2017	Asylum	2017/2093	Failure to implement correctly Council	Referral to court (art 258)	IP/17/2013

³⁹ European Commission Relocation: Commission Launches Infringement Notices against Czech Republic, Hungary and Poland. http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-17-1607_en.htm

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14/06/2017 17/05/2017			decisions (EU) 2015/1523 and 2015/1601 on relocation	TFEU & art 260 TFEU par. 3	IP/17/1607 IP/17/1285
17/05/2017 10/12/2015	Asylum	2015/2201	Incorrect implementation of EU asylum and migration acquis	Additional formal notice art 258 TFEU	IP/17/1285 IP/15/6228
23/09/2015	Asylum	2015/0432	Directive 2013/32/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 26 June 2013 on common procedures for granting and withdrawing international protection	Formal notice (art 258 TFEU)	IP/15/5699
27/01/2014	Asylum	2014/0116	Directive 2011/95/EU of the European Parliament and of the Council of 13 December 2011 on standards for the qualification of third-country nationals or stateless persons as beneficiaries of international protection, for a uniform status for refugees or for persons eligible for subsidiary protection, and for the content of the protection granted	Formal notice (art. 258 TFEU)	
17/10/2013	Asylum	2013/4062	Unacceptable treatment of Dublin refugees in Hungary	Formal notice (art. 258)	

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			- Violation of the Dublin II regulation (N.B: the title is based on a material error; the case concerns non-compliance with the Asylum Procedures Directive, the Reception Conditions Directive and Article 47 of the Charter	TFEU)	
06/05/2008 29/06/2007 27/11/2006	Asylum	2006/0874	Council Directive 2004/83/EC of 29 April 2004 on minimum standards for the qualification and status of third country nationals or stateless persons as refugees or as persons who otherwise need international protection and the content of the protection granted	Closure /reasoned opinion/ Formal notice	1P/07/1015

Figure 8

Infringement notices against Hungary in relation to refugees and third country nationals Source: Migration and Home Affairs <https://ec.europa.eu/home-a>

The EU is committed to discouraging irregular migration because of the challenges it presents. Nevertheless it has to focus on achieving its goal in the most humane ways that takes human rights into consideration in view of her role as an international player and its obligations to international instruments like the refugee convention and in line with it human rights objectives. That is why applying sanctions on member states in the area becomes a necessity, however the perspective by Piris (2010) that since 9/11 tragedy the fight against terrorism has become such a priority for the EU that this balance has not been respected. Member states in the EU can argue about decision taken on the issue of

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immigrants from a securitarian perspective, in view of attacks carried out in the EU by terrorist organisations executed by persons of immigrant origin.

Conclusion

This chapter has analyzed the European treaties and directives as they relates to third country nationals admittance and integration and the administration of asylum directives and the challenges of applying the directives at national levels because of challenges of political and economic interest. In the following chapter we profile the NGOs with a view to presenting their integration efforts and how their efforts are making a difference in the immigrants integration challenge.

Chapter VI

Profiling Selected NGOs Providing Functional Integration for Third Country Nationals

This chapter focuses on the functional path to integration that NGOS bring to the challenge of integrating third country nationals. It profiles the functions and activities the NGOs and agencies interviewed in this research engage in, to show the short term and long-term effects of their contributions to the challenge. A reflection of how their commitment to bringing a change is influencing the settling of immigrants in the host communities.

Nongovernmental organizations role in the field of development and social cohesion has earned them the third sector title because of their huge contribution to these all-important aspects of societal growth. NGOs feature significantly in efforts to secure economic and social change in favour of marginalized

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populations (Lewis 2001). Despite the significant steering that NGOs bring to stagnated issues, there are contestations about their categorizations, and differences can be due to ideologies, societal traditions and patterns as well as religious and cultural perspectives (Fowler 2002; Salamon & Andeier 1998). The greatest harm to NGO theorizing have been the generalizations about NGOs, sweeping and one-dimensional (Salamon & Andeier 1998) regardless of the underlying intentions for which particular NGOs originate. The role of NGOs in bringing relief to the societies where both governments and markets failed as Weisbrod (1977) recognized as early as 1945 when the United Nations coined the term. NGO interventions in both developed and developing nations as discussed Martens (2002, p. 271) Edward & Hulme (1996), Markowitz (2001) and Fisher (1997) emerging to handle hitherto government agency development projects and their role as funding intermediaries in the execution of projects for targeted individual and groups (Korten 1990, Masoni 1985, Carroll 1992). Humphreys (1996) argues for the inclusion of NGOs in the regime theory based on their advocacy role which tend to encourage states to undergo normatively based behavioural shifts, arguing that in the environmental age states cannot act in isolation from civil society organizations, he argues that a consideration be given to purely non-governmental regimes. Stiles (2002) points to the evidence based virtues of NGOs as being the basis for which donors' partner with them to achieve development while avoiding public and private sector and the dangers they portend, contrary to the generalization in the work of Crowther (2001), that praise/image laundering literature is why funders work with NGO over the decades.

Atmosphere of Operations between the EU and NGOs: Influences and Cooperations

Discussions on the influence NGOs exert in the European Union and the possible regulation has been a concern in scholarly literature (Germa 2002; Hansen 2010; Ungureanu, Ionescu Florea & Negru 2010). The authors traced the structural development of an institutionalized relationship between NGOs and the EU. Which started with the Commission's proposal on the need to regulate the activities of NGOs at the EU level in 1992 when a proposal for the legal functions and regulation of European organizations (COM (91) 273 final) a proposal from the parliament presented to the European commission. It was amended in July 1993 by the Commission (COM (93) 252) final) and presented along-side action plan for the regulation of voluntary association, cooperatives and mutual societies (COM (93) 650 final) and submitted to the Council in 1994, which the Council rejected (German 2002). These initiatives of the commission were intended to expand its influence via regulating the activities of social NGOs across national boundaries by pulling them into the economic sector (Ibid.).

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The relationship between the German welfare organizations and the government of Germany developed after the Second World War is such that, the welfare organizations deliver services and the government finance their activities, a neo-corporatist relationship which gave the German welfare organizations a privileged political status (German 2002). As a result the move by the Commission to bring about regulation of welfare organizations as a commercial venture was seriously opposed by the German welfare organization backed by the German government as they already had an operationally comfortable relationship, which such a regulation may hamper. Rather the commission's proposal for regulation to gain effect on the regulation of welfare NGO organisations, the opposition impacted in positive influence in the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, (Art. 136) which gave a declaration on the important role of welfare organisations in promoting the ideals of the European Union and their usefulness for reaching the set social goals. The stalemate in the activities of the commission for regulating these bodies led to a soft pedalling on the part of the Commission which gave the Nongovernmental Organization the opportunity to consolidate their maneuvering with the establishment of the European Roundtable of Charitable Welfare Associations, with the network stretching from Brussels to national, state and local levels (German 2002, Nngureanu et al 2010) with a focus of attracting funding from the EU. This influenced the perception of the Commission of the welfare organization unlike the previous communication about these groups as sectors which ought to be regulated, the commission in 1997 ascribed to them the title of partners (COM (97) 241 final), which led to the a new relationship between the welfare organization and the commission on the platform of the Forum of Social Policy held in 1998 and 2000 where social NGOs and European institutional administrative bodies met. This was the beginning of an institutionalized relationship between European civil society actors, with the Commission in the lead with its general directorates and social NGOs. Despite this institutionalization the question remains how much influence does the NGOs exert (Hansen 2010), only the NGOs know where to turn for influence as a mutually reinforcing relationship has developed between the NGOs and the EU, NGOs have been a valuable partner for the Commission in checking the democratic deficit it faced in the 90s and since then a greater NGO presence in the EU is established across sectors, institutions and social spheres (Nngureanu et al 2010) with the ability of big NGOs resource base able to provide scientifically proven facts and evidence that impact in their ability for advocacy and lobbying.

In profiling the NGOs that featured in the research, the research focuses on the area of specialization of the organization. From the interview the researcher finds that the organization specialized in an area

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where they perceive it facilitates integration more and develops competences within that area. Twelve NGOs featured in the interview eight from Hungary and four from Germany. The first eight are from Hungary and the others from Munich, Germany. The study finds some of these generalizations of image laundering and praise incompatible with the activities of the NGOs featured in this research. Articulates the contributions of the NGOs from the functional integration perspective, against the contextual and contentious misunderstanding of what integration means for various stakeholders which Strang & Ager (2010) describe as radically different understanding of the goals nature and meaning of integration. The challenge of securitization of the issues of irregular migration in an attempt to transpose the focus to legal migration and pull down structures that encourage irregular migration has been challenging for the target group presently resident in the EU. Hungary is vocal among member states pushing to end irregular migration though this already exist in the directives of the EU. This has led to inadequate reception, both in physical accommodation and in developing national attitudes towards the group of refugees. The NGO functional measures of integration are the reliant mechanism needed to steer the tide of the target group's low social economic integration.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)

UNHCR is the international organization that supports the rights of affected persons to seek asylum, get safe refuge in another state, integrate and resettle, including the option of voluntary return home when the challenge that drove the flight has settled and in situations when the asylum claim is unfounded therefore rejected. Unfortunately, we see protracted challenges with no hope for solution in sight for some of the challenges, which have spanned several decades, examples, are the Somali crisis, the Afghan war, the war in Iraq and the Syrian war. These conflicts have brought about severe displacement and refugee situations. Europe's closeness to the conflict regions has made her a destination for refugees from the zones because of her relative stability. The popular push and pull factors that migration scholars say influence migration especially large movements. The challenge of refugees' integration has overtime been treated as temporary that is why integrating refugees into the European society has not been successful. Europe has tended to treat refugees as persons who will return back to their country, therefore Western European nations in the past gave them access to welfare handouts without proper integration tools necessary for settling down in the host community. Europe's own war experience, with the First and Second World Wars lasting for between five to six years, may have informed the temporary attitudes to refugee challenges. Despite the resettlement of European refugees back to their origins, many persons remained in the countries of their flight. Other

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reasons adduced for failures are the multiple perspective from which EU member states tend to see the refugee challenge characterized by chaotic squabbling over sharing responsibilities. The UNHCR has been concerned about the lack of integration of refugees in Europe and has launched several investigations to find out the possible causes and proffer solutions. An investigation carried out in several European countries found that among other challenges to refugee integration, the major obstacle to the social, economic and cultural integration of refugees is the extended asylum/status determination procedure, characterized by inactivity and insecurity. This can in the end lead to psychological or mental health disorders provoking dependency syndrome, apathy and lack of self-confidence hindering the acquisition of needed skills for social and economic engineering in the host society.⁴⁰ Recommendation from this research was a maximum of six months for refugee determination to keep asylum seekers out of employment; this was also recommendation by ECRE (2005). The functional aspects of integration highlighted in the report emphasize integration as a two-way multifaceted process between the refugee and the host society without having to forego their own cultural identity. Article 34 of the 1951 Convention ratified by the signatory states echoes the role of the states in facilitating assimilation and naturalization, therefore the need for accommodation of asylum seekers, which allows interaction with the host community. The recommendation also advocates for the promotion of self-reliance, cooperation between governmental and non-governmental actors in the integration process with evaluation and indicator procedures put in place to monitor progress. The right to permanent residency accruable to third country nationals after five years of residency in EU is not applicable to refugees which is seen as discriminatory and should be extended to third country nationals who are refugees and those granted subsidiary protection.

The UNHCR, partner with NGOs on the integration of refugees in Hungary, supporting their activities where necessary and creating dialogue between state actors and NGOs. The UNHCR organises round tables between the NGO working with migrants and the government agencies involved in migration and integration departments, in an attempt to foster inter-dependent relationship between governments and NGOs to seek common solutions to difficult challenges.

International Organization for Migration, (IOM)

The International Organization for Migration was established in 1951, a leading inter-governmental organization in the field of migration and works closely with governmental, intergovernmental and

⁴⁰ UNHCR 2005. Notes on integration of Refugee in the European Union.

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non-governmental partners. IOM's place in this research is indispensable as they are the leader in defending migration and are committed to making migration more manageable without underestimating the importance of integration in the host communities. The organisations' distinctive definition of migration sets them apart from government's (both international and national) perception of the phenomena.

With 166 member states, a further 8 states holding observer status and offices in over 100 countries, IOM is dedicated to promoting humane and orderly migration for the benefit of all. It does so by providing services and advice to governments and migrants. IOM works to help ensure the orderly and humane management of migration, to promote international cooperation on migration issues, to assist in the search for practical solutions to migration problems and to provide humanitarian assistance to migrants in need, including refugees and internally displaced persons.

The IOM constitution recognizes the link between migration and economic, social and cultural development, as well as the right of freedom of movement.

The organisation works in the four broad areas of migration management:

- Migration and development
- Facilitating migration
- Regulating migration
- Forced migration

IOM activities that cut across these areas include the promotion of international migration law, policy debate and guidance, protection of migrants' rights, migration health and the gender dimension of migration. It was first created under the name of Provisional Intergovernmental Committee for the Movement of Migrants from Europe (PICMME), in 1951 out of the chaos and displacement of Western Europe following the Second World War. The organization received a mandate to help European governments identify resettlement countries for the estimated 11 million people uprooted by the war; it arranged transport for nearly a million migrants during the 1950s. From its roots as an operational logistics agency, it has broadened its scope to become the leading international agency working with governments and civil society to advance the understanding of migration issues, encourage social and economic development through migration, and uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants. This much is seen in their partnering activities with local NGOs in Hungary and impactful

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differences their interventions make by virtue of their existence as autonomous actors. They pluralize and strengthen the institutional arena, giving it a 'voice' and acting as a 'watchdog' vis-à-vis the state(s) and more opportunities for networking and creating alliances of civic actors to place pressure on the state (Mercer 2002). In a publication Policy Insights (IOM 2016) it looked at present and future global trends of labour migration in view of aging populations in resulting in labour shortages and skills mismatch. The research highlights that while many economies including emerging and old migration destination countries like US, Canada and Australia are adopting pragmatic acceptance for the need of economic immigration, European perception of the challenge leans towards mono-ethnic nations state and national identity which challenges a realistic fact-based policy framework for managing migration and integration. This perspective is no more realistic in Europe than in Hungary as the electioneering campaigns for the 2018 April elections are around debates on migration focussing on the securitization and the demographic challenges of migration. The IOM (2016) recommends a European Migration Agenda comprised of strong statement on the current challenge and future pathways for an inclusive and diversified society, using immigrant indicators as policy guidance.⁴¹ The success of the European Union integration of third country nationals presently resident in the European Union would also serve as a future reference to how it is perceived, by international labour migrants seeking new migration destinations.

In an overview of Migration issues in Hungary, the organization points to the social dynamics that are changing the traditional nature of immigration in Hungary. Its geographical location made it major transit country for irregular migration on land towards other member states of the European Union. The crisis in the Middle East brought an astronomical change in the size and citizenship in recent border crossing since 2014, the migrant's surge climaxing in 2015 summer, which has culminated into an unending politically motivated national discussion on the subject.

While the government public focus is on immigrants, IOM points to the significant increase in the movement of Hungarians abroad mostly to other countries of the European Union, like Germany, United Kingdom, Austria, Switzerland, Netherlands and to Belgium, forcing the Hungarian government to launch a programme, "Gyere haza fiatal" to encourage the return back home of young Hungarians. The relevance of this to this research is the fact that Hungarian government had in its campaign against immigration pointed to the employment challenges the migrant presence would bring to the country. The report by IOM as well as the view shared by other organization working to get jobs

⁴¹ IOM, Policy Insights 2016, Inclusion Growth and Competitiveness. Future of Economic Migration in the EU

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for third country nationals in Hungary emphasize labour market deficits, as majority of companies in Hungary are now in need of more workers to fill up positions vacated by emigrating Hungarians. There is the growing need to encourage and equip immigrants with the needed skills to fill the vacated positions in Hungary. Perspectives shared by the organization and others is that protectionist system of the government presently in the bid to foster a homogenous society is not in the interest of social and economic needs in the country. The aspirations of Hungarians for better a life are not reflective of the national attitudes in the country as many Hungarian are emigrating to heterogeneously diverse society with more opportunities. Speculations suggest that presently London is the second biggest Hungarian city after Budapest (Not yet scientifically proven).

Artemisszió Foundation of Hungary

*"Artemis is the Goddess of boundaries, of uncivilized, uncultivated fields, of borders, of the woods and mountains beyond the city... Artemis is the lord of the stranger in us and the stranger in the city; of everything that we are not, but still part of ourselves... Her role is to fuse the different into the social mind... The city-state of Athens takes her as its Goddess. She is carrying the barbaric sign of strangeness, and her role will be to change the different into the similar."*⁴²

The above serves as the theme of the Artemisszió Foundation a non-profit organization of public interest that has been operating in Hungary since 1998. The organization was founded by young anthropologists who desired to exemplify and put into practice their theoretical knowledge and the result of their scientific research to promote social and cultural development and to encourage open-minded thinking.

The objectives of this organization includes among others:

- to encourage continuous dialogue and interaction between culturally, ethnically and socially diverse groups of people and to foster their mutual understanding.
- to support the social integration of socially and culturally disadvantaged groups of people.
- to strengthen scientific and culturally relations internationally
- to develop and disseminate intercultural training courses, educational materials and methods⁴³

The Foundation provides an opportunity for the widest possible section of society to take part in activities that develop competencies that strengthen relations among people, improve communication

⁴² Artemmisszio Association

⁴³ *ibid.*

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and conflict-resolution skills, and contribute to the development of tolerance, mutual understanding and cooperation. In a culturally ever more complex world, learning about cultures other than our own and acquiring the ability for dialogue are not only important tools for preventing conflicts but are also an essential means to self-knowledge, open-minded thinking and independence. The Foundation considers it a vital task to offer the opportunity to the widest possible part of society to take part in activities that contribute to the development of the skills outlined above.⁴⁴ Artemisszió Foundation devotes time to creating programs that promote equal opportunities for groups that are ethnically or socially disadvantaged. Such groups include unemployed young people, the rural population and the Roma. The idea is to encourage the social integration of these groups. The foundation believes their activities are applied in ways where cultural diversity does not provoke *fear but curiosity*. It believes that solidarity and cooperation across borders are agents for the fight against prejudices, extremisms and inequality.

Artemisszio organization also created a competence centre, teaching selected topics in English language to various target groups. The courses have covered topics on culture in healing, healing in cultures; Stories from the Field, Intercultural relations in international development, Art, Migration and Adaptation. The Centre develops skills in communication, problem solving, conflict management, development of self-awareness and confidence building while improving cooperation among professionals. Part of Artemisszio's activities is to train police and immigration officers on how best to handle and relate in the most acceptable humane way to immigrants, while putting their fundamental human rights into consideration, which is achievable through training workshops. This function of the association should actually be a government initiative; their ability to develop competences in this field has created the trust to outsource it to an NGO such as Artemissio representative of public private partnership theories in public administration where specialization in private domain and public administration expertise in public administration improves efficiency in set goals (Oyedele 2015).⁴⁵ NGO theorists (Lewis 2003; Edward & Hulme 1996; Markowitz 2001; and Fisher 1997) discuss this kind of partnership, defined as the partnership role that NGOs serve in the three components of NGOs here NGO serves as *partner* (Lewis 2010, p 2) to the government in training security officials in acceptable humane ways to deal with immigrants.

During the interview with the Artemissio respondent there were reminiscences of how understanding was fostered between persons from social divides like rich and poor, brought under the same roof and

⁴⁴ *ibid.*

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rather than leave the room with the naturally suspicious attitudes between persons from such social divides. People left these workshops with their perceptions changed the *catalyst* role that NGO serves in the three components lists (Lewis 2010). The initial purpose for the organization was not migrant centred, but to foster social cohesion among diverse groups, challenges that migrants faced in recent times has created the need for programmes to integrate this group into the Hungarian society and had made them popular in immigrant community, many attest to benefits from the organisation through the survey.

Volunteering stands as the base of the foundation. Apart from the founding members, volunteers for the artemisszio foundation cuts across all social groups and immigrants are part of these social groups. Through the commitment orientation (Cousin 1991) of NGOs are capable of attracting voluntary services from all regardless of social strata.

Maltese Care Nonprofit Ltd. Máltai Gondoskodás Nonprofit Kft. - Munkát Neked!

The Maltese Care Non-Profit is an arm of the Hungarian Maltese Charity Service of the Order of Malta. (Defence of the Faith and assistance to the poor). The Maltese charity service has been in operation for several decades, like several faith based organisation predominantly Christian existing in Western societies Lunn (2009) point to a deliberate under representation of the role of religion in the academia and institutions. The author cites the work of Ver Beek (not dated) on content analysis of three leading development journals over the period 1982 to 1998, where references to spirituality and religion were rare. (*Journal of Development Studies, Journal of Development Areas and World Development*). Lunn traces the avoidance of religion in topical discourse to the period when religion was considered backward, based on the lasting legacy of the period of modernism, when modernisation theory with its goal for economic growth, was presented as going *pari pasu* with secularisation. Modern rational values advanced to replace *traditional religious thought* in modernisation backed by thesis and anti-thesis based on neo-Marxist concepts. Marx designation of religion as opium of the people described it as a human creation purposely to make life bearable thus distracting believers from the harsh reality of their lives. Ironically a wide spread belief about Marxism is that it bears all the same characteristics of religion which he criticised (Lunn 2009). Nevertheless, secularization has affected theorising as well as attitudes to faith and traditions in work place environments and faith based voluntary organisations are no exceptions. Nevertheless these denials do not change the fact that the origins of NGO in Europe were developed from Christian faith practices. Respondents has difficulty in telling if the parent organization was orthodox or Pentecostal Christian faith during the

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interview is an affirmation of the deliberate avoidance of these organisations as representatives of the faith from which they originate. The prevalent attitudes of deliberately avoiding discourse on faith in political and social circles has in recent times begun to experience conflagration, evidence of these is the statements accredited to some European leaders about the Christian roots of their societies during the heated migration and refugee debate. Some of these claims are politically motivated from fear of Islamization of Europe especially with many refugees coming from Muslim Middle-East countries. Hungary's Prime Minister described the country as Christian Hungary, also of note is the statements accredited to David Cameron in his Easter message in 2014 captured in these excerpts;

..... People feel that in this ever more secular age we should not talk about these things. I completely disagree. I believe we should be more confident about our status as a Christian country, more ambitious about expanding the role of faith-based organisations, and, frankly, more evangelical about a faith that compels us to get out there and make a difference to people's lives....as Christians we know how powerful faith can be in tough times. I have known this in my own life. From giving great counsel to being the driving force behind some of the most inspiring social-action projects in our country, our faith-based organisations play a fundamental role in our society. Therefore, in being confident about our Christianity, we should also be ambitious in supporting faith-based organisations to do even more.

From the above statements, the functional role of the church in shaping the values of care and giving as well as redistribution of wealth is emphasised. While there is a deliberate attitude to suppress faith in Europe Coffey (2001) avers that there is no spiritual vacuum with evidence from the growing culture of New Age religion, occult other world religions and secular culture and that some of the negative fall outs of these movements can be addressed by Christian teleological reflections.

The creation of this arm of Maltese Care in 2015 came because of the need to develop programmes and services reflecting labour market needs for third-country nationals. Their primary objective is to find access to the labour market for third country nationals. The present project is financed by the Ministry of the Interior, through the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund According to the information on their website the project financed to the tune HUF 49,351,900 for the implementation period ending March 2018.

"Our goal is to create labour market service that contributes significantly to improving employability and integration into the labour market of third-country nationals who are refugees⁴⁶."

⁴⁶ Interviewee 8 April 2017

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Only recognised refugees, persons with subsidiary protection can access these services. The persons must have residence permit of not less than six months to access these services. Asylum seekers whose cases are yet to be determined are not eligible, this in line with the conditions for accessing labour in Hungary where only persons with recognised legal status or residence permit can access jobs. There are differences in implementation in member states, some member states allow access to the labour market in cases where asylum seekers cases are yet to be determined. The association helps third country nationals (refugees) to prepare their curriculum vitae and try to connect their job needs to the labour market needs. The organisation stimulates contact for the sake of employment between third country nationals and employers of labour. This office operates independently from the mother organization. It does not perform other tasks related to the parent organization.⁴⁷ The recent/hurried creation of this NGO corroborates (Lewis 2001, p 63) description as the proliferation of the NGO community through the creation of new NGOs or new departments in NGOs. It was created specifically to meet with the criteria for attracting funds from the donor agency, which has led to some uncomplimentary views of NGOs as vehicles of unscrupulous deals as espoused by (Loffred 1995). Though most of the jobs linkages created are in the low skills sector, which is increasingly suffering from labour shortages because of the perspective of the jobs that nationals will not do in a booming economy or a labour shortage economy.

Menedék Hungary

Menedék – Hungarian Association for Migrants, founded in 1995, a nongovernmental organization it is one of the most popular among migrants in Hungary. It was founded for the promotion of the social integration of migrants in Hungary. The association's initial tasks were the integration of ethnic returning Hungarians who were being encouraged by the government through its policy to take up Hungarian citizenship. Kortén (1990), Masoni (1985) Carroll (1992) points to NGOs as intermediary for governments funding of projects.

Menedek represents one of the oldest local NGOs in Hungary involved in the integration of immigrants, the organisation works towards the integration of refugees and immigrants, having offices in four cities - Bicske, Budapest, Fót and Vámoszabadi. Their area of specialty is the provision of educational and cultural programmes, counselling services that assist the integration of immigrants. The organization also provides training courses for professionals whose work relates to immigrants. Such programs are

⁴⁷ The Maltese Care non-profit association

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usually directed at teachers, social workers, police officers and security personnel's working in centres related to immigrants.

Among the many projects executed by this association, the list is inclusive of, constituency building to enlarge awareness of the activities of the association, complex psycho-social support for refugees and asylum seekers, mentoring, inclusive kindergartens and schools etc.⁴⁸ Though the Hungarian Association for Migrants was primarily created to meet the needs of returning emigrants of Hungarian descent nevertheless, the need for integration of third country nationals has earned the group the place of the primary focus of their activities, to enhance social cohesion. Menedek assist immigrants to find work and get integrated into the Hungarian society; they also function to help intending immigrants who want to acquire Hungarian citizenship with language and other historical learning requirements to pass the citizenship exams. Menedek Egyesület views a complete integration as meaning that immigrants have access to naturalization and become citizens, so they can have equal rights as Hungarians. A publication by the organization: *Access to citizenship and its impact on immigrant integration* in collaboration with the Migration Policy Group attest to their competence in this field of integration. The association also organizes camping programmes for immigrant children to create social contact with Hungarian children, and supports extra-curricular activities of immigrant children.

Mahatma Ghandi Human Rights Organization Hungary

The organization was registered in 1992 by an immigrant Gibril Deen to support the social inclusion of immigrants and refugees through the promotion of human rights and other humanitarian activities. Various anti-racism campaigns and education have been implemented by this organization with three member permanent staff, student interns and a pool of volunteers.

A unique aspect of operation is the integration of refugees and migrants through sports. The Mahatma Gandhi African Stars Football Club created by the organization, has featured in the third division of the Hungarian League. The association is presently involved in international cooperation with other organizations, which use sport as an instrument of social inclusion. This project is hinged on the European Sports Inclusion Network in partnership with Fair play-VIDC Austria. Partnership cuts across other sports agencies in various countries like the FAI – Football Association of Ireland, SJPF-Portuguese Players Union of Portugal, Camino of Germany, UISP Italy, and Liikkukaa of Finland.

⁴⁸ Menedek Association for Migrants

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The organization introduced computer education and language training programs for refugees and migrants in Hungary in the year 2000. Unfortunately, these programs could not be sustained due to lack of funds and sponsorship.

Tolerance education in secondary schools is a consistent program, which this association uses to disseminate information to secondary school students about the positive sides of migrants and refugees. The idea is to share with the students, the cultures and background of refugees and migrants and why their presence in Hungary is a catalyst for human capital development.⁴⁹

Hungarian Helsinki Committee

The Helsinki Committee has been providing professional legal assistance since 1994. It is a non-governmental watchdog organization that protects human dignity and the rule of law through legal and public advocacy methods.” Its areas of operation are:

- protection of the rule of law
- protection of the rights of refugees
- monitoring law enforcement activities
- protection of the rights of detainees⁵⁰

The committee exclusively deals with Hungarian human rights issues using the name of Helsinki’ the trademark of human rights protection as signed by the governments of Europe and North America on August 1, 1975 as a commitment to respect for fundamental human rights.

The committee provides free legal assistance to asylum-seekers and refugees. Members of Staff usually embark on weekly visits to the migrants and asylum detention facilities in Hungary. The committee has made various applications to the European Court of Human Rights upheld in Strasbourg challenging the unlawful detention of asylum-seekers. The committee had also supported refugees towards family reunification, supported Hungarian citizens who wished to reconnect with their families, monitored border entries and denials, makes human rights reports, and currently acts as the chair of the European Network on Statelessness.

In 2016, the committee won a case against the FIDESZ political party the ruling Hungarian party when the party challenged the credibility of the committee’s refugee support program. The Metropolitan

⁴⁹ <http://www.gandhi.hu/>

⁵⁰ Hungarian Helsinki committee

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Court in Budapest gave judgment in favour of the Committee and asked the political party to pay one million forints to the Helsinki Committee for making an injurious statement against the organization. These events points to Humphreys (1996) position for the inclusion of NGOs in the regime theory based on their advocacy role that tend to encourage states to undergo normatively based behavioural shifts.

The Hungarian Helsinki Committee has been active in the protection of the right of unaccompanied minors who are asylum seekers. During random visits to the detention camps for asylum seekers, persons suspected to be under the age of 18 have been detected among the asylum seekers. The visiting committee staff would ask the detention guards for an age assessment if they were found to be less than 18 years of age; they are referred to the Hungarian childcare authority so that they can receive the adequate protection.⁵¹ The committee has assisted more than 22,000 people, published more than 50 books and has trained several thousand experts on approximately 200 training sessions in 50 countries of the world.⁵²

The Helsinki Committee has a retinue of permanent staff, volunteers and students on internship.

Migrants' Help Association (Mighelp) Hungary

Migrants' Help Association of Hungary (Mighelp) is a non-governmental association established in 2002 to empower migrants and refugees to acquire skills that will make them employable and independent taxpayers. The organization can best be described as one for immigrants and by immigrants because the idea for its creation was the initiative of immigrants. Real needs of the target group are listed from an annual general meeting by the program organizers and the target group. After ideas are articulated, projects are designed in line with the requirements of donors. The organizations is the brainchild of an immigrant who saw the tension/depression asylum seekers were experiencing in the reception facility in Bicske which led to religious and ethnic violence among groups of asylum seekers. The founder who was then a resident of the camp knew that the challenge of inactivity, waiting not knowing what the future holds was inducing the tensions. He launched a campaign for computer skills training as a way of equipping the refugees for their future reality in Europe. This rather supports the call for abolishing detentions of asylum seekers and shortening the period of inactivity, because of the long term effect on their mental health and social economic integration as echoed by these

⁵¹ Interviewee Budapest 3rd march 2017

⁵² Hungarian Helsinki Committee,

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organizations ECRE (20005) and UNHCR. He saw the need to equip migrants with the needed tools to help integrate especially refugees in Hungary and the larger European societies. The ill-equipped nature of refugees concerning skills and the right education to integrate into the European society because of the hurried nature of their movement led to the creation of this organization and has since influenced the ways programmes are designed, tailored to meet with the social-economic needs of the target group.

Projects that are regularly implemented by Mighelp include the European Computer Driver's License (ECDL) training course for migrants, childcare course, driving course, care for the elderly, workshops for conflict resolutions and prevention, language training in English, Hungarian, French and German.

A House of Cultures project was also launched as a forum where the target groups are brought together to share experience in art exhibitions, workshops and discussions, differences in traditions, culture and religion. The aim is to enhance confidence building, tolerance and social understanding. Information by Mighelp is usually done provided by e-mails sent to a group address, publications on leaflets and posters pasted at business centre like restaurants, telephone call centre, barber's salons usually patronized by the target group.

The success of this association has been anchored on partnership with institutions such as the Central European University, the British Council, Embassies of Sweden, Canada, Netherlands, and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Corvinus University, McDaniel College, Avicenna International College, Semmelweis University, Budapest Technical University, Eötvös Loránd University, Ateric BT and the Forum, all in Budapest.

Their sponsors include the European Union through the AMIF, Erste Foundation, Embassies of Canada, Denmark, the United States of America, the Hungarian Afffrican Union, the North American Women's Association, etc.

Funders usually provide indicators for projects and usually the association is able to meet or sometimes exceed the stipulated margin during the registration because of the high demand by migrants for the training programs. 20% of the target groups usually do not complete their programs due to clash with their individual activities, challenges in cost of transportation, other societal challenges and the urge to move to other countries to seek high-paying jobs. The organization is able to approximate 40% of persons trained usually are employed. This is the number of those who stay in touch with the organization. There is an inherent difficulty in monitoring because these training programmes are

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project based and no funding is available for monitoring survey. The organization has succeeded through their partnership with higher institutions of learning to help immigrants (refugees) acquire tertiary education.

A common phenomenon is that migrants receive this training and relocate to other European countries. This is common with third country nationals who are non-refugees as the refugees are constrained by the Dublin Directive but sometimes refugees look for other legal means to resettle in other member state countries.⁵³

Mighelp is looking into the future. With the perceived challenges that second and third generation migrant's face in Europe where they are usually educationally disadvantaged in comparison to their counterparts who are citizens. The association is looking at training young second and third generation TCN as programmers. It is presently seeking funding that will give early training as programmers to children of third country national through the logiscool in Hungary⁵⁴. Logiscool majors in teaching young children from the age of seven years how to be computer programmers. This initiative will give second generation migrant advantage to compete with children of citizens which is EU's definition of integration that TCN be given the same opportunities as the citizens, and will bridge the gaps in the education of the target group that inherently sets them back from having the right competitive tools to compete with citizens in the labour market. Several points have been raised on theorizing the challenge that second generation migrants face in the European societies but of relevance to the discourse here is the structural approach focus on labour market segmentation of first generation immigrants which stagnates second generation down to similar structural labour positions as their parents (Castle & Kosack 1985; Parkin 1979). Despite the existence of barriers that are beyond the individual second generation immigrants (Lessard-Phillips, Fibbi & Wanner 2012: p167), being equipped with the right educational tools is key to be able to surmount the other barriers which are discriminatory in nature.

SOS Kinderdorf Munich, Germany

This organization is a non-governmental and non-denominational humanitarian association working to prevent family breakdown. It was established for the provision of care to children who have lost parental care and guidance, or who risk losing it. Respect is given to all religions and cultures for the provision of social development. They work in cooperation with communities, partners and states to

⁵³ Information from MigHelp webpage and semi-structured interviews

⁵⁴ Logiscool is a computer programming school in Hungary, which focus on training children from the age of seven as computer programmers

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uphold the rights of all children and to ensure that they are respected and enjoy a full life. The vision of the organization is premised on the notion that every child ought to belong to a family and growing-up in an atmosphere of love, respect and security. The Mission is to build families for children in need, help them shape their own futures, and share in the development of their communities.

Since the 1970s, SOS Children's Villages have provided special support for young people by creating semi-independent housing programmes where they are guided on their path to an independent life with the help of professionals. In the 1980s, the organisation started vocational training for socially disadvantaged young people and for people with special needs. In 1963, after the construction of the first SOS Children's Village outside of Europe had begun in Daegu, Korea, Hermann Gmeiner founded the association "Hermann Gmeiner Fonds Deutschland e.V.", which has since been responsible for procuring funds for SOS Children's Villages. Children's Villages has been supporting refugee families and unaccompanied children in Germany over many years. In 2015, in response to the refugee crisis, they provided extra support. The organization give individual care to unaccompanied minors and young adults, who have arrived in the country, they also offer language courses and help them in settling down.⁵⁵

SOS is staffed with professionals in the field of family and childcare and support from volunteers and interns. This organization has branches in various countries in Africa, Americas, Asia, Europe and Oceania. There are currently 2,000 SOS facilities globally, providing homes to over 80,000 children, with an additional million children in need, supported through family strengthening programmes, kindergartens, vocational training centers, schools, and hospitals.⁵⁶

The organization support migrant families in Munich-Germany; unaccompanied refugee minors are sheltered in their facilities, where psychological support for traumatized asylum seekers is available. They also offer pre-training courses for immigrants to get them familiar with likely training prospects like sewing, cooking to develop interest in the skills acquisition training they will like to do as part of their labour integration needs. Physiotherapy is provided for new mums and they run day care services twice a week for pre-kindergarten, to reduce the burden of childcare for nursing mothers. There is also guidance *beratung* supports for immigrants to go to government offices to process their papers. Finally they offer financial supports for immigrants shopping a ticket that supports immigrants' shopping needs.

⁵⁵ SOS Children's Village international. Retrieved 03 April 2017

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

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AWO, Munich Germany.

A welfare international organization established to address social problems in order to promote a democratic, social and constitutional state. It promotes workers' welfare and good conditions at work place. The branch office in Munich is one of the six leading associations of the free welfare service. The organization is actively involved in various social work activities in Munich. AWO helps families, young people, seniors, migrants and people with social, occupational or psychological problems to be fully integrated into the society and to feel a sense of belonging.

Marie Juchaz initially founded AWO in Berlin in 1919. Its first chairperson until the dissolution by the National Socialists in 1933 was Hubert Dolleschel. The organisations focus was on providing care for children and adolescents through holiday trips. Later, they added additional competences catering for needy persons especially mothers. Recreation trips were also organized for mothers. The course of the organization was boosted by donations made by charitable citizens

It continues to work exclusively as a non-profit organization across nationality, denomination or beliefs of persons. It has a work force of 2300 employees and caregivers. Over the years, it has evolved from a purely voluntary association to a modern service company. Nearly 3,000 members of the Kreisverband München-Stadt support the work of AWO in Munich.

Since 2004, AWO has been operating care centres for the elderly, service centres and childcare centres, refugee support services, youth leisure centres, counselling centres and other related service in Munich and neighbouring areas.

Its finances are hugely from donors and a strong sense of personal commitment of members. In the area of workers' welfare, people concerned with orientation towards the values of AWO are easily integrated through various forms of cooperation and are readily exposed to a broad field of activities.

Over the years, the AWO group has greatly developed into a major service organization to become a socially recognized institution in the city and far beyond. This is due to its fundamental values, socio-political conceptions and the various areas of services, which it operates. Its activities have reduced social and economic tension as families have become less stressed by the vagaries of life and other domestic pressures.

The services of AWO group are well tailored in such a way that it provides a wide range of social services that meet the essential and legal requirements of the citizens. The general frameworks of these

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services are defined by the social legislation of the Federal Republic of Germany, the state laws and municipal subsidy programs.

The business, financial unit management and staff departments operate a high quality and efficient management procedure that pools resources and human capital in ways that are goal-oriented.

AWO is guided by various principles. It has interest in contributing to the improvement of the living conditions of people with disabilities and disadvantaged people through their activities. This is based on the mission of the organization which promotes the principle of equality, solidarity and social justice. As a support engine for those disadvantaged groups in society which lack the prerequisite tool to participate effectively in economic, social political and cultural life which has the ability to alienate them from mainstream society (Duffy 1995, p. 17).

The organisation focuses on the wellbeing of workers acting as mediators between workers and workplace through a system of analytical mediation approach which supports the activities of an impartial neutral third party who attempts to assist disputing parties to reach mutually satisfactory agreement (Mumpower & Rohrbaugh 1996, p. 386). This activity benefits the government because it creates a common ground of interaction and co-operation where grievances and misunderstanding could be easily resolved instead of resorting to industrial actions inimical to society. These efforts have become successful due to the practice of social and democratic principles. Effective workmanship is usually ensured when there are principles employed to strengthen self-responsible actions and the required motivation of employees. Understanding the personal and social situation of employees from daily life is an essential prerequisite for the promotion of cordial relations.

An essential task for the Munich County Association is the consolidation and expansion of the AWO as a social service company within the framework of the partnership with the state capital Munich, the other associations of the free welfare and the other service providers. This requires a constant examination of the future social policy developments and needs as well as the special policy development lines of social work in order to develop and secure long-term perspectives for the circle association.⁵⁷

Today AWO is the largest employer of social workers in Munich as it has expanded to providing child care services and kindergarten, vocational services and training in the auto industry, catering programs,

⁵⁷ <https://www.awo-muenchen.de>

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printing, education, senior citizens homes, provision of residential premises, counselling and advise, refugee assistance programs, youth welfare, among others.

International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) of Germany

The German Red Cross (*Deutsches Rotes Kreuz*) is the country branch unit of the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies. Having approximately over 3.5 million members, represents the third largest Red Cross society in the world. The German Red Cross provides support and services within and outside Germany. The organization has established 52 hospitals with over 500 nursing homes, providing nursing care for elderly persons, children and youths. It has 1,300 kindergartens and other full range of social services dedicated to children. 75% of blood donations in Germany pass through GRC. This includes 60% emergency medical services.

The International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC) is the world's largest humanitarian network which reaches 150 million people with 190 National Societies through the work of over 17 million volunteers. It acts before, during and after disasters and health emergencies to meet the needs and improve the lives of vulnerable people in a non- discriminatory manner, regardless of nationality, race, religious beliefs, class or political opinions.

The German branch of the international Red Cross has a long tradition of assisting migrants in Germany, dating back to the end of the Second World War as a welfare organization in the federal republic of when migrant workers were admitted from various parts of Europe, Turkey and North Africa. The welfare organizations were financed by the state, while they delivered the services. Representative of a neo-corporatist relationship with an interdependent institutional mechanism, a privileged status that gave the organizations considerable political influence (Germany 2002)⁵⁸ Red Cross has been in the forefront of providing emergency support services in arrival centres. The organization has over 490 emergency accommodation centres in Germany, hosting over 141,000 persons. Most of the work force that operates these facilities is sourced from volunteering; an estimated 25,000 staff and volunteers are working in these facilities.

In 2015, during the migrant surge, the Federal Government in Germany gave the IFRC the mandate to set up and run two camps in Bavaria as well as other parts of the country. The camps hosting migrants have received support from Red Cross societies across the globe, including countries

⁵⁸ Germany (2002) Germany Welfare Organizations between National Economization and European Integration, 5:1,75-79, DOI: 10. 1080/714052961. Routledge

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like Canada, the USA, Denmark, Finland, Norway, France, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Sweden. This is a historic solidarity of a German national relief operation supported via international efforts.

The IFRC National Society for Germany is very active in the provision of language and employment training, family tracing services, medical care and psychological support for traumatised immigrants. The organisation provides emergency interventions for immigrants, with the aim of assisting them to settle down and be fully integrated into the Germany society. A unique quality of the Bavaria arm of the organisation is its ability to activate its state of the emergency system, mobilising around 200 of its staff and volunteers at short notice.⁵⁹

Innerre Mission

The Innere Mission Munich has been operating for over 125 years as a service company. It was founded by Karl Buchrucker the Munich Dean on 26 March 1884 the "Association for the Innere Mission in Munich" with other personalities of the Evangelical faith. In 1890, the "Kinderbewahranstalt" opened in Blumenburgstraße, and began admitting city children from 1898 when they went to Murnauer Moos to enjoy their summer holiday. By 1912, the first girls and boys had moved into the new facility in the district of Neuhausen (Löhe-Haus). Other help services were added to take care of a wider spectrum of issues among these was the economic crisis of the 1980s that quickly triggered the expansion of this organization because it brought new challenges particularly as it concerned vulnerable people such as the unemployed, homeless and the mentally ill. By the 1990s, the social enterprise had expanded in all areas. The main goal of this organization is to provide help and social support, in the form of childcare, care for the elderly, general advice and counselling.

Currently, the association has 110 facilities including kindergartens, retirement homes, social psychiatry services, and varying forms of support for refugees and homeless people. They also operate the Protestant Nursing Academy, one of the leading training centres for nursing care. The family support mission is geared towards integrating families into the society. They have over 1000 places in and around Munich where family support is offered through child and youth welfare. There is the Kinderkrippen- for children between nine weeks and third year. The Kindergartens are for children from the age of three to the age of enrolment in primary schools. Each of these groups usually consists of a maximum of 25 children.

⁵⁹ Interviewee and information on the organizations web page were the sources of these information

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Their specialized academy also trains experienced and dedicated staff to meet up with the demands of the service. Innerre Missio also developed competencies in the operation of psychiatry centres, and provides treatment for people with epilepsy or cranial brain injuries. The Department of Continuing Education and Human Resources of the Protestant Nursing Academy is manifold as it covers various faculties in dementia, further education and training the instructors.

Support for refugees and migrants are an important part of the organisations activity. Orientation programs are organized for new arrivals mostly in their mother tongues through old clients who were in their situations. Educational trainings in languages and other forms of vocational training like housekeeping, kitchen, office and public relations is also carried out in order to make the people professionally employable. It is currently the only Protestant training centre for child minders and for kindergarten teachers in Munich. At present, it has 140 pupils for childcare and youth welfare who are trained on Christian values.

Intercultural or multiculturalism a public policy objective adopted since the 1960s in Europe and other liberal democracies to politically accommodate minorities formed my immigration to western countries. (Chaplin 2014, p. 46) In an attempt to move away from models of cultural assimilation where cultural differences are dissolved and move towards societal integration where differences are protected just so that public justice is established in public relationships in a society. This character of the state is evidently practiced by public service organisations like the Innere Evangelical Mission who outsource state functions regardless of their religious beliefs.

Services of this organization are divided into districts or regions. The Inner Mission has three contact points for psychiatry in Munich and the surrounding area such as:

- Social Psychiatry Services at Bogenhausen/North-East Region
- Social Psychiatry Services at Neuhausen/Nymphenburg
- Social Psychiatry Services at Ebersberg

Support is also received from the state capital of Munich to enhance guardianship and care for approximately 150 minors.

Operation of the NGOs Working for Migrants and Refugees

The place of NGOs in Germany in the integration of newcomers into Germany has been established since the era of labour migration when NGOs were known as the welfare organizations in Germany.

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The government recognized the welfare organizations that were responsible for contracting and settlement of the migrants. The differences in the size of the non-profit sector between Hungary and Germany are obvious from a comparative research of country's NGO sector by the John Hopkins comparative non-profit sector project. Here Salmon & Anheier (1998) analyzed the research to propose new theories for the third sector as the old theories were seen to be insufficient to explain the general character of NGOs. 0.8% was the result for Hungary as against 3.7% for Germany in the total national employment in the NGO sector in 1990. In Munich for example the government established a place for the welfare organizations since 1992 where the majority of NGOs associated with migrant interventions are housed by the government this building serves as operational base for the NGOs (Goethe Strasse 53). There is also the EinWelt Haus⁶⁰ created in 2001 as a place of peaceful solidarity among people of different cultures. The hallmarks of One World House are openness, tolerance diversity and understanding among nationalities. It is a home to open discussions of intercultural and development issues in the lively social atmosphere of readings, exhibitions film screening. Ein Welt Haus represents the melting pot of cultures in Munich.

In the period following the end of Soviet occupation, NGOs were instrumental to the build-up of democracy in Hungary. Moreover, they were given a recognized place in governance initiative. Literatures on the history of countries have shown that policy of corporation is dependent on the government in power, its political perceptions and priorities on economics, politics, and social cohesion. Once upon a time Germany would not admit it was an immigration country. Nevertheless, it is a different scenario and all stakeholders who would influence the integration process are involved in the present integration processes as stated in the National Action Plan in Germany. This is why NGOs are engaging with government more and getting more support for their project. The Hungarian situation begs for a more permanent structure, than the mostly project based interventions NGOs are carrying out. Finance is a challenge for every NGO regardless of its size because there are always needs to meet. Nevertheless, it is more challenging for majority of NGOs in Hungary, as they do not have strong financial base. They are struggling to find finance for their projects relying on projects proposals and implementation to survive. This research has found out that some integration programs like computer education and language training were not sustained with some NGOs because they were project based as soon as funding ended the projects could no longer be sustained. While there are language support

⁶⁰ One world house Munich

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programs for refugees by the German government for refugees, there are no free language courses for refugees in Hungary initiated by the government for the target group presently.

Immigrant integration benefits more from a permanent structure than temporary interventions as the practice in Germany. Other observations in the research is the lack of corporation between government and the NGOs in policy drafting in Hungary unlike in Germany where the long established NGOs have a say in the policy integrating the target group, also the inclusion of immigrants association as partners in the implementation of the national action plan in Germany. In addition, the array of third country nationals in the staff strength of NGOs means those people affected by the challenge are instrumental for providing solutions. This is increasingly becoming the case in Hungary as TCN are to be found as staff members of the existing NGOs and some discussed in this research are exclusive initiatives of the target group. Some of this policy cooperation vacuum between NGOs and the governments may not be unconnected with the reluctance by NGOs to get involved in professional management as pointed out by Lewis (2011), analysing reasons for this reluctance.

- The foundation stone of 'culture of action' upon which NGO are founded, accounts for the active participation to bring about a change. The culture of action avoid waste of resources, time and resources on management and organization are antipodes to the action of bringing about a change, Korten's suggestion is that during the evolutionary stages of NGOs when creation was based on the vision and the efforts of key individuals to mobilize efforts based on altruism: relying on high moral purpose, good will, hard work and common sense led to achieving success.
- Another reason is the view that NGOs ought to eschew spending their limited funds on administrative overheads, unfortunately some donor agencies are in support of this view based on the perception that low NGO administrative overheads is a criteria for judging development success in line with the suggestion by Smilie (1995) of a public myth that development has to be cheap to be adjudged successful.
- Lewis points to another reason why NGOs are reluctant to get involved in deep core management as stemming from the fear of being drawn into 'normal professionalism' (Chambers 1994) which negates NGO priorities and values. Normal professionalism according to Chambers gives preference to blueprints over adaptation, rich over poor, things over people, quantity over quality and powerful over the weak. Normal professionalism is in the same class with exploitation, oppression and racism. (Korten 1990, p.156).

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- An unprecedented and sudden growth in NGOs because of new patronage from donors can put NGOs several steps behind in managerial and organizational skilfulness. If NGOs that started small and dealt with management and organisational issues on informal basis suddenly find favour with donor agencies may find themselves struggling to raise the bar on management issues that they may lack the prerequisite ideas and skills to cope. This much is obvious from some of the organisations examined in this research as some functions are outsourced to volunteers who may not have the experience and tools needed to function in the new capacities.
- Finally, Lewis (2011) avers that NGO managerial skills development is being driven from the outside as a result of their closeness to donor agencies, which begin to mount pressure on their development partners to develop more accountability with their effectiveness and efficiency questioned. Bringing about 'imposed managerialism' in line with the logical framework analysis creates professionalising pressures on NGOs (Smilie 1995) seeking to gain patronage and secure donor funded projects. This form of imposed managerial and organisational efficiency is inferred in the applications for donor funded projects where NGOs have to show proof of skilful persona in the management of an intended projects as well as the reportage on accounting, purchases and receipts of how resources are assigned in the course of the projects. Development indicators are another way in which accounting and reportage are, managed by the donor agencies.

Components of Non-Governmental Organizations

Lewis (2010) in his analysis of the roles under-taken by NGOs presents them as having three main components: implementer, partner and catalyst. The *implementer* role of NGOs as espoused by Lewis is the ways NGOs mobilize resources for the provision of goods and services to those who need it. It analyzes the range of services where NGOs have been instrumental in delivering to those in need of it and partnering with governments and donor agencies to carry out specific tasks for which they are mobilized. NGOs as *catalyst* is seen in the ability of NGOs to inspire, facilitate or contribute to improve thinking and action to promote social transformation, which efforts could be directed towards individuals, groups or community as well as other actors such as development partners, governments and donors, grass-root organising and group formation, attempts to influencing wider policy processes through innovation and policy entrepreneurship.

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Another component which Lewis identifies is the *partner* function the NGO serves in which they partner with governments, donors, private sector on joint activities or goals such as socially responsible business activities undertaking, pointing to the present policy rhetoric of partnership as bringing NGOs into mutually beneficial relationship with other sectors.

This research proposes an additional component of NGO role as that of *adaptor* in view of the functions NGOs working with immigrant serve in their European communities. From the definition of adaptor in Oxford Learner's Dictionary, as a device for connecting pieces of equipment that were not designed to fit together. From the research perspectives expressed by the interviewees the adaptive role of NGOs is multifaceted first in their social cohesion activities, creating interactive sessions between immigrants and citizens either through social/cultural programmes which create opportunities for volunteering by either party. Host citizens volunteering through offering services like language training, teaching host country's history and cultures or the migrants volunteering services through avenues created by the NGOs bringing about interaction for adapting to each other and breaking stereotypes. Other ways that NGOs are playing an adaptive role is in their ability to provide educational tools and training that make immigrants qualify to work in skills that they hitherto did not have and overcome their economic challenges. NGOs tool for integration are effective in creation a fusing of groups howbeit promoting social cultural understanding for making migrants understand the European norms and values as well as promoting understanding for the wider European society to show solidarity to migrants in the society. In as much as there are laws regulating relationships in the society platforms of NGOs cultural exchange programmes tend to promote better understanding between groups and communities.

Conclusion

This chapter have examined the functions of the various NGOs studied in this research. It has also looked at the operational environment in which they work, their relationship with government institutions and the society, their activities are weighted against the component of NGOs as enunciated by Lewis (2010) and from observing the impact of their activities in the integration of third country nationals the research has proposed an additional component to add to the three initially proposed by (Lewis 2010). In the next chapter we look at policy and the way it impacts in the integration of third country nationals in the EU.

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Chapter VII

Policy Conceptualization and Immigrant Integration Policy of Germany and Hungary

Policy drives public administration, if administration is the door to solving or dealing with issues in a society, then public policy is the key for unlocking that door. Political actors adopt different approaches to address individual issues in public policy. The field of immigration and integration stands as one of the most dynamic areas in policy production as the policies in this area are ever changing to meet with new fears or political perceptions. Balch (2016, p. 8) in his research on immigration politics in the UK points to a new piece of legislation in the area of migration averagely every two years. This chapter takes a peep at policy conceptualization in the field of immigration and integration and how the

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countries under focus have transformed perceptions into policies and the implication for managing migrants integration in the societies.

As early as the 1970 theorists in the field of public policy identified differences in the way policies were conceptualized and this translated in definition. Dye (1972) counted about forty different definitions before the 1970s; this multiplicity in definition is still prevalent today among scholars in the field of public policy. The difficulty of a common conceptualization of public policy is based on two phenomena empirically defined versus policy constructed by political and social influences. Scholars argue that the understanding of policy is constructed by political processes and its meaning is more a matter of interpretation than of essence (Zittoun 2014).

Conceptualizing public policy is also dependent on the number of actors involved, if it is a sole prerogative of the state or if activities of groups and individuals who act on behalf of the state are also brought into the conceptualization of the public policy, as well as the perspective of public policy as the sole initiative of the public sector, (Bell & Hindmoore 2009). Rhodes (1996, pp. 652-667) proposes self-governing networks in which private, non-profit and public individuals and organization interact to provide services but underlines the autonomous character of these networks as debilitating the ability of the government to steer. Koppenjan & Klijn (2004, p. 28) refer to patterns that occur in ambiguous problems as unstructured, untamed, and intractable and wicked. Uncertainty of knowledge and disagreement on values (societal problems) are the sources of wicked problems (political problems). There is not a lack of knowledge but the status or interpretation of that knowledge is unclear, influenced by the frames of references which encompass facts, interests, norms and values that have been internalised on the basis of previous experience or perceptions. Regardless of the various claims about how public policy is perceived evidence has shown some form of interaction between private and non- private actors in the shaping of public policy. Joined-up government networks are typical responses to rising demand for empowered participation and crosscutting coordination at local, regional and national level, with a growing participation of private enterprises, NGOs and expert communities on the basis of mutual recognition of interdependency (Torfing, Peters, Pierre & Sorensen 2012, p. 19). Analysis by researchers in the field of public policy attempt to grasp how meaning is produced, and access the processes through which meaning shapes actions and institutions, while they are trying to and to identify the particular context of the situations in which these meanings evolve Durnova et al (2016). The authors of this approach claims that concepts which are traditionally key to the formulation of public policy like interest, ideas, instruments and value as objective ground for policy crafting have

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been discarded in favour of discursive approach which focuses on how meaning is produced by the actors in the process. Suffice to say of these concepts that interest is central to the actors, regardless of whether or not a particular interest is central to the public, the interest of the actors is the main driver of the actors' arguments which are politically motivated, and furthermore arguments are a deep epistemological issue that changes mainstream objectivism.

Creating a distinction between politics and policy is a challenge in policy studies. Researchers in the field of public policy have a responsibility to create a distinction between the two concepts in order to produce objective knowledge of policy free which is free of politics and value oriented. This is to allow for accountability and reliability in the knowledge produced. But experience has shown the difficulty in separating political issues from policy especially when analysis is being drawn in the field of social sciences. Political analysts have rejected the idea that it is possible to produce objective knowledge on policy unconnected to politics (Lasswell 1971; Fischer & Forester 1993; Majone 1989). Majone argues against the production of argument based on value claiming that arguments produced by an analyst are focused on winning public debate. This has brought about the argumentative turn in policy analysis that provides new insights, challenging the ontological distinction between policy and politics. The political process of policy-making primarily seeks to go beyond the distinction between policy and politics and to consider policy-making as fundamentally a political activity pursued through beliefs, meaning, and argumentation (Zittoun 2014). In view of the above the understanding of the policy process is based on an understanding of politics.

Policy is definitely a problem solving mechanism, but is also a political tool in the hands of political actors to argue about a disordered society they want to change. Policy making is hinged on political process; a political activity is an "antinomian dialectic" between orderly and disorderly activities in society (Arendt 1958). This literarily means that a seeming disorder brings about political activity, but political actors must show proof by their activities that this disorganization is based on opposing orders which attempt to impose themselves in vain. Political activity therefore resembles the incessant and paradoxical development of order and disorder which, similar to Yin and Yang, fuel each other from their opposition.

As a way to understand policy-making as a political activity, Durnova et al. (2016) presents us with an analytical framework combining three games which can be observed empirically.

The first framework being a proposal by Wittgenstein (1958), who observes argumentative strategies as a language game gives meaning to policy proposals by shaping them into "solutions." This proposal was based on studies by Simon (1945), who emphasized the limited capacity of human minds when

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faced with extremely complex social or economic problems. And not wanting to be involved in the daunting task of processing the information associated with the complex social, economic and political problems, which Durnova et al. (2016) describe as “coupling” activities between problems and solutions, he described the coupling activities as a game of language in which actors shape meaning by associating different concepts which are not linked “naturally” or “logically” and use arguments to share this new association and, in so doing, build a new reality.

The second framework views argumentative strategies as the interaction that builds agreement and disagreement between actors. The game of language is inseparable from the game of actors who maintain it. While the challenges calling for solutions remain in the public eye, in this case policies that will promote social cohesion through proper integration of TCN a considerable part of the policy proposal strategizing takes place within the multiple institutions and organizations (bureaucratic systems, agencies, experts, companies, non-profit organizations, etc.) which contribute to policy-making directly or indirectly. According to organization studies (Crozier & Friedberg 1977), the policy-making arena is a space where multiple conflicting and contradictory argumentative strategies occur between institutions, as well as between different departments, offices, networks within organizations where collective action is organized as a social construct. The perverse or unexpected effect of the intuitions of the actors and their collective behaviors in time produces a lag, which has an effect on the system and may be interpreted as the collective action of the actors.

The final framework views argumentative strategies as power activities which culminate into the imposition of a new power structure or legitimacy to an old one. The third game which needs to be empirically observed is a game of power where actors tend to argue, to convince and persuade which is common place in a discursive forum looking for communicative rationality (Habermas 1984), but also try to negotiate and impose their arguments and win through argumentative strategies as is common in an arena of conflict.

Conceptual perspectives have brought about a plethora of definitions which some authors have chosen to avoid. To avoid being discriminatory or skip the inevitable scrutiny that will most likely result in a complicated definition of policy, Thomas Dye chooses a seemingly satisfactory and broad definition, summarised thus: “policy is whatever governments choose to do or do not do” (Zittoun 2014). Policies are often changing. Today's winners may be tomorrow's losers. Today's policies that put you on the right side of the law can find you on the illegitimate side tomorrow. Policies adopted and implemented do change from time to time, so are the intellectual approaches used to understand them. Therefore explanations for collective behavior, learning, and policy change can only be understood by

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understanding events across space, across time and across subject areas of the past and the present (Weible, Heikkila, Ingold & Fischer 2016, p. 21). In view of the above this research views governments' policy towards the target group from the definition of Thomas Dye whatever government chooses to do or not to do commonly shaped by events or circumstances as drivers to the agenda it (government) wishes to pursue a policy goal or a political goal in the bid to preserve or gain more power (Stone 2002, p. 2).

Germany's Immigrant /Integration Policy and Measures

Germany's federal system of government comprising of sixteen states or Länder, located in the central part of Europe, has been home to diverse groups of nationals both from Europe and other third countries for several decades. Significant differences exist between the migrant population between the Western and Eastern division of the Federal Republic of Germany, while Länder in the Eastern part of Germany, migrant population makes-up 4-9% of the total population, migrant population in the West accounts for 25%. The industrialized nature of the west is the reason why there are more immigrants in the west as labour intensive societies have been known to attract migrants more. The lack of experience with living with migrants is attributed as the reason why Germans in the East are evidently averse to migrants. Issues of economics have also been advanced as the source of discrimination (Falk, Kuhn & Zweimuller 2011). Dancygier & Laitin (2014) points to unemployment differences between states in Eastern and Western Germany as accounting for incidence of right wing extremist crimes directed at migrants.

The reluctance to acknowledge that Germany was a country of immigration despite many years of dealing with migrants which supports Habermas (1984) discuss that political actors impose their position through arguments, the German adamance is best explained in the words of the Swiss playwright novelist Max Frisch, "We wanted workers, we got people." This delayed the formation of concrete policies on immigrant integration.⁶¹ Following the end of the Second World War it did develop an integration program but this was not focused on non-German migrants, the integration was intended for German repatriates; persons displaced as a result of the war *Vertriebene* who had to be attracted back *home*; but the labour migrants 'the workers,' mostly from Italy, former Yugoslav countries and Turkey who were needed as a result of the German 'economic miracle. About 14million persons from

⁶¹ Germany, Expert Commission of German Foundations (*Sachverständigenrat Deutscher Stiftungen*) (2011) Migration Country 2011 (Migrationsland 2011), Berlin, pp.51-67.

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between 1955 to 1973, had their integration programme, designed from a labour perspective, which expected them to return back to their country of origin some returned but others stayed back (Bendel 2014). This actualizes Dye's position that policy is about what government would or would not do as well as (Zittoun 2014) argumentation being transformed into pragmatist perspectives. The right-wing anti-migrants attitude of close to 20% of the German population, particularly in large parts of the German Democratic Republic GDR, which was part of the Eastern Block during the Cold War period where the population lacked inter-cultural experience and competence has also been referred to as reason for the late policy development (Zick & Klein 2014). Demographics and the forecast of a future of lack of qualified labour to meet with the welfare needs of an aging population are some of the factors that drove the development and implementation of policy instruments of the integration of third country nationals. The integration of people with immigrant background became a key policy priority of the federal government of Germany in 2006. Chancellor Angela Merkel as part of her national prioritization of integration convened an integration summit in the Federal Chancellery during which a National Integration Plan was drawn up and made tangible and more binding by making it a National Action Plan on Integration concluded in 2007. This document was further reviewed and concretized in the National Action Plan of 2012. Integration was not defined in any of these documents, but they had as their main theme a 'welcoming culture' and explained integration thus: "a long lasting process which aims at including all individuals into society. Migrants residing permanently and legally in Germany should be enabled to fully participate in all spheres of social life on equal terms. Migrants are obliged to learn the language of the receiving society and to know, respect and follow the basic values of German society, its constitution and the laws. The receiving society has the obligation to enable migrants' participation in all spheres of social life on equal terms." The welcome culture was not initiated in the National Action Plan; in the early 2000s the failure of immigration law to attract foreign labour, for which entry requirements into Germany for potential immigrants required an income higher than average. Increasing concern about demographics and a shrinking German population led to demand for a reform of the labour laws, this move was led by economists and employers' associations. Thus, the term 'welcome culture' was largely introduced to the German debate by organizations such as the VDI (Verein deutscher Ingenieure; Association of German Engineers) and the BDA (Bund Deutscher Arbeitgeber; Federation of German Employers), and the political parties CDU (Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands; Christian Democratic Union of Germany) and the FDP (Freie Demokraten Partei; Free Democratic Party) (Hamann & Karakayali 2016).

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From 2013 the Federal Office of Migration and Integration introduced as welcoming offices all offices dealing with immigrants meant to promote friendly behaviour towards foreign migrants.⁶²

A detailed look at the crafting of the National Action Plan reveals an all-inclusive contribution, cutting across various stakeholders involving the state, civil society organisations and numerous immigrant organisations in Germany, labour and industry union, charity organizations, sports associations, the churches, foundations and other players in the realm of civil society in eleven dialogue forums. This no doubt was to build bridges across to the immigrant populations which had been isolated during the many years of Germany's denial that it was an immigration country, *purposive inaction* and to send out the clear message that integration was a shared task as it concerns the society as a whole *purposive action*. The highlight of these dialogues was the agreement on tangible objectives through design indicators for the verification of a goal attainable within a time frame. In the National Action Plan the fact was also emphasized that the Federal government as well as the Länder were acting in concert.⁶³ So it was important to make clear that this new policy framework had the consent of the entire German government.

A network of all the participants or players was developed in the principle of continuing dialogue in order to develop the integration policy on a shared basis to personalized it and give it widespread 'ownership (Atkinson 2009) as 'social partner' (Falkner 1998 p 16) of the National Action Plan is focused on achieving social cohesion. The major foundation for implementing this plan was the long existing integration of Gastarbeiter into the major German systems of welfare, Integration of immigrants as agreed by the federal government was not a one-off process to be tackled as temporary projects, but as ongoing tasks that needed to be tackled on a long term structural basis.

Summary of the National Action Plan

- Education- Early childhood education, training and advanced training for education professionals in a systematic anchoring of professional qualification for strengthening intercultural skills and with an aim to raise the share of educational professionals from among people of immigrant background in the field of education.
- Labour market and Professional life – the goal is to improve employment and earning opportunities for people of immigrant background. It establishes structures to accompany the

⁶²Germany, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*) (2013) Short description of the model project Foreigner Offices – Welcoming Offices (Kurzbeschreiben des Modellprojekts Ausländerbehörden – Willkommensbehörden), www.bamf.de. Accessed 6th June 2017

⁶³Germany operates a federal system of government being constituted by an earlier collection of Länders (states) or Bundesländer as it informally called and they still maintain some form of sovereignty,

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law for determination and acceptance of Professional Qualification acquired abroad and recognized procedures for improving such qualification, post-qualification also for the development and certification of partial qualification. Mastering the German language as a key access into the labour market for persons of immigrant background to eliminate the threat of unemployment for these populations, the federal government therefore supports training for job related language skills EST- BAMF Programme

- Immigrant's admittance into the public service. Focus is on raising the share of immigrants in the public service by stimulating their interest in this hitherto exclusive area reducing barriers to the selection and hiring of applicants and raising awareness of employees already in the public service intended to achieve cultural diversity. Improved coordination among public relations offices in government departments with regards to recruiting, direct address made to immigrant job posting, training of decision makers in human resources to uphold non-discriminatory staff selection process. Despite these policy directives an OECD study show Germany as ranking among the lowest in a survey of EU/OECD countries with immigrant background in the public sector. The survey notes the comparatively small number of native born descendants of immigrants in the German public sector.
- Health and Nursing Care. Immigrant participation in preventive care programs was observed to be below average. Their accessing the facilities and services, as well as under-represented in employment in this sector. And finally the need to improve on the data records of immigrants, improve access to employment in the health and nursing care system. The federal government publication of educational material in foreign language for information about services of the health care system with particular reference to preventive measures, screenings and vaccinations so that information can be widespread among immigrant populations.
- Local Integration; Integration of immigrant populations into the main stream society is decided at the cities and municipalities levels. The local administration creates a forum for dialogue where numerous promising approaches are in place. Part of its goal is to strengthen social cohesiveness in the cities and municipalities. The demographic development an intergenerational family- friendly and at an appropriate age infrastructure and events planning in the municipalities, done to improve integration and participation opportunities of persons with immigrant background. This much is evident in the city where this research took place. The city of Muenchen has general provisions for the integration of persons with immigrant background. This they carry in high level partnership with NGOs. Two places stand out in the city of

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München where one can be described as the work centre and the other social centre for the integration of persons with immigrant background. They are Goethestrasse 53 which houses most of the NGOs working with immigrants, and EienWelt Haus München (One World House) which represents the centre for social integration. The federal government's provision of amounts to the tune of 40 million Euros to meet with demand for social infrastructure, especially in places where the infrastructure is weak. Hence the federal government has set a new course for its Social City programme by integrating the players from the economic and societal spheres more strongly. Strengthening civic commitment and volunteer work in the neighbourhood is a policy strategy. With the "Social City—Investments in the Neighbourhood" programme, promotion of urban development starts to come into play, in particular in those neighbourhoods characterised by a high share of inhabitants with an immigrant background.

The federal government is committed to providing support to municipal model projects, which create places of integration through an expansion of the infrastructure and innovative provider structures. In addition, the federal government supports the strategic alignment of municipal integration policy, as part of "experimental housing construction and urban development in the context of the implementation of the National Action Plan. A regular survey was designed *to monitor model integration patterns* to be repeated on a regular basis with the support of municipal umbrella organisations.

Language and integration courses.

Language is what gives the immigrants confidence to act alone without help on matters of day-to-day living. It is therefore the key to integration. The government of the Federal Republic of Germany launched statutory integration courses in 2005, which consisted of a 600-900 hour language course and 60 hour orientation course⁶⁴ A total of over 700,000 immigrants have participated with more than half of them participating voluntarily. Orientations courses designed by NGOs to motivate the target group before they commence the courses have a great impact in making immigrants committed to studying hard to complete the programmes.⁶⁵ The forum for dialogue on the Language Integration Course" agreed on the following strategic goals (1) The provision and maintenance of high-quality language education for immigrants in Germany. (2) Continuous tailoring of the integration courses to align with the needs of the target group. This forum, has as its goal the exploration of options for the improvement

⁶⁴Germany, Federal Office for Migration and Refugees (*Bundesamt für Migration und Flüchtlinge*) (2013), 'Inhalt und Ablauf', 16 September 2013, www.bamf.de/DE/Willkommen/DeutschLernen/Integrationskurse/InhaltAblauf/inhaltablaufnode.html.

⁶⁵ Interviewee 23/3/2017

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of overall language training in Germany. Essentially creating a professional study environment, with the use of digital media; the further development of the supplementary qualification of the teachers in terms of content and organisation; it allows the retention of a nation-wide, needs-based range of integration courses, while concurrently improving the quality of the courses and the quality of access opportunities; measures for the raising of the quality of testing and examination procedures in the integration courses; as well as a means for establishing contact with special target groups.

Accreditation of course providers by the federal government is based on proof of meeting requirements, for example, that they use digital media in the integration courses and participate in the online procedure for data transmission in terms of course administration.

Literacy courses were also part of the courses and qualified teachers were accredited to teach these courses, with new requirements for teaching literacy courses and improved testing reliability of final tests.

A motivational campaign was launched to win over parents with an immigrant background to participate in the integration course, with the theme “Learning German-Getting Familiar with the German language”

Periodic evaluation of the progress made is carried out to ascertain how binding the Integration Agreements is. Alongside increasing the binding character of individual consultancy processes.

Engaging immigrants in sports, through reforming the sports institutions and perceptions.

The potential ability of sports to bring together people of different origins, create understanding and reduce mutual prejudices within a shared athletic experience cannot be overemphasised. This makes it a great tool for integration. It conveys behavioural and orientational patterns, thus contributing to integration within the society. Hence the federal government of Germany sees sports as comprising a crucial component of integration policy. Targeted support is needed in order for integration to work in the realm of sports and for athletic activities to become lived integration.

Measures initiated by the federal government in the field of sports include the intercultural opening of organised sports, e.g. by the change of funding guidelines, encouraging volunteering by persons of immigrant background as well as the further training in intercultural skills.

Moreover, special attention is paid to the integration of women and girls from immigrant families. Empirical findings show that women and girls regardless of whether they are of immigrant background or not tend to take less advantage of the offers of sport clubs in comparison to men and boys. There was also created a “Sports forum for dialogue“with the mandate to (1). Improve integration in sports and (2)

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Put in place vital measures for long-term structural change, the federal funding for sports was augmented for the support of elite-level sports through developing socio-political topics such as integration and intercultural skills. Recipients of the fund are obliged to pay special attention to the integration of immigrants in sports and through sports.

To increase the share of women and girls from immigrant families in sports clubs, the federal government is crafting two published guidelines 1) about the range of sports women and girls with an immigrant background are most likely interested in and 2) on the reduction of participation barriers in sports associations and clubs. Special attention is paid to winning over the new target groups, especially women and girls from immigrant families, within the framework of the “Integration through Sports” programme, conducted by the German Olympic Sports Association (Deutscher Olympischer Sportbund [DOSB]) in cooperation with the German Länder sports associations. To this end, target agreements are concluded between the German Länder sports associations and the support clubs of the programme.

Finally to increase the share of voluntary workers with an immigrant background in organised sports, the federal government has provided support to the “Gaining, Qualifying and Placement of Voluntary Workers with an Immigrant Background” project, run by the Federal Consortium of Immigrants Associations (Bundesarbeitsgemeinschaft der Immigrantenverbände, BAGIV). In cooperation with the German Länder sports association, immigrants are addressed via the member associations of BAGIV and other immigrant organisations; by means of events, publications as well as the Web.

A national indicator system was also built into the National Integration Plan to be able to monitor integration progress of immigrants. The indicators were tailored along the Zaragoza concepts which concerns employment, education, social inclusion and active citizenship.⁶⁶

Addressing anti-discrimination and promoting equal treatment.

As part of its effort to promote equality and prevent discrimination, there was created the Federal Anti-Discrimination Agency. Government and non-governmental actors have put in place various tools to encourage migrants to report incidence of discrimination as the NGOs lack jurisdiction to deal with these cases they direct such reported cases to the agency for anti-discrimination. Other tools in place are the provision of consultation in many languages, provision of free initial legal consultation with a judicial assessment and legal assistance in court, as well as provisions which allow people to report

⁶⁶Germany, Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration (*Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration*), Second Integration Indicators Report (Zweiter Integrationsindikatorenbericht) Köln/Berlin 2011, www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/Publikation/IB/2012-01-12-zweiterindikatorenbericht.pdf?__blob=publicationFile.

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cases of work place discrimination⁶⁷ (Weiß 2010; Basis & Woge 2012). The Equal Treatment Act has had limited impact as records by the German anti-discrimination show that of the 450 counselled cases only 20 have received legal action.⁶⁸ FRANET 2016 give reason behind this as the (1) the lack of competence for legal assistance by the non-governmental agencies. (2) Limited powers reside with the Anti-Discrimination Agencies to help victims of discrimination when compared to other EU Member States (3) relatively low awareness about the General Act on Equal Treatment. (4) Short deadlines are set for filing complaints (5) NGOs have no right to class action (6) one must face the challenges of providing sufficient evidence to prove one's case.

Civic commitment, becoming German.

The federal government in Germany lays emphasis on the important role of civic commitment in the integration and participation of immigrants. Civic commitment stimulates intercultural learning and opens processes for immigrants and the host society alike, allowing for a respectful and tolerant social intercourse and the mastering of changes in an increasingly diverse society. Fostering civic commitment results in heightened identification with the host country. The German government understands that the civic commitment of immigrants is an engine as well as an indicator of integration. Therefore focus is on measures for structural change through the intercultural opening of the structures, targeted offers for immigrants as well as the support of immigrant organisations. In addition, measures are to be taken for better appreciation and recognition of the civic commitment of immigrants. For the first time, the civic commitment of and for refugees is to be included. Measures put in place for the realisation of these goals are:

- Raising the share of immigrants in voluntary services and in the newly established Federal Voluntary Service.
- providing support to non-governmental players in their efforts to increase the share of immigrants in voluntary services and in the newly established Voluntary Service, namely through
- Consulting with immigrant organisations and other organisations as providers of voluntary services through the “Service Office for Youth Voluntary Services,” located at the Federal

⁶⁷ Anti-Discrimination Network of the Turkish Association Berlin-Brandenburg (*Antidiskriminierungsnetzwerk des türkischen Bundes Berlin-Brandenburg, ADNB des TBB*) (2010), Antidiskriminierungsreport 2009/2010, Daten und Fakten aus der Beratungspraxis des ADNB des TBB, Berlin, p. 7.

⁶⁸ Anti-Discrimination Association (*Antidiskriminierungsverband Deutschland, advd*) (2012): Die Reichweite des Allgemeinen Gleichbehandlungsgesetzes ist begrenzt und es fehlt an Unterstützung für Betroffene bei der

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Agency for Families; the increase of funding for especially disadvantaged teenagers in the context of the Voluntary Social Year and the Voluntary Ecological Year programmes; and by means of targeted support. The creation of further targeted offers for civic commitment for and by immigrants, as well as the support of immigrant organisations, is envisioned in this field. Within the scope of projects for the social integration,

- The federal government supports projects run by immigrant organisations (e.g. in the form of tandem projects or projects in cooperation with other providers), which are geared to options for the civic involvement of immigrants. In addition, the federal government supports, by means of exemplary models, the development of recommendations for the professionalising of immigrant organisations. This also applies to the development of structures for the civic commitment of immigrant organisations.
- The federal government also strengthens and supports research projects in the field of civic commitment of immigrants, for example the support of the “Ethnic Diversity, Social Trust and Civic Engagement” project, conducted by the Social Science Research Centre Berlin (Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung, WZB) geared towards the increase of knowledge about the interconnectedness of ethnic diversity and civic commitment.
- the federal government awards the Medal for Integration of the Federal Government Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration every year. This is meant to increase public appreciation and recognition of the civic commitment of and for immigrants, the medal shows how important civic commitment is for the success of integration. An outstanding individual commitment is honoured and concurrently it provides encouragement to other citizens to become active themselves so as to strengthen the trust between people with an immigrant and non-immigrant background.

Partnership with the media, changing the rhetoric.

The role of the media in the integration process crucial. Their reporting enlightenment and range of entertainment offers information on the images of immigrant society and their various demographic groups in an essential way; they also constitute a platform for public communication and exchange. The media in Germany are independent; this independence is enshrined in the German Constitution. Special significance is attached to the dialogue principle and the contribution of non-governmental players in the topical field of immigrants in the German society. Programme content and reporting that address subjects like the diversity and social cohesion of the German immigrant society have been on

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the rise in recent years. Intercultural topics are more widespread even in the range of entertainment offers, in feature films and television, and immigrants are appearing as protagonists more often. Nevertheless, a problem-oriented reporting on immigration topics and immigrants still predominates in all journalistic formats, especially in the public debates and discourses that are communicated by the media. Especially regarding Muslims living in Germany, negative images still exist in the presentation. To counter or minimize such deficits in presentation, programme conferences and advanced training courses as basic approaches for raising awareness in some media networks and for the qualification of editors and programme managers. Many media corporations have initiated an active corporate policy in recent years to win over junior employees with an immigrant background and institutionalise diversity approaches at the executive level in their corporation. In many media corporations, corresponding target projects and guiding principles are in place. Data protection principles hinder regular surveys to estimate the share of immigrants among all employees. But an estimated 3% of the entire media workforce have immigration background. Despite a lack of research in this area to explain reasons for the low participation of immigrants in this field, educational deficit and discrimination are adduced as possible reasons.⁶⁹

The federal government as well as numerous media corporations, cooperates to conduct supplementary projects for the support of more diversity in the media and a differentiating presentation of ethnic and cultural diversity as required of an immigration society. This includes, among other things,

- the establishment of a cross-media information service for the support of the editorial work, which can provide media-appropriate and factual information about the conditions and developments in the German immigration society; journalistic published guidelines and media manuals about topics in terms of immigration and integration policy;
- Development of an expert database suitable for journalistic purposes that covers the need for qualified contact persons, studio guests and protagonists of different cultural origins.
- Furthermore, a mentor programme for young employees with an immigrant background will be provided with support, in order to give practical stimuli for content and programming,
- Federal government promotes workshops on the topic of intercultural cinematic and television entertainment formats in terms of fiction and non-fiction in collaboration with the Grimme

⁶⁹Germany, Federal Commissioner for Migration, Refugees and Integration (ed.) (*Die Beauftragte der Bundesregierung für Migration, Flüchtlinge und Integration*) (2007), 7. Bericht der Beauftragten der Bundesregierung, www.migration-online.de/data/auslaenderbericht7.pdf. Pp192-201. Accessed 6th June 2017

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Academy for 2012. Culture Successful integration always entails cultural integration. In the “Culture” forum for dialogue, integration is seen from the perspective of cultural policy; the focus is on “integration with the social, economic, intellectual/cultural and judicial structures of the host country, without having to give up one's own cultural identity.”

- The federal government prioritises the intercultural opening of cultural institutions and cultural projects; the networking of the players; the communication of research findings; qualification as well as the crafting of transparent quality standards of intercultural dialogue. The objective are sustainable structural changes in order to intensify cultural integration and ensure the right of immigrants to cultural participation. The intended modification of the federal cultural funding guideline is to be emphasised in this context. In the “Culture” forum for dialogue, the following strategic goal was agreed upon:
- Living in cultural plurality—strengthening intercultural skills as part of its responsibilities for the arts and culture, the federal government will work toward intensifying its activities in the realm of cultural education, paying special heed to the intensification of cultural integration of immigrants in all institutionally supported establishments.⁷⁰

Hungary’s Integration Measures

Hungary’s geographical location, economy and society rooted in historically fluid borders which has made persons of Hungarian ancestry citizens of neighbouring countries (Juhasz 2003), was established as a result of the Trianon Treaty of 1920 after the First World War. The several re-evaluations of the geo-political position of Hungary in the 20th century brought changes to the broad frameworks of the nation (Hajdu 2004). These features have been instrumental to the transitional nature of the country and why it has been considered a country of transit for immigrants. Lying at the crossroads of Eastern and South-Eastern migration routes, irregular immigrants without the appropriate entry visas have been known to find access into the EU through countries at border points in the European Union of which Hungary is one, from where they subsequently find their way to the country of their choice usually the more industrialised countries in the West and the Scandinavian countries, taking advantage of the freedom of movement among the countries in the European Union. Hungary being on the border of the EU has therefore treated inflow of immigrants as a short term, deviant phenomenon affecting public order, its policy measures were ad hoc and temporary with no comprehensive social, economic

⁷⁰National Action Plan on Integration https://www.bundesregierung.de/Content/DE/_Anlagen/IB/2012-01-31-nap-kurzfassung-presse-englisch.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

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or political strategy developed (Juhasz 2003)⁷¹ to address immigrants entry and integration this is why third country nationals predominantly consider it a transit country and this could account for the low population of third country nationals.

Hungary's commitment to the Strategic Principles on National Policy for Hungarian Communities, being the principal national Migration Strategy, as has been mentioned in chapter four, which focuses on ethnic Hungarians.

The vulnerability of the Dublin system was exposed following a large influx from the crisis in the Middle East of Syrians, Afghans, Iraqis Eritreans and other Africans in the summer of 2015 which brought some decisive positions by the Visegrade countries which experienced first instance flow of migration from the Balkan side. These decisions led to a complete change in the admission of irregular migrants (refugees) in Hungary. The focus of this change was to discourage irregular migration, discussed below under the sub topic of Hungary's irregular migration.

The core of decisions taken by the Visegrade countries in reaction to the irregular migration and the refugee surge can be analysed from the theoretical perspectives of these authors on the Refugee Convention (Hathaway 2016; Odorige 2017 and Toth & Kilic 2017) Hathaway (2016) argued for a change in the implementation of the refugee law in view of the present trajectories of the refugee protection which brings untold hardship to the refugees themselves and puts pressure on the states to act contrary to their own value and interest. He points to the flaws in the independence claim for the refugee as provided for in the convention and the present reality of dependency on the organizations responsible for them and the state by way of camping (caging) and hand-outs, which has implications for psychologically pressured reaction in violence and economic stagnation for the period of holding the refugee status. He concludes with a five point plan by which the refugee challenge can be addressed in contemporary times.⁷² Also in reaction to the present challenges to the refugee influxes across continents and states (Odorige 2017) highlights cross-continental conflagrations of refugee implementation leading to refolement. She advocates that the 1951 convention be treated as a *living* instrument in follow-up to Strauss (2011) view that the American Constitution which has survived several decades should be treated as a living documents because several changes have occurred in the country since its drafting, claiming that a legal document can be a boss and not dictator that can be oppressive to those it is meant to protect. The UN/ NewYork declaration 2016 an example to the pathways of treating the convention as a living document. Finally Toth and Kilic (2017) capture the

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⁷² Hathaway, J. C., (2016) A Global Solution to a Global Crisis. The Refugee Crisis and European Integration. Open Democracy, European Papers Vol 1, pp 93-99 (A revised version)

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problem of the refugee influx the sufferings of the people and the state reaction to the influx. They conclude on the need for bringing about regional decisive border monitoring by regions within the European Union and advocates for a strengthening of the NGOs to perform the roles as watchdog and checking the humanitarian conditions. The convention should be kept but its implementation needs to be modified, the idea that refugees must get to the country where they want to lodge application should be reviewed, that is why people will risk everything to get to their desired destination.⁷³

The Visegrade regional group where in concensus to mount security at the borders to stop the continuous refugees influx and the re-distributed by EASO for the sake of solidarity and responsibility sharing article 80 TFEU and TFEU 78 which states that member state can adopt provisional measures to checkmate migration challenges for the benefit of all.

Contemporary Migration and Integration of Third Country Nationals in Hungary

Hungary's contemporary migration policy can be understood from two perspectives. The first is the seven year strategic document related to the Asylum and Migration Fund of the European Union . The Migration Strategy gives a comprehensive analysis for action and the tools for achieving the goals in the field of admission, residence, integration, international protection and return policies in a comprehensive manner. The Strategy according to the report is to create the possibilities, to use the benefits of migration for national economic planning, demography and society by defining the concrete tasks and actions stemming from the positive and negative effects of migration for the years 2014-20. The effects that migratory trends are likely to have on the national budget are envisioned as well as the societal and social dimensions. The strategy acknowledges the need for fair treatment and the human rights considerations in the administration of migration, and provides firm responses to the risks of national security, public order and public policy related to illegal migration. The Strategy highlights the foreigner's obligation to respect the European Union norms, the Fundamental Law and the laws and regulations of Hungary and the rules of social coexistence.⁷⁴

The second perspective from which to understand Hungary's position on the present national attitudes to integration of the target group is from excerpts from an EU Public Policy Entrepreneurship Workshop held at the National University for Public Service, Ludovika Campus in Budapest on 31st

⁷³ Interviewee 8/3/2017

⁷⁴ Hungary,s Migration Strategy and the seven year Strategic Document related to Asylum and Migration Fund Established by the European Union for the Years 2014-20

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May -2nd June 2017. In his presentation Dr. jur. Szekely Zoltan, Police Officer and former member of the FRONTEX border management team, presented the Hungarian position as based on the principle of 'Absorption,' which he defined as the social process of absorbing one cultural group harmoniously into another cultural group. According to this principle Hungary's present population of 9.8million can only absorb around 20,000 immigrants per annum, following this principle will bring about cultural harmony, no new political powers that will rival the present political structure, the present social structure will not be influenced, it is slow, it is individual based and devoid of tensions. According to his analysis unlike the integration of large populations which foist new cultures on the hegemony of the receiving member state, produce new political powers, new social structures, influence the economy, is not average speed, group based and may result in appearance of new tensions. Finally he illustrated the talk with pictorial representations of how these measures of integration have led to failed integration in European countries who did not consider the implication of integration of large populations before embarking on it.

A mathematical calculation, based on the information from (interviewee 3rd March 2017) that the Hungarian government admits 10 persons daily through the border fence though several asylum seekers wait at the border fence for an opportunity to be admitted into Hungary, which makes for a total of 50 persons for five working days in a week. Multiplied by 52 weeks will produce an average of 2,600 persons per annum which is an average percentage of the said amount spoken of in the analysed absorption principle. Statistics released by the Helsinki Committee Hungary show admittance of 2491 persons who applied for asylum between January and August 2017, as against 29,432 in 2016⁷⁵. Other sources of legal migration can be added, like migration for the purpose of establishing business in Hungary, migration for education and attraction of young, skilled migrants as well as global companies resident in Hungary transfer of staff and skills to Hungary. These other immigrants can be said to make up for the unaccounted number that make up for the needed number in the absorption principle.

Recent irregular migration management in Hungary moved to more restrictive measures to discourage arrivals bringing about a shift from reception to integration but the integration is mostly left to the discretion of NGOs. The opportunity for irregular immigrants to have access to integration in Hungary is based on positive recognition of their asylum claim as granting of the refugee status to their asylum claim, subsidiary protection or humanitarian status⁷⁶,

⁷⁵ Information note by Hungarian Helsinki Committee Hungary. Two Years after, What is Left of Refugee Protection in Hungary. September 2017. Accessed 2018 6th January.

⁷⁶ EU Parliament, Directorate general for Internal Policy Department; Economic and Scientific Policy Integration of Refugees in Greece, Hungary and Italy Comparative Analysis.

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figure 9

Hungary's population of 9.8million as against the 20,000 admittance in the Absorption Principle. *Author created.*

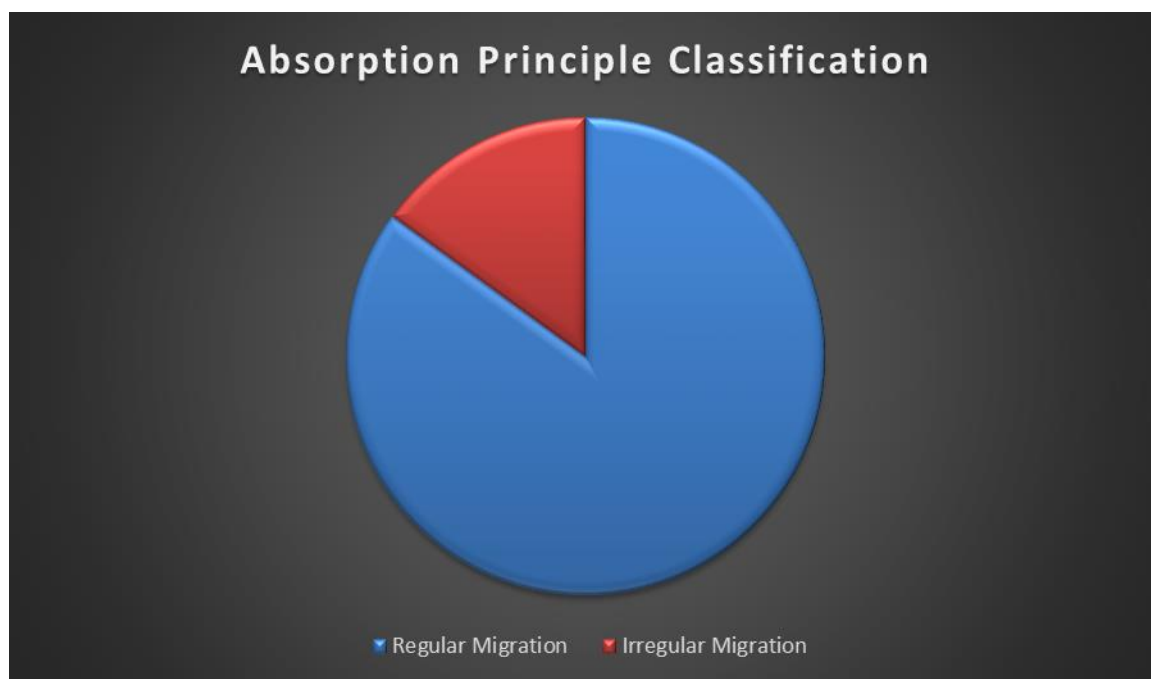


Figure 10

Absorption principle classification 85% regular migration 15% irregular migration. *Author created.*

Social absorption refers to the experience or the propensity to merge and become interdependent with others. Schutter, Geel, Lodewijckx & Verboon (2009) discusses absorption from the perspective of interpersonal experiences and relationships in social absorption and social individuation as vulnerability factors to attachment depression style dimensions. In an attempt to give a clearer picture

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of the meaning of the term, which entered into the EU administrative vocabulary following the demise of the proposed EU Constitution, when the stalemate situation of the constitutional acceptance was being used to describe the situation as the EU, having reached its absorption capacity (Emerson, Aydin, Clerck-Sechsse & Noucheva 2006), their article describes the vague and ill-defined nature of the term which had entered into the official text of the EU which was not representative of precise legal, economic and political meaning but rather political sentiments hostile to further enlargements of the EU. The major concern was against the admittance of Turkey into the European Union, which was considered a threat to the institutional balance of the Union. But the various member states had varying perspective on how the absorption capacity of the Union was viewed. (Emerson, Aydin, De-Clark Sachss & Noutcheva (2006) discussion of the concept of absorption is based on how it relates with absorption capacity in the enlargement of the EU in specific areas like the single market, labour market, budget, Eurozone, advocating a deleting of the concept from official texts before it becomes a tool in the hands of populist political actors. Muller (2011) researches into Australia's policy plan to biologically absorb aboriginal natives into white settler society, in a policy shift from absorption to assimilation citing the works of scholars who discussed the policy shift. Literature on absorption directly related to immigrant integration process in Schunck's work (2014) analysing Eisenstadt's (1954) research and analysis on immigrant's integration in newly founded Israel which he considers as an interplay between the immigrants motives and skills and the receiving society's opportunities and restrictions for integration. Eisenstadt (1985) shows the inter relationships between two sets of characteristics that influenced the absorption and integration of immigrants that he classified in two fields. In the first field motivation, emotional security, family and community cohesion, and leadership were the basis of the absorption of immigrants into the larger society, but a growing economy gave inspiring new economic opportunities, acquisition of new educational level and skills as well as a cultural background (p. 301), consequently these themes that appealed to the immigrants personal security were instrumental to the development of a national orientation without the development of the revolutionary socialist themes that characterized the pioneering immigrants who saw Israel as the homeland that was willing to receive them, a place of refuge and safety and were willing to adapt themselves to this new reality (p 299). In his study Schunck (2014, pp.18-19) highlights behavioural uncertainties outlined in Eisenstadt's research that influences disorganization of the immigrant leading to a period of desocialization meaning a period of loss of the immigrants values, norms and expectations and a subsequent resocialization characterized by institutionalization of new roles "Resocialization" a gradual absorption of the receiving country's values and norms a transformation

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where the immigrant begins to identify with the new society's shared values and goals driven by three indices *acculturation*-acquisition of new skills, learning the host country's language a skills needed for absorption into the labour market, *personal adjustments*- handling frustration, insecurity and other challenges in the receiving society and *dispersion* institutional integration participation in familial, religious, economic and political domains of the receiving society. While immigrants participation in familial and economic activities in the host country is established as the immediate process of their integration into the host society, religious and political participation may not be with as much immediacy especially in cases where the religion of the host country is completely parallel to the immigrants religion. But European societies are increasingly secular without a single religion to which the majority of the population ascribe to, though most European societies claim to be Christians but practically the festivities in Christian practice are what the majority participate in, while daily practice of christian worship cannot be said to be a common European phenomenon. Political participation is another contention, immigrants participation in politics of the receiving society is usually restricted to local level participation. But research (Morales & Giungni 2011; Fenneman & Tillie 1999; Kaldur et al., 2012; Zapata-Barrero 2013) had shown that immigrants participation in politics of the receiving society takes time, even when these rights to participation are given the immigrants rather focus on social familial and economic needs and only relative stability will subsequently influence participation in politics.

The point made by Schunk (2014) that Eisenstadt's model starts with the motive behind migration, which he says is the immigrants partial frustration with the life in the country of origin which could be for economic reasons and in the cases commonly associated with irregular migration the desire to apply for asylum due to loss of protection and threat to life as is common place with irregular migration from the Middle East in 2015 motivated by crisis, war, displacement, loss of livelihood, prolonged stay in emergency shelters as provisions by UNHCR without a resolution in sight about how much longer they will have to wait before the crisis can be resolved. This motivation for normalcy of routine life patterns is what motivates the immigrants to make the journeys to more stable Europe and the NGO interventions are avenues to realise these goals for the desire of normalcy. Schunk reiterates Eisenstadt point that the immigrants focus is usually on these motivations that inspire the migration, but in the course of attempt at fulfilling these goals the immigrant becomes absorbed and in integrated into the societal norms because the tools for achieving the goals exist in the receiving society and process means that he is gradually integrated stage by stage into the receiving society.

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The imbalances and uncertainties associated with irregular migration are good reasons for Hungary's translation of the EU focus on legal migration and discouraging illegal migration. Though there is no law or policy statement stating Hungary's adoption of this principle as presented in the workshop, but the focus on discouraging illegal migration as smaller percentage of allotments to entries via irregular routes, as seen in the number of admittance into the territory of irregular migrants. Hungary supports and facilitates various forms of legal migration, by its legal instruments, and provides opportunities for long-term or permanent residence and the acquisition of Hungarian nationality (naturalisation). In the latter area, special attention to the simplified naturalisation of members of the Hungarian diaspora without obliging them to tear away from their birthplace; (principle of safeguarding free movement) facilitates the integration of long-term residents: of legal migrants and beneficiaries of international protection (principle of integration)

The number of third country nationals resident in Hungary is estimated at 0.7%-3%. Due to the relatively low number of third country nationals the government had not been under any form of pressure to develop a comprehensive immigrant integration strategy. It had primarily focussed on legal migration channels for the admittance of third country nationals. Third country nationals coming into Hungary for the purpose of employment, usually employed by multi-national corporations, family re-unification, or for the purpose of setting up entrepreneurial activities, tourism, for the purpose of study, there are also legal channels open for the purpose of sports art and culture which are relatively welcomed in Hungary.⁷⁷

Hitherto integration contract for refugees and other beneficiaries.

The integration contract for recognised refugees in Hungary was terminated from the 1st of June 2016.⁷⁸ Prior to this time, recognized refugees or beneficiaries of subsidiary protection had a minimum of two months to stay at a reception centre, after which they were to leave the reception centre. Immediately after acceptance clients were expected to enter into a contract with the refugee authority, for which they could receive a monthly support, spanning a period of two years. Receiving this financial support is dependent on a mentoring plan which the client must strictly adhere to and this mentoring plan is overseen by a social worker of the family support service (A családi támogató szolgálat) who keeps contact with the client giving assistance to the client to be able to achieve the set goal of the contract.

⁷⁷The Migration Strategy and the seven-year strategic document related to Asylum and Migration Fund established by the European Union for the years 2014-20

⁷⁸According to ACT XXXIX 2016

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The total amount received by the refugee in the first year as support is 945,000 HUF,⁷⁹ this amount is reduced every six months till the end of the second year, while the client is on the lookout for a job. According to majority of the NGOs interviewed in this research, the Hungarian government had been withdrawing from refugee support prior to the release of the law terminating the contract on June 2016. This can be said to be in line with the government belief that support for the refugees can encourage economic migrants to take advantage of the provisions of the refugee protection. Also it was intended as a way to protect jobs of the Hungarian people. The Hungarian government takes firm actions against violations of the rules of entry, admission and stay in Hungary and for terminating the illegal situations stemming from abuse of legal migration and residence opportunities (principle of fighting illegal migration)

Unlike the case with Germany's position of the immigrant's integration process being a long lasting process which aims at including all individuals into society. Hungary's integration measures are relatively temporary, fragmented and basically outsourced to Non-governmental agencies. The country is yet to develop an immigrant integration strategy the absence of a comprehensive policy framework on the integration of third country nationals (Simonovits, Mink, Bernat & Adamis-Csazar 2015). The lack of political interest by the national government in these groups of third country nationals comprising of refugees, asylum seekers and stateless persons was reiterated in the Prime Minister's speech delivered at the European Parliament on the 19th of May 2015 that there should be a revision of the present treaty provisions so that Member States should take control of and be able to defend their own borders. So this points to the lack of government interest in these groups of persons leading to the conclusion that the idea of allowing asylum seekers into Europe and apportioning them to member states by some form of quota is unfounded.⁸⁰

FRANET report on Hungary 2015 highlights some issues that show inadequate implementation of the integration of the target group which are, the lack of credible data on the situation of TCNs in Hungary, the lack of specialised training programmes for civil servants dealing with migrants, this is an area that NGOs intervene as they conduct training workshops for law enforcement agents dealing with migrants. The insufficient language training programmes for migrants resulting in language incompetency affect all areas of social life and the hostility of the majority of the Hungarian population. They point to the

⁷⁹Information on the integration contract of refugees and beneficiaries of subsidiary protection on the website of the Immigration and Asylum Office Hungary.

⁸⁰*Prime Minister Viktor Orbán's Speech in the European Parliament, 19.05.2015, Strasbourg, 20.05. 2015*, available at: www.kormany.hu/en/the-prime-minister/the-prime-minister-s-speeches/prime-minister-viktor-orban-s-speech-in-the-european-parliament.

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hostility of the Hungarian society towards migrants as unaddressed. Laszlo (1992) describes Hungary as changed from a country which usually takes history rather than making it when it made dramatic changes of the official Hungarian attitude to migration in 1988- 1990, the years of the Communist regime's collapse. (Laszlo 1992 p 37). This statement is playing out with the present Hungarian position on the European Union's handling of the irregular migration. Not standing down to take history but to be in the fore front of making it. Hungary's attempt at making history has been to make the Hungarian people follow and understand governments position on the migration challenge, through the use of the media to send out message to the Hungarian people, as a result, some of these attitudes that the FRANET report talks about would most like have been developed in this process.

Comparative analysis of Germany and Hungary's integration policies

	Hungary	Germany
National Integration Plan	The existing migration plan is the seven year strategic document related to AMIF FROM 2014-20	Has a National Integration plan since 2007, modified in 2012
Financing integration of TCN	Pulled out of integration support for the target group since June 2016. Outsourced integration to NGOs. With 25% financial commitment to all AMIF Funded projects of the NGOs	In 2015 Public expenditure for the target group was put at 5.3 Billion Euros which is 120%increase from the previous year. ⁸¹
Discrimination and Racism	Existing national agency to fight against the menace. But ineffective in the face of existing politicization and securitization of the target group as the target group are not keen to report cases	Existing national action plan to fight racism xenophobia anti-semitism and related intolerance and a national agency to fight discrimination. NGOs and national associations encourage TCN to report cases, if they occur
Media	Controlled Press. (Except for online news).	Independent Press

⁸¹Germany's Federal Office of Statistics.

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Integration Time Span	Project based, one-off procedure, out-sourced to NGOs. Re-approved if needed for the integration variable.	Continuous, permanent structure based on the National Integration Plan.
Partnerships	NGOs as integration initiators	Integration designed by the National Action Plan with several partners, NGOs and migrant associations as part of the integration process.

Figure 11. Table of compares': Hungary and Germany. Author created

The Role of Economics/Politics in Policy Direction and Change

The function that economics serves in the policy decision of governments is obvious in the policy character of the two countries compared in this research. The forecast of a future of population shortage will affect labour and the economics of the country influenced the decision by Germany to change its migration and integration policy. Fast-tracking programs were launched to make up for the years of its policy decision when it claimed that Germany was not an immigration country. The concern to protect jobs is influential to Hungary's refusal to allow immigrants into its territory, preferring a coordinated system to add-up and increase the population. New statistics of population reduction as a result of out-migration have begun to influence a change in attitude as immigrants can be used to make-up for the labour shortages that are becoming evident in Hungary. The argument by German scholars Klaus Bade and Michael Bommers that a defacto structural integration policy had developed, where they aver that the concept of that Germany was not a migration country was a case of window dressing promoted to divert the public attention from the actual integration taking place. This view was shared by majority of the NGOs interviewed that governments attitudes was actually a political because of the elections of April 2018, which brings the question of the concept of declaring the immigrant the enemy as a great selling electioneering tool. Similarly economics was the primary driver of integration in the European Union difficulty in agreeing on a political Union gradually changed through economics via the ECSC and gradually spilled over to other form of integration.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at the place of policy in the integration of third country nationals how policies are designed from the political perspective of the government in office and how politics and economics drive integration and a comparison of integration policy measures of both countries. The final chapter

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is an analysis of the interviews with the NGOs on the challenges they encounter in the course of their interaction with government and the target group and their strategies for mitigating the challenges.

Chapter VIII

Interview Research Analysis

This session presents the views of the various NGOs interviewed in this research. The focus here is to get the perspectives of NGOs on the structural challenges associated with integration of third country nationals in the environment in which they work and the mechanism they put in place to intervene in the challenges. The politicization of the integration of third country nationals in the EU exposes those working in the field to unforeseen adversaries because of the national and media coverage of the issue. The questions were developed based on the perceived challenges of integration in the two member states presented in this research. The structural differences the peculiar challenge of the integration of third country in the member states. The first part of the chapter focuses on NGOs in Hungary while the second is on NGOs Germany.

Non-Governmental Organizations in Hungary Perspectives and Contribution to TCN Integration

The non-profit sector in Hungary act as bridge for addressing various societal complexities Gotchev (1998, p. 11) pointing to Kuti's non-profit sector research in Hungary where NGOs were presented as paving the way to promoting citizenship participation in building new democracies bridging the gap in

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a totalitarian system between the state, the people and evolving market reforms. The NGOs are catalyst in orienting individuals to act as citizens in all aspects of society as against relying on the state for beneficence, promote pluralism and diversity by strengthening diversities across cultures, ethnicities and religion. Working out an established mechanism by which the government and market stay accountable to the people (Kuti 1996). This perspective is undisputable in the face of the multiple interventions of NGOs in present day Hungary to integrate Third Country Nationals, having developed various capacities for which they intervene in the immigrant integration processes. The level of cooperation between NGOs is best described as communal, a form of solidarity pact developed because relative realization that a lot depend on them to foster good relationships among themselves as the only way to record some form of success with numerous challenges they face and provide the needed public good. There are shared competences as they tend to send immigrants to ‘sister’ NGOs depending on the need of the client and which organization has competence in that area.

Information from the interviews here give an in-depth view on the various ways in which the NGOs intervene in the immigrant issues. This statement from one of the respondents in the opening lines of the interview expresses their commitment to finding best methods of integrating the target group and making Hungary a more cohesive society:

“First of all we are a service provider for the state, instead of the state, our focus is to promote diversity and tolerance and intercultural understanding in Hungary. Also we are connecting Hungary to a broader international network so you have to imagine our work with third country nationals from these perspectives⁸²”

The channels of intervention in the immigrant integration process are numerous. They provide services in such areas as legal representation, skills and education, language training, intercultural adaptation, mitigation in anti-discrimination. The subtitles are designed to reflect their area of intervention.

Acquisition of Rights, Through Legal Representation

The European Council on Refugee and Exiles says integration for refugees who are third country nationals in Europe begins the moment they set foot of the territory of the member state.⁸³ Integration for the council has the characteristics of a two-way process, viewed as dynamic/long-term and multidimensional. The characteristics are not ascribable to the present refugee trajectory in Hungary,

⁸² Ngo1. Interviewee April 6 2017

⁸³ ECRE 2005 Towards the Integration of Refugees in Europe

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which is quite precarious. It therefore demands that legal representation with the need to push for rights for third country nationals from the legal standpoint of the European and international human rights should be the intervention mechanism for refugees and asylum seekers. The government's implementation of the single message to migrants in Brussels in summer of 2015 "do not come" translated to policies in its attempt to discourage irregular immigrants from setting foot in the country. Since June 1st 2016, the government has pulled out of integration.⁸⁴ Prior to this date the government used to enter into a form of agreement with the recognized refugees as shown in Chapter Seven known as the integration contract. Accompanying the contractual period of two years was a monthly financial commitment on the part of the government to the refugees. While the refugees must adhere to the contract conditions, failure to meet the contract conditions could mean the forfeiture of the monthly stipends; The Hungarian asylum authorities have begun pulling out of the integration of TCN since 2010.⁸⁵ The government's justification for pulling out of integration is that there is AMIF the EU funding source; NGOs can apply to get funding for projects to integrate TCN, but this is a vulnerable structure from the point of view of the beneficiary. There many issues for which I think a more stable structure will benefit the people better, however the state is not taking part now because of politics.⁸⁶ Another area for which legal guidance is given is family reunification for recognized refugees. Before now the time lapse for the application for family reunification was 6months now it has been reduced to just 3months with all the needed logistics of getting to the consulate and getting a visa as they may need also a visa to the closest consulate because Hungary has limited number of consulates⁸⁷. The quick successions by which these laws are changing attest to (Balch 2016) that the laws on migration are ever changing. It is difficult of access public administration in these war torn countries where there are no working institutions. For example, the father gets the status and he needs to get his family to join him and the family needs to procure passport and get to the closest Hungarian consulate. Hungary does not have many consulates and his family may need to get a visa to get to the state where they can find a consulate and may stay there for the entire period of waiting, till the visa will be ready and all that costs money. Documents need translation at the OFFI (the Hungarian Official Translation Office), so the time keeps prolonging, which make the three months as stipulated by the new law absolutely inadequate and it also needs a lot of funding. So last year we got funding from Christian organizations in the United States of America and from a Church Germany, they funded our

⁸⁴ Ngo2. Interviewee March 3 2017

⁸⁵ Ngo7 Interviewee April 7 2017

⁸⁶ Ngo3 Interviewee March 8 2017

⁸⁷ Ngo 2 Interviewee March 3 2017

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activities to help these groups of persons with family reunification. But now we no longer have this fund we continue with legal assistance we cooperate with the social workers and other NGOs advise them to follow-up with the other organizations so that for example they will get accommodation and possibility for work.⁸⁸ Cooperation channels of working with police and immigration authorities are explored to advantage in intervention in the immigrant's legal challenges but because government has pulled out of service provision, it has increasingly become more difficult. A challenge to foreign funding sources that support NGO activities is the new law by the Hungarian government⁸⁹ which obliges NGOs receiving up to HUF 7.2 million annually with a list of all donors giving up to 500,000 and above, to register with the court and publish on their website that they are foreign funded and who their funders are. According to the NGO this law was designed as a punitive measure against them for holding the government accountable on human rights especially in their handling of the immigration challenge and other social issues. The law violates privacy of persons/organizations data protection, freedom of association, it is discriminatory, follow the autocratic Russian example, it is an unjustified restriction to free movement of capital and finally did not go through due process of public consultation⁹⁰. 'The Russian example' is in line with the theoretical critic by NGO scholars that funders' interest are represented sometimes against national interest (Tvedt 1998, 2000, 2002; Korten 1997; Abdelrahman 2004 Fowler & Bierkert 1996 Annang 1994; Farrington et al 1993; Hulme & Hill 1997) the authors aver that the relationship between the NGOs and their donors maybe too close for comfort. Therefore the government perceives that the relationship between the NGOs and a variety of funders may be risky to the sovereignty of the nation.

Provision of Skills and Education

There is a consensus among the NGOs interviewed in this research that integration at least in the initial stages is primarily dependent on three basic necessities which are access to labour (income), access to health services (health insurance) and access to accommodation. One major hindrance to jobs is the issue of the right tools with which to access job in the European labour market. The host country's language holds an essential place in the immigrant's integration process, the CBP (4) classifies as indispensable the host society's language history and institutions. The European labour market like other developed economies is increasingly Information Technology driven, unfortunately, refugees coming into Europe from disadvantaged regions are ill equipped with these tools so NGOs have

⁸⁸ Ngo 2 Interviewee March 3 2017

⁸⁹ Act LXXVI of 2017

⁹⁰ Hungarian Helsinki committee. What Is the problem with Hungarian law on foreign funded NGO? Accessed 10 /10/2017

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developed instruments to be able to provide the needed skills and education to enable immigrants have access to employment.

Education is the main prerequisite for the successful socio-economic integration of immigrants and for their social mobility (Sohn & Ozcan 2006). CBP (5) list education as critical to immigrants and their descendants. Having this understanding the NGOs have been providing training in these areas language skills, Hungarian and other European languages like German, French, Spanish and Italian.⁹¹ This has become necessary because of the increasingly multilingual needs for doing business in Europe most companies in Budapest require people with multilingual skills. Other, areas of vocational training are information technology training and the acquisition of the (ECDL) European Computer Driver's License, Web development, child care, vehicle or motor driving classes for the acquisition of B category driving license which improve chances for getting a job. Other skills are Kids Coding, recent introduction to prepare children of TCN to become programmers⁹², to prepare second-generation immigrants for the future so they are not cut off from the mainstream educational needs of the society. This has been a challenge in certain parts of Europe where second generation migrants feel cut off from the societies where they have been raised because of inadequate education. According to Borgna (2014) In all Western European countries, students of immigrant origin generally lag behind their native peers in terms of years of education completed, kind of qualification attained, and competences acquired in the basic domains of mathematics, reading and science, also Heckmann (2008) highlights school and classroom segregation as explaining some of this under-achievement.

The nature of the refugee status forbids the refugee from being in contact with their country's institutions should that need arise. In the process of fleeing many refugees has left educational qualification certificates behind at their country of origin, with no means to get the certificates for continuing education or for job purposes. Some NGOs in Hungary have developed good working relationship with some Universities who are their partners. These universities organize tests for refugees usually on recommendation from the NGOs, so as to giving them opportunities for tertiary education to equip them for future needs. Other categories of immigrants are referred to the Equivalency Office to get their certificates recognized either for educational purpose or for getting job.⁹³

Accommodation: Risk of Nationals.Homelessness of Third Country

⁹¹ Ngo 4 and Ngo 6 Interviewees 25/5/2017and 23/2/2017

⁹² NGO 6 Interviewee April 10 2017

⁹³ NGO4 and 6 Interviewees 25/5/2017and 23/2/2017

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In 2010, the UNHCR published a study on Somali refugees in Hungary, outlining the challenges this group of immigrants face, with homelessness at the core of this challenge. This is partly due to the lack of family reunification prospects in Hungary for those Somali refugees with spouses and children in their country of origin and the unavailable evidence of successful refugee integration in Hungary. The lack of opportunities to acquire knowledge of the Hungarian language, with a resultant lack of channels for informal communication with Hungarian communities and the lack of employment prospects set many in the direction of other European Union member states because of the systematic pulling out of the government from refugee integration since 2009.⁹⁴ The Dublin arrangement exposed the agency of these persons with recognized refugee status, so they were returned to Hungary and losing their opportunity to be re-accommodated at the reception centres (UNHCR 2010), they therefore prone homelessness. Reception centres were shut down because of the changes to the refugee integration laws in Hungary whereby refugees no longer have access to accommodation except they want to access the states provided homeless shelters which is not open to non-citizens. The NGOs bemoan the difficulty in securing rented accommodation for migrants this they attribute to the media propaganda before and after the referendum last year as Hungarian property owners have increasingly become reluctant to rent out their apartments to immigrants.⁹⁵ This is an area the church has been very resourceful, in providing accommodation for recognised refugees, in the church owned homeless shelters as well as providing financial support for immigrants to rent apartments for as long as one year and, this they do with support from the AMIF fund. The Baptist Aid an arm of the Baptist church stands out as one of the churches involved in this kind of support, though they were not in the list of interviewees, information about their activities popped up through some semi-structured interviews with immigrants.

Creating Access to Labour Integration

From the perspective of one of the respondents whose organization's, primary focus is providing jobs for the immigrants. "What we have observed is that there is a huge demand for all types of persons to work, because more than half a million Hungarians left the country in the last year to Germany and to United Kingdom, so there are several vacancies, companies are contacting us to please send them people to fill the vacancies and we send them persons on our list who are mostly refugees. So this political narrative of *do not come and take our job* is not a reflection of the reality. I see small but positive changes in my field of work. I started to work with TCN in 2009 for many years it was

⁹⁴ NGO7 Interviewee 7/4/2017

⁹⁵ NGO 4,5,6,7,8

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difficult to find job for our refugee clients. However, recently it has become much better to get jobs for our refugee clients; I have never been so successful in my job. I have been working here since February 2017, this office was set up in January, as a pilot project. We do not do complex case management we are only focusing on finding job, contacting companies writing CVs, supporting the people who are already working. So I think that this government is creating an alternative world which is far from reality, it not about making evidence based policy it creating platforms for strengthening their power”.⁹⁶ The present reality for immigrants in Hungary is that, there is more access to employment but these are mostly in the low skilled sector *the jobs nationals will not do*. Recent openings for immigrant students to access summer jobs and some have been able to get full time employment after the completion of their tertiary education.

IOM Hungary is one of the beneficiaries of a research project called skills to work managed by IOM in the Netherlands and present in other EU member states. The research monitors what is happening in each of these countries concerning labour integration of third country nationals. For example, if someone is coming from Vietnam, if they were a chef with or without a certificate IOM help to look for ways to get their skills recognised to prevent loss of skill. The website helps you identify the needed documents for exams for each country in the EU to get the skill recognised, and enable immigrants to find work in the country of residence. *A few miracles happened here and there I had a client who wanted to come out of the camp, he was not well educated. He moved into our place and in three months he spoke Hungarian got a job working in a pizza place, in a few months he spoke good enough Hungarian and he became the boss of the place and he came to me grateful for the accommodation but now he wanted to rent an apartment for himself. He got a job and accommodation all by his own resources*⁹⁷,

Civic and Cultural Integration for Social Cohesion

NGOs in Hungary give priority to interactive programmes that bring the local community together with non-Hungarians in an attempt to create opportunities for interaction discover new things about the immigrant communities and break stereotypes. The focus is on promotion of social diversity provides Hungarian language lessons and providing platforms for mingling TCN with Hungarians, through a mentorship program, programmes of Hungarians and foreigners travelling together, or watching Hungarian films. *Therefore, we make and develop groups into a cohesive society slowly, maybe*

⁹⁶ Interviewee 7/4/2017

⁹⁷ Interviewee 6/4/2017

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painfully but surely. Another way of creating understanding between the Hungarian public and the target group is the screening of films about immigrants to show various aspects of their lives and provoke understanding. Promoting art and performances of persons with immigrant background has proved fruitful, with the ability to change stereotype perspective of host community about groups of immigrants. Also art that present the ways of life of the Hungarian and Europeans with focus on imbibing European attitudes, customs and values are also promoted through our house of culture.⁹⁸

Voluntary Return

IOM is the only organisation that has developed competences for voluntary return. The respondent estimated an average of about 10 persons in a month asking for voluntary return. The returnees are diverse groups from Mongolia, Algeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Albania and Kosovo. The program covers flight ticket and transportation to get home in case their home is far from the airport, in addition, if they have medical issues, IOM provides medical escort and if they are minors or vulnerable groups, they get an escort that will carry them home. Persons with medical issues get additional 650 euros. A recently introduced project sponsored by the AMIF, within this framework people can apply to IOM for additional funds to start their own business when they returned to their country of origin. We got an approval from AMIF to assist 35 persons this year to start a business when they go home to their country of origin, IOM offices in their home country can give advice and logistics assistance.

The close down of the reception centres is directly adverse to this programme as the idea would be to visit the reception centres and try to reach persons who want voluntary return, but if the reception centres are closed and refugees are transferred to the transit zones more of them will be deported without access to this assistance. Immigrants are interviewed for data collection and to know their migration story, but now that the law is changing, we cannot go to the transit zones, even if we visit the transit zones there is little or nothing we can do there, as the facilities are unavailable for our work. Other NGOs who have clients willing to access the voluntary return would usually refer them to IOM for the return procedure. However not all the NGOs see voluntary return as a great idea; some see it as the EU strategy to remove unwanted immigrants from the European Union. Some of the undocumented immigrants who have lived in Europe for several years without access to jobs, takes the option of voluntary return to their country of origin out of frustration. Immigrants who were either deported or accessed voluntary return without some form of funds to start up a business have confessed to facing

⁹⁸ Interviewee 10/4/2017

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discrimination in their home society, even from among family members because of the perceived waste that the journey to Europe is to the family, as it has not yielded the expected benefits. These categories of persons out of frustration and isolation have found themselves patronising illegal channels back to Europe. The Turkish guest workers return scheme in the 80's was a failure even with the accompanying financial incentive the return policy was largely ineffective as many remained in Germany. Social and economic structural changes in countries of origin are the primary motivators for the return of immigrants to their country of origin as evidenced by the return of immigrants from Italy and Portugal and Spain when the economic miracle in those countries made those who were guest workers to countries like Germany and the Scandinavia to return back to their origin countries (King & Kilinc 2013).⁹⁹ When the challenges that drove the immigrant out is still prevalent in the country of origin the immigrant would rather not go back except in situations where they are helpless.

Fundamental Rights for Unaccompanied Minors

Unaccompanied minors are youths below 18 years of age, who come to Europe on their own and seek for asylum. The present policy in Hungary where there is no reception centres for asylum seekers, mean that all asylum seekers are kept together at the detention centres. The centers are restricted to visitors but NGOs workers can enter there for work purposes. We give representation to obviously young minors. We ask for an age assessment if we suspect that persons are in this category, once we can confirm that they are in the age range of minors we usually ask for their freedom from detention.¹⁰⁰ They are referred to the Hungarian childcare system under the ministry of Human capacities, which takes care of the unaccompanied minors, *but it will soon be closed down* once the government makes the announcement, but there are social workers and the SOS children's village too, (the Hungarian branch of SOS international) which assist children.¹⁰¹ We work with a childcare centre which holds both Hungarian and migrant minors, they receive protection and some of them want to go home and we assist them through the voluntary return initiative¹⁰².

Channels against Anti-Discrimination

The Equal Treatment Authority in Hungary has the prerogative of fighting against discrimination and racism. Observations from the interviews show that there is not a concerted effort on the part of the

⁹⁹ King, R., and Kilinc, N., (2013) The Euro-Turks Return: the counter diasporic migration of German-born Turks to Turkey. MIM Research Seminar.

¹⁰⁰ Interviewee 3/3/2017

¹⁰¹ Interviewee 3/3/2017

¹⁰² Interviewee 8/3/2017

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NGOs to confront discrimination against migrant population directly. The political narrative on migration in Hungary puts NGOs on the defensive, so rather than confronting issues of discrimination, they tend to create understanding and awareness in hope that the situation does not degenerate to xenophobia. Most of the NGOs do not have direct projects confronting racism. Some of their measures are ‘when we come across discrimination we turn it to the Equal Treatment Authority and they have been helpful. We have a film club; usually after the film, we discuss the immigrants and their realities. We also used to go to high schools to raise awareness until recently when some school directors did not allow us anymore because it is not in line with government policies’.¹⁰³ ‘We are a member of the organisation called United against Racism we attend the conferences and we report case of discrimination and xenophobia. We take awareness projects to schools to get people to be aware of the migrants among them, we try to give them experiences to break down prejudiced information they have about immigrants. Unfortunately, it has become, rather difficult lately because of the anti-migrant slogans and school directors are becoming increasingly afraid of being associated with us. Nevertheless, youths in the high schools are actually curious to have information about what is going on. Recently we visited a school and the kind of questions the students were asking was attestation to this. They feel migrants are victimised and wanted to know how migrants survive the media bashing. A lot of them (students) want to study abroad they wanted to know how to survive should they have to confront this kind of issues. Some group cited examples of how they have been mistaken for refugees because they were carrying a backpack from a short student camp and someone met them at the train station and was saying go back to your country.’¹⁰⁴ We raise awareness through our sports programme, we anchor football against racism in Hungary but lately we suspect that some of these government attitudes are beginning to affect those that usually associate with our programmes and all of these is because of the elections next year to create a form of solidarity for nationalism to get the citizens support.¹⁰⁵

Challenging Forced Deportation

IOM is not involved in deportation anywhere in the world. Nevertheless we recognise that it is an integration management tool organised by the immigration services department and carried out by the police and it is applied everywhere in the EU. However, we advocate for it to be used only when it is necessary and in a way, that considers human rights. Deportation is very traumatizing especially for a

¹⁰³ Interviewee 6/4/2017

¹⁰⁴ Interviewee 10/4/2017

¹⁰⁵ Interviewee 10/5/2017

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journey that started on a difficult note. We recommend counselling and other support like medical support for persons with a medical condition to reduce the negative consequences, so that person can be well prepared for the deportation. Even financial support should be provided for people to start something in their country of origin to reduce the incidence of re-migrating.¹⁰⁶ The challenge with this kind of proposal is that it will now become a marketing tool for human traffickers who will tell their client that at best if Europe deports you, you will be given financial support to start all over.

We do not like this process, but we recommend an endurable deportation process as much as possible.¹⁰⁷ We are totally against deportation in the case of refugees from Syria, Somalia, but we can accept deportations to countries like Nigeria, Morocco or Algeria because of the safe country principle.¹⁰⁸ We have not been active in the area of advocacy against forced deportation, though we are reaching out to representatives of minorities in the parliament, but we are not sure if it will make any difference. That is why we are reluctant to commit resources to that area. You know activism is volatile in this country so we have to be careful what we do we have experiences from the past of what speaking out too loud can produce. It has consequences, so we do not want to tow that line.¹⁰⁹ We are always looking for legal channels to end forced deportation. We have people come to us and we handle it case by case.¹¹⁰

Dealing with Islamophobia

Europe is not afraid of Islam! European politicians are using it as a tool, serious political campaigns are conducted against migrants and migration. We are always trying to change the language of migration; we cannot stand back and allow negative words to be used on migrants and migration. We have been working on migration management for many years now. Migration is being abused in different campaigns. Our task is to bring the issue of migration closer to the people and talk about it in a light that is more positive. It is not easy for example in a country like Hungary where people do not have classmates, neighbours or colleagues who are immigrants it is easy to paint a negative picture about migration and migrants, as they do not have personal experiences. It is easy for them to believe what the government is saying and another thing is that our resources cannot match the resources of the government. According to recent opinion polls, attitudes have changed and become negative towards

¹⁰⁶ Interviewee 8/3/2017

¹⁰⁷ Interviewee 8/3/2017

¹⁰⁸ Interviewee 23/2/2017

¹⁰⁹ Interviewee 26/5/2017

¹¹⁰ Interviewee 10/5/2017

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migration and this discourse includes Islam. Organizations and European citizens are getting more and more aware that the politicians are scaring them, so they are seeking for more experience that is personal with migrants by volunteering. We are getting emails from persons who want to be volunteers with our organisation so that they can form their own opinion by experience. Unfortunately, some are influenced by the media campaign. For example NGO colleagues who used to take social cohesion workshops to the schools are meeting with a brick wall these days as parents are influenced by the media campaign, they do not want their children listen to the positive side of migration therefore directors of schools do not want to upset the parents or the government.¹¹¹ There are many questions about this. It is our duty to let them know that it is just over emphasised, the real question is how many are Islam faithfuls here in Hungary and what percentage want to spread the religion, and by what means. A German once recommended that TCN should be made to volunteer at least 20 hours in a year to go to children's homes and elderly people's homes to give service. It can also be the other way round where citizens can volunteer and meet with immigrants. Such meetings break stereotypes and foster bonding¹¹², which falls in line with individual rights and responsibilities related to living in that society which must be strengthened and made explicit, including the principles of non-discrimination and equal treatment.¹¹³ There is a danger in generalizing as it leads to isolation; the recent declaration in Europe of the failure to integrate the Roma people is a proof of this fact. Generalization about the group led to the failure to integrate them. Unfortunately, this realization is coming rather late as a lot of resources have been allocated into their integration, unfortunately they cannot be deported anywhere, they are part of Europe. But Europe has many experts and smart people, if only governments would listen to them, they can use their skills to deal with this.¹¹⁴

Reforming the 1951 Refugee Convention

Several arguments have developed across continents about the refugee challenge that is why the researcher decided to get opinions from the NGOs about the 1951 Convention for Refugees. Article 33 of the convention stipulates the need for non-refoulement, (returning refugees back to where they lost protection or were exposed to danger) by countries which have acceded to the convention causing many doubts about the provisions of the 1951 Refugee Convention. In reaction to the question of its relevance to present day challenges respondents answered, we need to keep the refugee convention, but

¹¹¹ Interviewee 8/3/2017

¹¹² Interviewee 23/4/2017

¹¹³ Social and cultural Environment. Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) Our Shared Future, available at www.integrationandcohesion.org.uk (12.02.2008).

¹¹⁴ Interviewee 10/4/2017

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it needs to be changed a little bit the types of protection needs to be reviewed. The process of seeking asylum which says a person must be present in the country where he must seek asylum needs to be reviewed, that is why people will risk everything to get to Europe. Other legal channels need to be strengthened like work permit, residence permit to make the system more effective¹¹⁵ It is relevant and has to be adhered to, but should be reformed because the populations are becoming more diverse.¹¹⁶It is being suppressed but it has to be reinforced, especially with the non-binding treaties on the rise. Internally displaced instruments have to be reinforced to check influxes. One thing that should be clear to leaders is that migration will continue as long as there is a sharp contrast of 'Paradise' (Fortress Europe) and hell-like situations in war torn and poverty stricken regions. If there is a 'paradise' that is accessible by some means everyone will find the means to go there regardless of the cost. In the Americas for example, states that are struggling with their economies, citizens find opportunities to move to the US. There should be concerted efforts to bring even developments and stability in regions as long as there is uneven development so the majority of persons want to access the refugee status to get to their dreamland.¹¹⁷ Strengthening weaker regions is a key to development, the Laeken Declaration, underlines solidarity and, fair distribution of the benefits of economic development helps to improve the standard of living in the Union's weaker regions this has increased enormously, and they have made good much of the disadvantage they were at.¹¹⁸

Volunteering as Paths to Integration and the Gains

Volunteering is a euphemism for unpaid labour from (Abdelrahman 2004) perspectives. Whereas in Europe volunteering is, a recognised means for achieving community relations, and gaining experience. NGOs exploit this tool to advantage in the face of the financial challenge of not having enough funds to generate labour for their work. We have all kinds of people from students, retired persons, expatriates working with multinationals, teachers and professional trainers; we also have interns, ongoing for some years now.¹¹⁹ European citizens are getting more and more aware that they are being scared by the politicians so they are seeking for more personal experience with immigrants by volunteering. We are getting emails from persons who want to be volunteers with our organisation so that they can form their own opinion by experience.¹²⁰Our volunteers' ranges from students and pensioner¹²¹a lot from across

¹¹⁵ Interviewee 28/3/2017

¹¹⁶ Interviewee 3/3/2017

¹¹⁷ Interviewee 26/5/2017

¹¹⁸ Laeken Declaration on the future of the European Union p 2

¹¹⁹ Interviewee 6/4/2017

¹²⁰ Interviewee 8/3/2017

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ages and classes as to take part in voluntary work.¹²²We have interns and volunteers from among students from various places in the EU Italy, Spain and others.¹²³ What we are trying to do is to orient migrants too to take to volunteering, to give back to the society where they have found succour and in the process citizens will have new positive perceptions about them. The obvious gains from volunteering is lowering the cost of production for the NGOs and fostering inter-ethnic contact.

Field Experiences; Definition of Integration of Third Country Nationals.

The direct implication of working with the target group in the researcher's opinion means that NGOs should be able to define howbeit not in scholarly terms the best ways to integrate the target group. Here are some of their responses: *Naturalization and no barriers to living like citizens –Menedek*. The Same perspective is shared by integration authorities in the EU that immigrants should be given the same rights as citizens and that integration should be begin on a foundation that it will lead to naturalization. *Feel at home, language, labour access to health care, education, feeling of acceptance tolerance, political participation -Mighelp*. The chronological order of a functional integration leading to the naturalization of the immigrants.

The Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) Indicators

The AMIF provided tools for measuring a successful project. The preamble (56) says in order to measure the achievements of the Fund, common indicators should be established in relation to each of its specific objectives. The common indicators should not affect the optional or mandatory nature of the implementation of related actions as laid down in this Regulation.¹²⁴ Under pressures, as a result of the immigrant's integration needs, NGOs tend to exceed the usual set indicators for measuring the project success especially in areas of vocational training and job seeking. *This project is running for one year from January 2017 to January 2018. We are expected to register 100 our target is to find job for at least 25. Between January and March we registered 55people and we have 13 people working already, in three months we met half the target so we can be very relaxed in the last phase.*¹²⁵

However most of the NGOs bemoan the fact that these AMIF funded interventions are project based running for one or two years, which makes continuity impossible and carrying out measurements

¹²¹ Interviewee 23/2/2017

¹²² Interviewee 10/4/2017

¹²³ Interviewee 10/5/2017

¹²⁴The document that established the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, EU No 516 2014 amending the previous decision 2008/381/EC.

¹²⁵Interviewee 7/4/2017

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outside of the project's laid down indicators is also difficult. Some reactions to the issues of evaluating successful integration project are: It is a pretty vulnerable structure from the point of view of the beneficiary. There are a lot of issues for which a more stable structure will benefit the people better.¹²⁶ It is very difficult but we try to get feedback from our client though we can only have short term evaluation, not long term or mid-term because the project is usually for a short term. But we can have evaluation projects for long running projects like the voluntary return project which has been running for many year, we can use one year to evaluate what has been happening in the last 5 years. But in integration it is more difficult because as it is running for a shorter time of about 2years, for example the family reunification is project based, so there is no systemic evaluation. There are always survey and indicators but because there is no state initiative for labour integration and social integration, we can only make our own contribution. And we try to keep track of those who we trained through invitations to our social programmes and we keep a testimonial account. We have seven or more among those we trained working as IT specialists. Following our on-going child care training 3 of the 20 participants already got jobs one of them is planning on opening her own day care she already got five families on the Buda side. 'There are a lot of changes to their story because of the skills they are acquiring.'¹²⁷

Politics, Policy and Integration of Third Country Nationals in Hungary

Contemporary politics on immigration as it relates to third country nationals and the refugee trajectory is the refusal by government to have a national definition neither of immigrant nor of integration discussed in the literature review in Chapter Two. It correlates with (Nugent 2006) the assumption of rational state behaviour, which states that the actions of states emanate from making judgements based on the adjudged most appropriate means of achieving set goals. It also underpines the liberal theory of national preference formation, which draws on domestic politics approach to explain how state goals are shaped by domestic pressures and interactions, conditioned by the constraints and opportunities that derive from economic interdependence. And inter-state relations as interpreted from intergovernmentalist approach emphasise the key role of governments in determining the relations between states, as well as the outcome of negotiations between governments as determined by their relative bargaining powers and the advantages that accrue to them by striking agreements (Nugent. 2006, pp. 565-566). In the absence of a state definition of who is an immigrant, NGOs in Hungary turn

¹²⁶ Interviewee 3/3/2017

¹²⁷ Interviewee 26/5/2017

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to the European Union for definition through the AMIF, as it is their primary source of funding. They also refer to the refugee status law that provides legal protection for asylum seekers. The AMIF¹²⁸ article 2(i, ii, iii) gives a definition of beneficiaries covered by the resettlement request by the UNHCR based on the persons who need international protection and the subsequent integration of these categories of persons into the member states and the EU. Of the organisations in the field of integration and migration, IOM gives an all-encompassing definition of the migrant. Which describes a migrant as; any person who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his/her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) what the causes for the movement are; or (4) what the length of the stay is. For the administration of the AMIF the European definition of the migrant is used to define the categories of beneficiaries. Undocumented migrants and persons not yet recognised are not expected to be beneficiaries of the fund, except in the return procedure of asylum seekers.

The new changes to the asylum laws in Hungary, led to the closing down of reception centres and operations are carried out only transit zones denies the asylum seekers the right to be heard to be able to apply for the refugee status. It also denies the asylum seekers access to legal representation through the NGOs, because the various NGOs working with immigrants hitherto had kiosks at the reception centres where asylum seekers and recognised refugees could access and benefit from their programmes but that is no longer possible under the new regulation. NGOs express their frustration about the fact that these persons cannot have access to their services.

The fact that the Hungarian government pulled out of integration with the termination of the integration contract is a way to express their lack of interest in the integration of this group of persons. And the fact that the government no longer supports projects by way of funding for the integration of the target group except the compulsory 25% that member states contribute to the AMIF funded projects, was confirmed by the NGOs who say they no longer enjoy support from the government. There is a systematic shutting down of the relationship between the government and the NGOs with regard to policy direction for the interventions on immigrants' issues. The policy round tables are something the NGOs speak of as existing only in the past. The retinue of expertise that NGOs bring into the integration process by reason of the years of experience cannot be taken for granted. Experience they say is important for those beings who have it, but too small and sporadic in its occurrence to carry with

¹²⁸ Regulation (EU) No 516/2014 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 16 April 2014 establishing the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund, amending Council Decision 2008/381/EC and repealing Decisions No 573/2007/EC and No 575/2007/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council and Council Decision 2007/435/EC

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it any important implication regarding the nature of Nature (Dewey 1929) Worse still is that the things of ordinary experience do not get enlargement and enrichment of meaning as they do when approached through the medium of scientific principles and reasoning! The response of the NGOs to the level of consultation in the area of policy drafting and implementation is attestation to the fact that their so-called *ordinary experience* is not taken into account in the present policy decision as it relates to TCN integration. The UNHCR as the custodian of the 1951 refugee status tries to keep the policy agreements relationship between the government and the NGOs alive by organising meetings from time to time between NGOs and the agencies Ministry of Interior because of the AMIF, but regardless of these round tables we (NGOs) feel that the government more or less act unilaterally.¹²⁹We make recommendation to the Hungarian government the Ministry of Interior sometimes they listen sometimes they do not. They mostly listen to us in the fight against human trafficking because they are interested in that. In others, they do not listen to us, for example during the building of the fence and on the new laws, which are averse to immigrant integration.¹³⁰ It used to be a legal obligation for the government to consult with us on policy proposals especially when introducing a new law, but in the last five to six years, they do not ask our opinion anymore. The proposals we submit to them to be used in the policy are not implemented, even the simple things like using the right internationally and EU wide acceptable terminologies that we advise them about they do not implement it. May be they just do not care.¹³¹Policy round table is only on paper but the actualisation of information sharing is not implemented.¹³²

The measures adopted by the Hungarian government to steer the population in the direction of its anti-migrant policy are contrary to the European Unions' Charter of Fundamental Rights laws on discrimination and racism, 2010/C 83/02 which makes provisions for the respect of human dignity and member states are under obligation to combat discrimination emanating from racial or ethnic origin, religion or belief, disability, age or sexual orientation. Scholars have pointed to the use of the EU by member states politicians to further their own political careers with instances of politicians and political parties using anti-EU feeling as a rallying cry (White 2010). The use of the media to launch a coordinated campaign that demonized immigrants as a threat to national security, irrespective of personal motivations which many and some among the NGOs interviewed mentioned in this research was motivated by the 2018 elections. The strong anti-migrant rhetoric and policies have been

¹²⁹ Interviewee 3/3/2017

¹³⁰ Interviewee 8/3/2017

¹³¹ Interviewee 23/2/2017

¹³² Interviewee 10/4/2017

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documented as stirring-up xenophobic sentiments against immigrant populations. It was incited by the securitization of migration with migration being presented as a multi-faceted source of danger threatening the national job market, national identities and as the progenitor of terrorism. According to Scalia & Gob (2015) effective securitization is a pragmatic act that invites three assumptions; it is audience centred, context dependent and power laden. Nevertheless, they point to the role that non-traditional de-securitizing actors like the NGOs can play in other to un-demonise the securitized subjects, or play down on the issues securitized by simply presenting truthful and positive views of the securitized issues. In the analyses, the securitization of the immigrant's issues in Hungary here is what one of the said. *I am very 'admirative' of this government; politically they have such a complex, well-functioning political game. The new consultation against Europe, the political game between Orban and Putin, Orban and Merkel and the rest of Europe. I am still trying to figure out what is happening, but I know we are all victims of a complex political game including our politicians. We are used to pointing fingers at them, but I believe now we are all in the middle of an avalanche rolling up everything on its way I cannot say there is any politician with the nerve to stop this avalanche.*¹³³

Data of On-line Survey for Immigrants in Hungary

The data below is the result of an online survey for immigrant's resident in Hungary to know if immigrants access the services of NGOs and what their interventions mean to the integration process. The questions were developed based on information from the NGOs interviewed about the way they impact on the migrants challenges.

¹³³ Interviewee 6/4/2017

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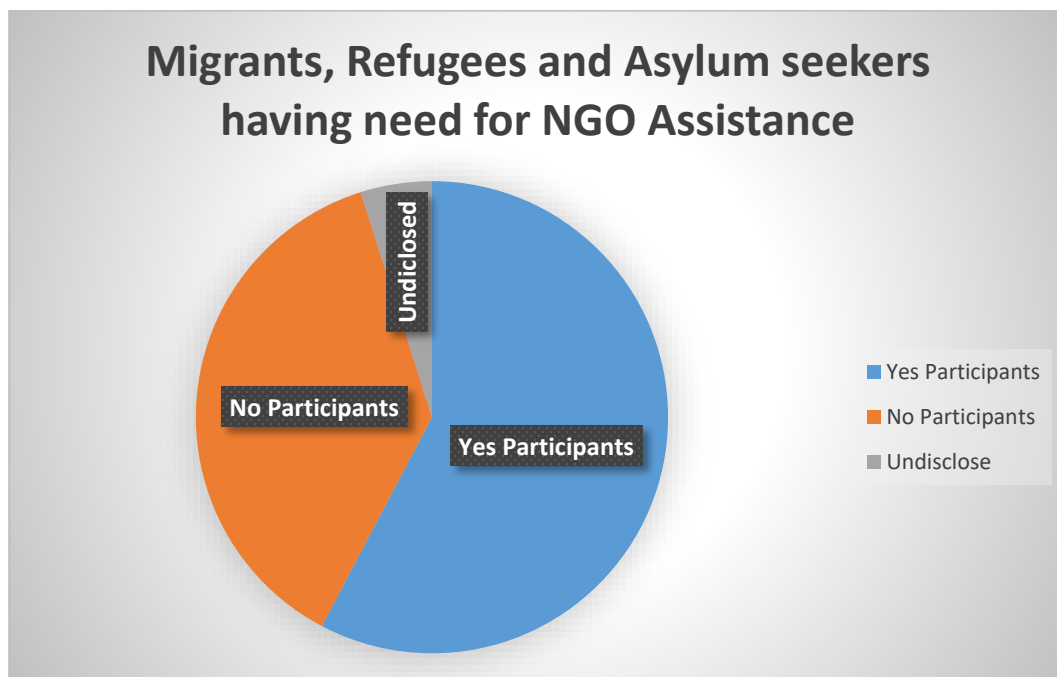


Figure 12

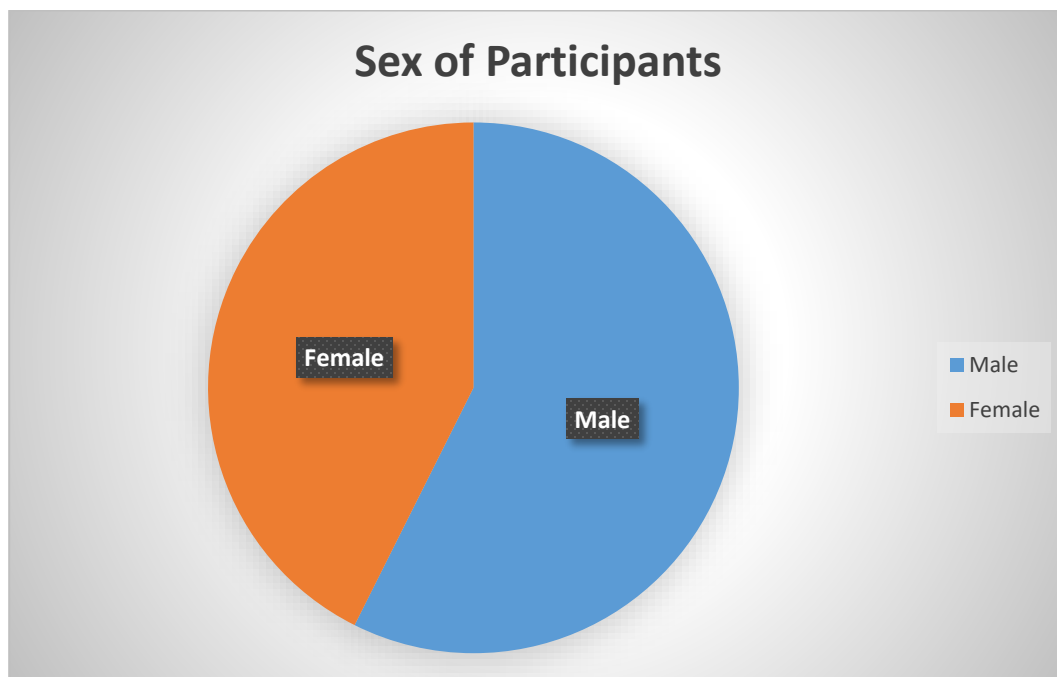


Figure 13

Sex of Participant in the online Survey.

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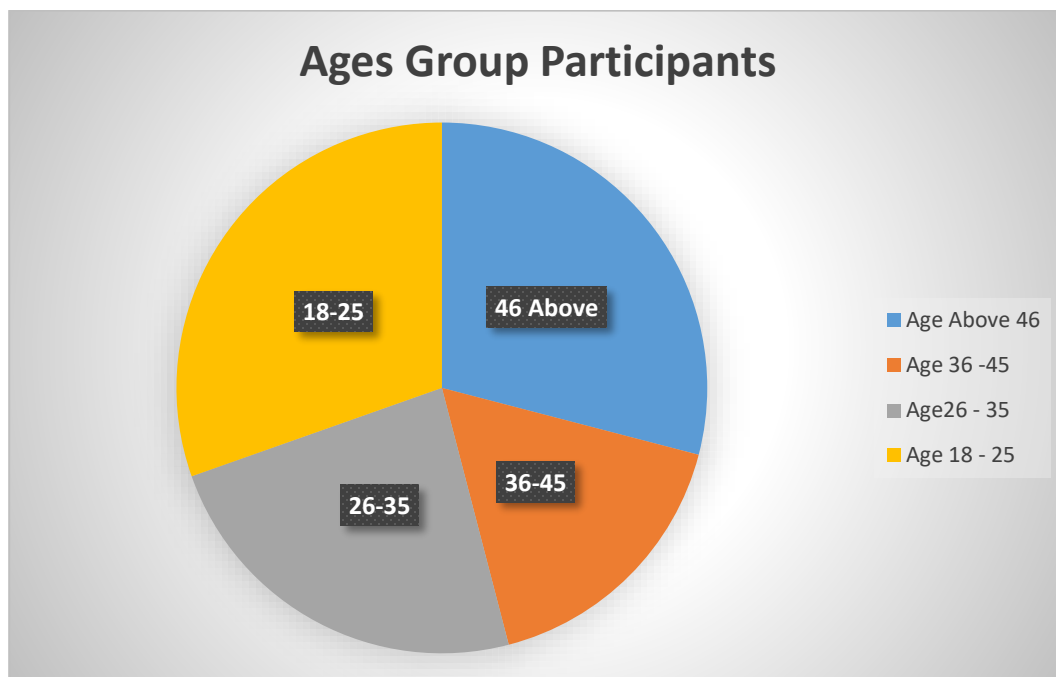


Figure 14



Figure 15

Nature of assistance immigrants' received from the NGOs

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The survey revealed a heavy dependence on the NGOs to cushion the challenges immigrants face in Hungary. More evident in the area of legal channels for residency because of the government policy to discourage irregular migration and the first instance rejection of application, many have to seek legal help to get residence. The responses about reasons why NGOs are relevant to their integration programs clearly attest to the humane manner NGO apply in the dealing with immigrants. –‘We see them as approachable’, ‘they help to advocate for our rights’, ‘NGOs are the only one who help us in Hungary not the government’. These persons are not aware of the role of government in financing some of the skills and training that enable them find jobs, get housing because the personal contact is with NGOs are perceived as the savior. The media attitude to migrants is also why these notions are formed because the NGOs spell out the fact that the projects are sponsored by the EU and Hungarian government yet they will rather see the NGOs as the totality of their integration.

Analysis of the Interviews with German Organizations

The 2007 National Action Plan in Germany reviewed in 2012 created an integration strategy for the integration of third country nationals. The existing structures were established by the governments at Federal, Lander and municipal levels by a community of actors. Actors cuts across every facet of the states. Regardless of the established existing state structures civil society actors have integrating roles. Governments recognise the impact of these groups which include NGOs, migrant associations, pressure groups, the media, sports institutions and community institutions. These actors collaborate with the government in the integration of the target group. The strategy is proof of a declared state of emergency needed to integrate, large number of immigrants and possibly to attract more. It is a plan meant to make up for the many years of the denial that Germany is not a migration country.

The interviews revealed some gaps in the cooperation:

Volunteering as a Rallying Cry

Do volunteers enjoy the job they do?

Enjoy is an exaggerated term! There is a lot to do, a lot of stress and that sparks conflicts among members of our team! The government knows this but it is a cheaper way for them to get much work done for cheaper pay where professional social workers are treated as helps and getting less than the deserve.¹³⁴ This statement can account for why the German government backed-up of NGOs against the Commission efforts to sectorise them discussed in chapter six because they are able to achieve a lot

¹³⁴ Interviewee 7/4/2017

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through volunteering initiatives by NGOs. But generally the people involved are really committed people who believe in making a difference whenever they can. The help we provide is realistically based on the recognition that our services are necessary to impact the people's lives and the society.¹³⁵ Traditionally our organisation was built on volunteering, but these days we have volunteers from among students and retired persons. But we do not give them specialized jobs. The students have the capacity to design some of the best and most dynamic projects. But we do not give them all the jobs to do, as some of our work requires specialization and proper interpretation. Making their contribution depends on time and students tend to have more time.¹³⁶ Ours is a big non-profit organization, with several departments and lots of volunteers. Volunteers we have now are mostly immigrants, who like to help their fellow countrymen. They help us to translate or to accompany some newcomer to offices where they can receive help.¹³⁷ Yes, I must say: now I strongly believe that associations are being exploited by the state; it is mainly free labor for little recognition. The state seems to be contented and glad to have this support and does not produce a real relief by creating enough jobs. Even positions of social-worker from NGO are being reduced or helpers are employed under a limited contract for one or two years, these jobs usually re-invent themselves, as we have volunteers from these associations - "Panafrikan Working Group of Munich (AKPM – Arbeitskreis Panafrikanismus München), " Netzwerk Rassismus- & Diskriminierungsfreies Bayern, we are also working with volunteers of all categories!¹³⁸ We try to integrate volunteers in our programs with a well-defined frame and according to their time and task preferences and competences. Volunteers have no obligation - it is voluntary commitment, they are from various fields; students, workers or retired persons?¹³⁹ Sometimes there is a possibility to pay a low sum.¹⁴⁰

New Law, Legal Advice and Representation

The reality of the asylum situation in the European Union is the fact Europe Union member states are in consensus that Europe is not able to cope with a great number of asylum seekers on its territory or moving in the direction of Europe when we take into account the numbers yet stranded in Turkey and other European Neighbourhoods. The fears about historically unsuccessful integration are some of the reason for the reluctance to take more asylum seekers apart from the cost of catering for large groups.

¹³⁵ Interviewee 7/4/2017

¹³⁶ Interviewee 23/3/2017

¹³⁷ Interviewee 7/6/2017

¹³⁸ Interviewee 7/4/2017

¹³⁹ Interviewee 24/5/2017

¹⁴⁰ Interviewee 7/6/2017

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Germany among other states in the EU is estimated to be the most desirable country for migrants destination as it experienced a double digit increase, according to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD 2014) published report on migration outlook. Germany has taken in more immigrants than any member states in the European Union but difficulty in coping with the number and the fear that its welcoming culture may be misinterpreted as an open door for all types of immigrants has led to the development of various legal instruments like many member states in the EU to discourage further immigration of these groups into Germany. These are the application of the safe country rule introduced in the EU to reject asylum seekers from countries considered safe and possibly to deport them. Legal instruments created are given a ‘human face’ according to the right to seek appeal on decisions made of rejection. In the words of one of the interviewee’s, *‘I do not understand why the government pays us to fight against them’¹⁴¹*. This is a reference to situation where asylum seekers have been rejected and access to appeal is funded through the government’s provision to the NGOs.

In many situations the NGOs see populations in need and are divided between following the law and rendering help to those who so desperately need it. For example every state institution in Germany is obliged to report undocumented migrants who cannot provide a valid residence permit, to the police or migration authorities, according to §87 of the German Residence Act [Aufenthaltsgesetz] with few exceptions. As a result they have no contact to official institutions for any purpose including claiming basic human rights, such as labor rights, protection from crime or access to health care can result in deportation and makes undocumented migrants vulnerable to exploitation. Also access to medicine for undocumented migrants is regulated by §§4 and 6 of the German Asylum Law [Asylberwerberleistungsgesetz]. It offers access to health care for acute or painful diseases and obstetric conditions. In practice accessing health care according to the German Asylum Law requires sharing personal data of undocumented migrants with state institutions in accordance with §87 German Residence Act, which can result in deportation when seeking health care.¹⁴² NGOs in Germany see the activities of the AfD Alternative für Deutschland, the country’s right-wing Populist Party as influencing some of the hard line laws based on “security measures” for the German population, which they claim biases people with Islamic background and promotes racism and discriminations. Refugees are not seen as a gathering of individuals with different biographies and needs. They are potential terrorists, drug-dealers, prostitutes, and are mainly after the social financial support, the benefits given by the state!

¹⁴¹ Interviewee 27/3/2017

¹⁴² Interviewee 7/4/2017

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The state is only interested in finding the faster way to get rid of them – creating an atmosphere of fear and suspicion! The state’s declaration of countries like Afghanistan, Iraq and Senegal as secure and safe in order to reject and deport a huge number of asylum seekers from these regions is seen as unjustifiable and sparks lots of demonstrations against this program. A lot of refugees and asylum seekers went on hunger strike to protest against some of these laws. Humanitarian associations and welfare associations are shocked and try to fight against the harsh and inhuman so called “New Integration Law”^{143,144}. We only see the need of this people so we provide help to all documented and undocumented asylum seekers and recognized refugees; the only challenge is when they have to seek services of the institutional social structure.¹⁴⁵ We assist various categories of immigrants’ regular and irregular migrants, refugees and asylum seekers but we do not get involved with advocacy, we only help immigrants’ access to legal channels.¹⁴⁶ We render assistance to groups of immigrants based on this law.¹⁴⁷

Fighting Against Discrimination

To combat discrimination and racism a network of activism is carried established by NGOs and Migrants associations in Munich. The researcher was privilege to be part of an anti-racism/discrimination/deportation March that took place in the city square in Munich on the 20th of March 2017. Other measures to fight discrimination and racism by the NGOs are strengthened through the organizations of lectures, conferences, workshops of “Critical Whiteness” (white supremacists), of anti-discrimination training and of empowerment. We work with organizations, other associations, with schools, Job-Training Centers, with universities and high-schools. We give advice about victims of discrimination and racism to social-workers and volunteers involved in the supervision and support service. We help with conciliation between adversary groups and within communities. We try to make “Racism” apparent and noticeable where ever it occurs, by organizing film- shows and discussion sessions.¹⁴⁸ If our clients have a problem with discrimination we refer them to the bureau that fights against discrimination, Antidiskriminierungsstelle. We are concerned about this but it is not our specialised area, we give advice but it is not our main area of speciality.¹⁴⁹ We have no special

¹⁴³ <http://dip21.bundestag.de/dip21/btd/18/088/1808829.pdf>

¹⁴⁴ Interviewee 7/6/2017

¹⁴⁵ Interviewee 25/5/2017

¹⁴⁶ Interviewee 23/3/2017

¹⁴⁷ https://www.bamf.de/SharedDocs/Anlagen/DE/Downloads/Infothek/Migrationserstberatung/mbe-foeri_pdf.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

¹⁴⁸ Interviewee 27/3/2017

¹⁴⁹ Interviewee 23/3/2017

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programs, but we try to foster integration, tolerance and personal freedom and security (according to Nussbaum and Sen)¹⁵⁰.

Channels to Cooperate on Policy

There are platform of corporation at all levels municipality, of states and at the federal level. In the city of Munich there are different platforms whereby we can exercise some influence in the government policy. The welfare organizations in Germany can have some influence on the European integration process. And it is becoming more and more obvious in many sectors especially the social sector. The six welfare organizations in Germany—Deutscher Caritasverband (German Caritas), Diakonisches Werk der Evangelischen Kirche in Deutschland (Diaconia of the Protestant Church), Deutsches Rotes Kreuz (German Red Cross), Arbeiterwohlfahrt (Workers' Welfare Association), Deutscher Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband (Nondenominational Welfare Association), and Zentralwohlfahrtsstelle der Juden in Deutschland (Central Welfare Office of the Jews in Germany)¹⁵¹ are involved in integration programmes. As an NGO in the area of child and youth welfare we are member of the umbrella organization (Paritätischer Wohlfahrtsverband)¹⁵². Usually, the different umbrella organizations take part in consultations with the government. We make proposals and addressed them to the umbrella organization which takes part in the meetings with government. They do not, invite us for meetings where policy proposals are discussed but we are in solidarity with other structures or associations to exercise a pressure on the laws of the “Länders”. We are recognized at the municipal level for the association “Arbeitskreis Panafrikanismus München e. V. and on the Länder (Bavaria) level!¹⁵³

Islamophobia Challenge

Under this field two questions asked were to detect if there was Islamophobic tendencies and how to check them: we should begin to ask this question in immigrants' communities with Islam background. But there is a general fear of foreigners, especially refugees with black skin in Munich¹⁵⁴ Yes, but compared to places like the US it is minimal, last year there were demonstrations against immigrants by right wing nationalists, but alongside was the huge anti-nationalist where protesters were more in number. Although people are a little nervous, not as much as it is in the USA, the best way will be to

¹⁵⁰Interviewee 24/5/2017

¹⁵¹ Interviewee 23/3/2017

¹⁵² Interviewee 24/5/2017

¹⁵³ Interviewee 7/4/2017

¹⁵⁴ Interviewee 7/6/2017

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ask the people like the Muslims in Munich we can go to their mosque and also to ask residents in Munich. I think the best way to deal with the problem is to ask the person who has the problem¹⁵⁵

Munich is a very open minded city and people are very helpful and supportive of immigrants and refugees. Very small minorities are against foreign people; if they go in the street, there are anti-racism demonstrations with many more participants.¹⁵⁶ It is strong among certain groups; especially those who live close to areas in which lots of young men live in asylum shelters, the activists in the extreme right-wings political-party „Alternativ für Deutschland“ (AfD) and other populistically oriented groups are reporting in this direction also with lots of fake-news via internet media. To check this fear they:

- Control the press/media and of fake-news in the social media
- Organise events and festivals to bring the German population together with the asylum-seekers
- Organise cooking-events to share international dishes, to talk and exchange.
- More info-program broadcast on TV to explain that the dangerous action and use of language from AfD, Neo-Nazis and rights-wing activists and their is also terrorism!
- Also Events organized by the municipality and the state to explain honestly in the districts, in schools, universities, the reasons which forced the different asylum-seeker-groups to flee from their home-countries.
- Decent homes, decent food, books and enough social and cultural activities to engage the asylum-seekers and refugees, so that they are not just hanging around bored.
- German classes and integration teaching (law, rights, duties, mentality & labour-trainings, traditions, health, etc....) for refugees and asylum-seekers from the very beginning.
- Working permission from the beginning, but with regular controls of the employers for diminishing the risks of abuse and slavery-like conditions.
- Critical Whiteness (white supremacy) and anti-racism-training to increase the empathy among the population.¹⁵⁷

Immigrant Integration into the German Society

At what point is the immigrant integrated into the German society? What is the German society? There are deep divisions in the German society. It is good if an immigrant has received a legal status, a good place to live and work, can live securely and in peace, has access to education and health services, has

¹⁵⁵ Interviewee 23/3/2017

¹⁵⁶ Interviewee 24/5/2017

¹⁵⁷ Interviewee 7/4/2017

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friends and neighborhood contacts and family. But the gap between the rich and the poor widens in Germany for all people, with an increase of low income jobs, so we need a social, economic and ecologic policy for all, for locals and immigrants¹⁵⁸ (see e.g. Butterwegge & Butterwegge 2016 in: Migration und Soziale Arbeit, 2016; www.christophbutterwegge.de).¹⁵⁹The language is very important, work accommodation, contact school skills acquisition of better language skills help you be integrated.¹⁶⁰ Someone feels comfortable in Germany, if the person can switch without difficulty between two cultures, and if the person feels good in the German society and does not have to hide his roots and background.¹⁶¹ The integration of the immigrant is moving much slower and I see a gradual isolation of refugees and asylum seekers because of the dwelling-conditions. Most refugees went through tragedies in their home-countries and on their journey to escape those tragedies and they search for a better life; they are therefore heavily traumatized and are not well treated, when they arrive in Germany. These issues have to be considered as well as a better plan for their future in Deutschland for a cohesive society¹⁶².

Divergence and Convergence in NGO and Government Relations in Germany

The difference in the relationship between government and the civil society actors is revealed in the interview. The NGOs are aware that their contribution fits Abdulraman (2004) euphemism for unpaid labour yet they still do their job. The National Action Plan for the integration of the target group in Germany defines this mood which has made it a project for all, which can elicit this kind of commitment. This also creates the framework by which actors can imput their voices and be heard in policy making. There are points of divergence but the project design constrains participants in the civil society to do their best regardless of the differences in perspectives. The infrastructural provisions where a number of NGOs are accommodated in the same building creates and environment for cross-fertilization of ideas, they are also able to participate in the same social-cultural programmes in the social centre. The long-term structure as defined in the national action plan provides avenue for validation to check the progress of projects, the long term structures makes validation of progress

¹⁵⁸ Interviewee 24/5/2017

¹⁵⁹ In this referred text Christoph Butterwegge analyzes the social background of the poverty problem in Federal rich state of Germany, the ideological causes of its trivialization and the consequences thereof <http://www.christophbutterwegge.de/>

¹⁶⁰ Interviewee 23/3/2017

¹⁶¹ Interviewee 7/6/2017

¹⁶² Interviewee 7/4/2017

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easier. This is what the NGOs interviewed in Hungary bemoan as lacking, but needed to consolidate the efforts they input into the integration process.

Benefits of Volunteering

The diverse nature of persons coming from different social/cultural backgrounds presently resident in Europe also has implications for how life interactions are viewed. The perspectives shared by (Abdulrahman 2004; Tandler 1982) describing volunteering as exploitative and euphemism for unpaid labour has a lot to do with the differences in social political settings of the authors research domain. In describing subjective disposition of volunteers (Wilson 201) presented it as an interpretation of themselves and the world around them (p 179), in his interpretations of definition of the term by various authors where volunteering is attached to formal organizations meaning that communities or countries where infrastructure of non-governmental organizations is not properly developed will have fewer volunteers. This means that volunteering in such communities is not institutionalized, immigrants coming from these kind of communities where there are no role models in leadership involving in volunteering are obliged under the supervision of the NGO to imbibe the culture of volunteering knowing that some of the assistance they receive are from persons who have no direct financial gains for services rendered, has the ability to impact in the way they have previously perceived the concept. This new knowledge they imbibe fosters a new awareness which is favourable in the European environment where the concept of volunteering is an acceptable part of social interaction. Volunteering simply means providing a service without expecting payment or remuneration in return for that service, a volunteer contributes time to helping others (Wilson and Musick 2000). The inherent value in volunteering is being voiced in scholarly research on the concept. (Bratton 1989; Haski-Levental et al 2008) Volunteering has the capacity for improving living standards Bratton (1989). Governments in western societies has given recognition to students volunteering as a way to perpetuate an engaged civil society (Haski-Levental et al 2008) therefore government and NGOs seek to address societal ill by encouraging students participation in volunteering to improve civic behavior Smith et al (2010). The important benefits of volunteering on the volunteer as a way to gain fulfillment is the focus of Wilson & Musick (2000) they also make the point out that volunteering is useful for building and maintaining civil society being a sphere of activity where people feel free to organize groups, engage in public debate in which norms of mutual respect and tolerance protecting the voices of majority and minority, providing the infrastructure of participatory politics that allow people develop the skills attitudes necessary for the give and take in democratic government and instrumental to its survival. This

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perspective shows the need to strengthen NGOs to continue to foster relationship of understanding between citizens and TCN through the promotion of volunteering which can be learnt by the immigrants through workshops and other training avenues provided by the NGOs. The research by Wilson & Musick (2000) showed cross-national studies across forty three types of organizations categorized into seven associational sectors, findings show cultural personal interest and community organizations scoring high in generalized trust and reciprocity with neighbours, with some of the research he analyzed showing widespread volunteering with a thriving civil society. Literatures on integration of TCN have pointed to disinterestedness on the part of TCN in political participation in host country's political activities. This can be checked through involvement in volunteering which can develop a sense of community in the individual, build character, foster interpersonal trust, tolerance and empathy for others. Improved mental and physical healths are also part of the benefits identified with volunteering in the study. Refugees are known to have various forms traumatic experiences that may require therapeutic attention to overcome. While not categorically presenting volunteerism as a cure for traumatic experiences surveys have shown persons involved in volunteering are reported to have gained high level satisfaction, increased well-being as well as gaining new skills and knowledge in the process. Other researches that show the benefits of volunteerism are (Smith, Holmes, Haski-Levenhal, Handy and Brudney 2010; Van Willgen 2000)

Conclusion

This research has made an attempt to answer the question of what roles NGOs play in the integration of third country nationals in the EU in an ongoing challenge of the EU search to integrate large numbers of non-EU nationals living in the member states of the EU in this age of migration phenomenon is described by scholars, with challenges of how to integrate foreigners in the EU that have spanned decades, earning migration and integration the title of a 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Weber 1973). The temporary perspectives and lack of long term plan for the challenge have made the target group some of the most vulnerable groups in the EU.

The steps taken in this research were intended to show conceptual perspectives of the related variables in discourse and how they impact in the way integration of TCN is perceived. The historical tracing of

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integration in the two countries showed that NGOs have always been an instrument for social integration. NGOs work on issues to help the others in the society. The researcher's position as an insider researcher (Carling et al. 2014) had positive effect in the data collection with regards to the survey and interview as respondents were open to freely discuss their challenges with me. Therefore information revealed the true nature of the challenges and how they are looking for pathways to meet the challenge. An NGO perspective for integration is based on fundamental rights for the target group as well as commitment to a socially cohesive community through provision of the right tools for their integration. The much talked about adherence to European norms and values, as well as civic knowledge of the member state in which immigrants reside can be fostered through the provision of pathways for living healthily in the society. From observation of the interaction between NGOs and third country nationals in the way encouragements and motivation is provided by the NGO to make immigrants focus on succeeding in the skills and language training and the interactive social programmes it can be concluded that NGOs are the platform by which a European identity can be created among the immigrants. Such engagements douse the political and media rhetoric that can be depressing for immigrants and foster a commitment to succeed in the goals set for immigrant's integration. The theoretical perspectives of scholars (Dye 1971, 1987; Eyestone 1971; Stone 2002; Lowi 1972) in the field of public policy who perceive policy as a political tool in the hand of politicians. The question raised by Lowi about which comes first for politicians' policy or politics is the major challenge to making recommendation about what to pathways to explore. The historical research here have revealed that the public perception of the challenge has influenced the ways governments have addressed the challenge. The rhetoric that Germany was not a migration country have proved to be result of how politicians perceived that the general public preference for seeing the nation. Rather than developing informational communicative strategy to inform citizens about the changing social environment politicians hypocritically continue in the rhetoric. Partisan interest ranks highest in politics, what makes public policy public is that choices or action are backed by the coercive power of the state (Smith & Larimer 2017 p 4) through the state instruments available the state actors like the media by which they produce arguments about action they wish to pursue (Zittoun 2014) and state agencies and institutions which are used to pursue goals that serves partisan interest. The way policies have been presented as a tool in the hands of political actors to achieve their personal interest show that they are to be trusted completely with sensitive issues like integration of TCN, Kuti (1996) claims that Hungary had traditionally made use of NGOs in mitigating societal challenges back to the Middle Ages and reaching into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. They relied on organizational volunteerism

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and a perseverant Hungarian public, instrumental to making the communist regime tolerable. Integration is therefore an essential mechanism for creating an all-inclusive society for which NGOs have competence. This statement underpins the need for keeping the place of NGOs and further strengthening them as partners in the EU's search to integrate third country nationals and create a cohesive society this recommendation is strengthened by the assertion that NGO provide simple solutions for complicated development dilemmas (Nauta 2006). While not pretending that NGOs do not represent other interests in the process of carrying out projects at various levels as NGO scholars have averred that they represent the interest of their donors. The pressure to focus on interest is relatively lower as against that of governments, who tend to focus primarily on partisan interest and the right to wield power or act in a capacity than in the interest of the cohesive whole.

Vedder et al (2007) relates with the urgent need to apply legitimacy theory to NGOs because of their increasing importance both at local and international level having an impact on the lives of an increasing number of persons. The new law by the Hungarian government on NGOs would have been a way to apply some form of legitimacy check on NGOs but the timing and content of the law has brought about suspicion of deliberate punitive action directed at them which puts the good purposes of the law to question.

Finally the point made by Lucasson (2005 p 154) about ethno-politics on the part of various nationalities in the companies and unions in Germany may require active focus even in government administrative institutions. With the new policy of attracting various nationalities into the the public service, so that this good intentions of the government is not marred with ethnic rivalry. Some semi-structured interviews with immigrants in Germany already proved that migrants are suspicious of certain nationalities favoured above others because of ethnic leaning.

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Interview Questions for Organizations in Hungary

1. How does your organisation define immigrant?
2. Is there a definition of the term immigrant in the Hungarian Law?
3. Do you see difference between national definition and EU definition of the term immigrants'?
4. Where national definition is in contradiction with the EU definition which position will your organization take?
5. How does your organization define the integration of immigrants (TCN) in Europe?
6. Do definitional differences affect project design for integration of immigrants?
7. What types of immigrants do you reach out to regular/ irregular, documented/undocumented?
8. What are the information channels you use to reach immigrants?
9. What is the average number of immigrants you can reach at a time should you need to reach your clients with new information?
10. Do you have platforms of cooperation with state agencies working with immigrants?
11. Do the government or state agencies reach out to you for policy proposals in the immigrant integration process?
12. How do you attract donors?
13. Does the Hungarian state fund some of your projects?
14. Have you ever been in a situation where government policies were averse to your projects?
15. Do you have projects for helping immigrants find work?
16. How do you assist immigrants to get their certificates of skills or education from their home country acknowledged for finding a job in Hungary?
17. How do you measure a successful immigrant's integration project?
18. At what point is an immigrant integrated in the host society?
19. Do you have projects combating discrimination?
20. Who are your focussed groups for combating discrimination
21. What are your major challenges in the immigrant's integration process?
22. Do you have any training or awareness programmes for immigrants?
23. What is your approach towards forced deportation?
24. What advice do you give to asylum seekers whose application has been rejected?

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25. How often do you have immigrants come to you for voluntary return?
26. Do you have volunteers working with you?
27. Do they derive satisfaction working with you?
28. Do you subscribe to voluntary work as simply unpaid labour?
29. Is Europe's 'Islamophobia' justified?
30. What would be your policy proposal within the ambience of EU laws or treaties to check this fear?
31. Give a working definition of immigrants' integration from your field experiences?
32. The Hungarian government says most of the asylum seekers are economic migrants. How do you respond to this?
33. Have the fence and the new government decree of safe countries been able to stop the refugees from coming?
34. Why do you think they still come knowing they will be detained?
35. How did Brussels and the EU react when Hungary made the proposal of detaining immigrants that enter into its territory?
36. Has it ever crossed your mind that Hungary could be implementing a common European agenda?
37. Is the Prime Minister of Hungary the only European leader bold enough to put into action what other European leaders are thinking?
38. Have you recorded much legal success in your representation of asylum seekers in the face of the new challenges?
39. Is the 1951 Refugee Convention still relevant with the many challenges countries, especially signatory countries are facing with keeping up with their obligations?
40. What will be your proposal to reform it?
41. What do the transit zones mean for you?
42. Do the refugees come to you or you go to them?
43. Do you have representatives in the transit zones who take up cases?
44. How do you treat cases of unaccompanied minors?
45. What has changed in the last 10 years with regard to the immigrant integration process?

Interview Questions for German Organizations

1. What categories of immigrants do you assist? Recognized refugees, yet to be recognized asylum seekers, legal or illegal immigrants?
2. Are there categories to whom you would not render assistance based on a law against this group? Please state the law.
3. What kind of assistance do you render? Legal advice, language training, psychotherapy, skills and knowledge acquisition, social issues, financial help, getting a job?
4. How do you help with getting immigrants certificates recognized for a job?
5. How do you fund your projects?
6. How much support do you get from the government?
7. What are the areas of cooperation between your organization and the government? Municipal, state and the national levels?
8. Does the government's consult you for policy proposals in case of new policy or laws in the immigrant integration process?
9. Are proposals from your implemented into the drafting of policies?
10. What are the recent amendments to the laws on immigrants' integration?
11. How has this affected your activities?
12. What platforms do you use to reach immigrants?
13. Do you have volunteers working with your organization? What fields are your volunteers from student, workers or retired persons?
14. Do they enjoy working with you?
15. Is volunteering simply unpaid labour?
16. Do you have unaccompanied minors among your clients?
17. What are the special measures you carry out for them?
18. Do you have programmes combating racism and discrimination?
19. Who are your target public for this?

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20. How strong is Islamophobia in Munich?
21. Is the fear justified?
22. What would be your policy proposal to dispel this fear?
23. At what point is an immigrant integrated into the German society?
24. What have been the major changes to the immigrant's integration procedure in the last 10 years?

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