



IMMIGRATION AND INTEGRATION REGIMES IN EU COUNTRIES

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Abstract: *This paper aims to explore immigration related policies implemented by the European Union countries in order to identify common patterns which can be interpreted as integration regimes. We build our analysis on data from 2010 Migration Integration Policy Index. Latent class analysis is used for obtaining number and structure of European integration regimes. Profiles of the regimes are given by the combination of scores obtained by countries with respect to seven different policy areas: labour market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination. Our results point to the existence of three immigration integration regimes at the level of EU countries.*

Keywords: *Immigration, integration regimes, latent class analysis*

Introduction

Nowadays, immigration represents a major challenge for the European Union. In response, EU aims to implement a common immigration policy with the goal of making legal immigration to contribute to its socio-economic development and fight against illegal immigration and trafficking in human beings. We study the progress of EU countries towards the above mentioned goal of implementing a common immigration approach. Therefore, this paper aims to explore immigration related policies implemented by the European Union countries in order to identify common

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patterns which can be interpreted as integration regimes. We build our analysis on data from 2010 Migration Integration Policy Index (MIPEX). Latent class analysis is used for obtaining number and structure of European integration regimes. Profiles of the regimes are given by the combination of scores obtained by countries with respect to seven different policy areas: labour market mobility, family reunion, education, political participation, long term residence, access to nationality and anti-discrimination.

We continue the work of Meuleman and Reeskens (2008) who performed a similar analysis for data of 2007 MIPEX which didn't cover the education policy strand. Also, the 2010 MIPEX is calculated for a larger number of countries, including Romania. So, the scope of our work is to identify and characterize integration regimes as they appear from the data of 2010 MIPEX. The new results will show the evolution of the European integration policy patterns, as well as the way in which the immigrants' integration policies in the field of education connect with the other policy areas.

Literature review

Much literature on incorporation regimes was produced in developed and democratic countries, most of it under new institutional economics theory that combines economics, organizational theory, political sciences, sociology and other in order to better understand the social, political and economic life (Klein, 1999). Most of the studies focused on analyzing policies and access to citizenship and civil rights, some of them on the access to labour market and welfare, while during the last decades, studies covered issues related to social and cultural life of immigrants. According to Adida (2011), a lot is known on the situation of immigrants in developed countries, but much less on the situation of immigrants in developing countries. Moreover, she advocates for the need to develop appropriate frameworks to address and understand the immigration in developing countries as some of them still struggle with fragile national identities. So, constructing a framework to analyze comparatively immigrants' incorporation regimes in developed and developing countries is a very challenging task as the policy indexes developed so far are based on the experiences and theories emerged in western countries.

In all countries, irrespective of the type of incorporation policies, some migrants are preferred to another due to their origin, or to their level of education or skills. So, stratification of immigrants is determined by various factors and policies present at national level. For instance, left parties used to make citizenship more accessible to immigrants, while right parties are focused on strengthening the ties with the diaspora or with other nations with strong cultural similarities. Also, integration regimes depend a lot on the economy structure and on the economic cycle. During recession, anti-immigrant discourse increases, while during economic growth countries are more open, mostly to labour migration. But, where do we find migrants in the destination countries? Are they rather in the formal sector of the economy, or rather "trapped" in the lower layer with no opportunities to move up? What social security systems cover their risks, are the social security and social benefits fairly split in between natives and immigrants? How difficult is to become a citizen of one destination country and how is the racial and ethnic discrimination combated?

Even if there is such amount of literature on immigrants' integration, both case studies and comparative analysis, there is still no common definition of the concept "integration" or "incorporation" regime. According to Phalet and Swyngedouw (2003) "integration" is referring to a "collection of policies towards immigrants and Post-migration minorities". Also, they define incorporation regime as the "selective extension to non-national of legal, social, cultural and political rights and opportunities that were once the exclusive entitlements of nationals" (Phalet and Swyngedouw, 2003). According to Freeman (2004) incorporation defines the ways in which membership is accessed across the political, economic and cultural domains of society. Furthermore, he proposes a multisectoral framework in order to analyze and classify different integration regimes (Freeman, 2007).

After analyzing the integration regimes in eight countries, Freeman (2007) points out that there is no truly coherent regime, but different institutions, norms, practices that create a unique framework where both immigrants and natives access opportunities and deal with constrains. Even if the goals of the policies are similar, the institutional framework leads sometimes to completely different outcomes. The incorporation regimes vary on a continuum from assimilation to multiculturalism, both in between different countries, but also within the same country during different periods of time.

One of the most refereed studies in the literature of incorporation regime is "Citizenship and Nationhood in France and Germany" (Brubaker, 1996) in which two types of immigrants treatment are described: *jus soli policies* - attribution of citizenship by birth and *jus sanguinis policies* - attribution of citizenship through blood lines. So, Brubaker (1996) makes a distinction between civic territorial approach of Germany and ethnic and cultural approach of France towards immigration. Even if the two regimes presented in the study have been reformed during the years, lot of scholars tried to extend the typology created by Brubaker to other countries.

Another typology is the one proposed by Castles and Miller in 2003 based on the policy analysis:

- *differential exclusion model*. This model is displayed by Germany, Austria and Switzerland as main representatives. This model provides little mobility to immigrants on the labour market that fill in mostly the inferior segment of it, the one that is characterized by lower security and higher incidence of dirty, dangerous and degrading work. Becoming a citizen of these countries is difficult and state policies are segregationist and discriminatory.
- *assimilation model* characterizing France, Great Britain and Netherlands, former colonial countries. This cluster of countries asks immigrants to adopt the language and culture of the nation they are willing to integrate in. The educational regime of this model is well developed and accessible both for migrants as well as for their children. As ethnicity is not recorded by these countries, there are no relevant statistics on discrimination and exclusion. Access to citizenship is open, but only after assimilation has been proved.
- *multicultural model* acknowledges the right of immigrants to constitute themselves in minority groups, that are tolerated or promoted. Dual citizenship is allowed, so

immigrants can become fully citizens of both origin and receiving countries. Canada, Australia, United States of America and Sweden are the exponents of this model.

In fact, the model proposed by Castle and Miller (2003) establishes a correlation between the history of migration of one country and its integration regime. The multicultural model characterizes traditional countries of immigration; the assimilation model is displayed by former colonial countries, while the differential exclusion model is present in traditional guest worker countries. Also, Castle and Miller stated that a country can move from a model to another, but they didn't develop fully this part of the theory.

Entzinger (2000) cited by Freeman (2007) proposes three strands to analyze the integration policies: the legal and political one establishing mainly the citizenship rules, the cultural one (if policies of assimilation or identity affirmation are promoted) and the socio-economic (if the rights provided are temporal or permanent).

Even if significant efforts to identify models of immigrant integration exist, Freeman argues that for each particular strand of a regime we could identify different models. So, Freeman (2007) proposes a typology where USA, Canada and Australia form a cluster characterized by open immigration and citizenship regimes, liberal political economies and welfare, formal multiculturalism. Sweden and Netherlands stand for another cluster characterized by moderately open immigration and citizenship regimes, coordinated market economies, socio-democratic or corporatist welfare state. Germany, Austria and Switzerland provide open access to labour migration, coordinated market economies, corporatist welfare, but discourage permanent settlement or access to citizenship. And finally, Spain, Portugal, Greece restrict access to citizenship, have liberal political economies and welfare, but do not employ policies to foster multiculturalism.

Starting from the premise that there are other unobserved factors shaping integration policies, Meuleman and Reeskens (2008) employ a Latent Component Analyse on the 2007 scores of Migration Integration Policies (MIPEX) in order to identify some common patterns of association. They identify three classes of incorporation regimes. The first latent class gathers Sweden, UK, Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Finland, Portugal, Spain and Italy. These countries score highest on all the policy strands analyzed by MIPEX. They have rather generous procedures facilitating the access to labour market, political participation, family reunification, long-term residence and citizenship. The second class scores lowest to all policy strands as compared with the first class. Eastern countries, Austria, Denmark, Greece and Malta are gathered under this class, mainly characterized by difficult access to citizenship and political participation. The third class is located in between the previous ones. Germany, France, Ireland, Luxemburg and Switzerland have the highest probability to belong to it. This class scores better than the second one to all policy strands, except the long term residence strand. After that, authors study the link between the classes of integration regimes and the population attitudes toward migration showing that there is not a causal direction between the two phenomena. Therefore, policies promoted by one country do not necessary shape population attitudes to immigration. Countries characterized by more inclusive policies have the lowest levels of perceived ethnic

threat, but the promotion of integration policies increases competition between natives and immigrants and also the perceived ethnic threat (Meuleman and Reeskens, 2008).

Koopmans (2010) investigates the effects of the integration policies and welfare-state regimes on the socio-economic integration of immigrants in eight selected countries: Germany, France, United Kingdom, Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, Austria and Belgium. His results show that multicultural policies combined with a generous welfare state determined poor participation of immigrants on the labour market, high segregation and increased incidence of delinquency among immigrants. On the other hand, countries with more restrictive integration policies or lean welfare state display better integration results of their immigrants.

Cavasola (2012) analysis the way EU fosters a common policy regarding the integration of immigrants and questions the progress towards the creation of a homogeneous European model. Her conclusions point to the fact that there is a partial convergence in national integration strategies. She argues that this progress is the result of an interstate emulation, rather than an effect of proactive EU legislation. Cavasola (2012) refers to this process as “informal Europeanization”.

Fewer studies address the integration regime promoted by Romania. Voicu (2013) proposes a theoretical framework to analyze the Romanian integration model. He defines three plans of integration: the ideal (the concept and the fundamental rights), the vision (public policies and specific legislation of Romania) and the practice (citizens’ perceptions and opinions as well as how institutions implement the policies). These plans were overlapped for five levels: (0) the opening, (1) the acceptance of differences, (2) the basic support for integration, (3) the inclusion and (4) the citizenship. For each plan, several indicators are proposed, analyzed and assessed as “unsatisfactory”, “acceptable” or “good”. Romania scores “good” for most indicators of the level (0) the opening and “unsatisfactory” for most of indicators proposed for level (1) the acceptance of differences.

Migration Integration Policies

We built our analysis on data from the **Migration Integration Policy Index - MIPEX**. The Index covers key dimensions regarding immigrations integration governance and policy for 34 countries, namely 27 EU countries, Norway, Switzerland, Canada, USA, Australia, Japan and Serbia. MIPEX includes 148 policy indicators counting for seven policy areas related to integration of immigrants. Data were collected from national independent scholars and practitioners in migration law, education and anti-discrimination. Results were anonymously peer-reviewed by a second group of experts. Finally, a Migration Policy Group double checked and validated the discrepancies across policy dimensions and countries. Data were collected in March 2007 and May 2010. The 2010 wave included “education” as a new policy area taken into account for construction of MIPEX. The index aims to assess the way overall policies creates both obstacles and opportunities for immigrants to become full members of the society. Regardless some methodological limitations, MIPEX represents a valuable and comprehensive source of data as it offers scholars and

practitioners the opportunity to better understand the way multiple factors influence the integration of immigrants into society.

2010 MIPEX includes seven policy strands, each of them grouping indicators that cover four dimensions. The Index takes into account both social and civic integration, aiming to assess the progress of the countries towards ensuring equal opportunities for immigrants. The total number of policy indicators is 148. The seven policy areas of MIPEX are as follows: Labour market mobility; Family reunion; Education; Political participation; Long-term residence; Access to nationality; and Anti-discrimination.

Table 1. Structure of the 2010 Migration Integration Policy Index

Policy areas	Policy Dimensions / Indicators
1) LABOUR MARKET MOBILITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access (5 indicators) • Access to general support (3 indicators) • Targeted support (4 indicators) • Workers' rights (4 indicators)
2) FAMILY REUNION FOR THIRD-COUNTRY NATIONALS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility (5 indicators) • Conditions for acquisition of status (6 indicators) • Security of status (4 indicators) • Rights associated with status (6 indicators)
3) EDUCATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Access (7 indicators) • Targeting needs (5 indicators) • New opportunities (4 indicators) • Intercultural education for all (6 indicators)
4) POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Electoral rights (4 indicators) • Political liberties (3 indicators) • Consultative bodies (4 indicators) • Implementation policies (5 indicators)
5) LONG TERM RESIDENCE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility (3 indicators) • Conditions for acquisition of status (4 indicators) • Security of status (7 indicators) • Rights associated with status (4 indicators)
6) ACCESS TO NATIONALITY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eligibility (5 indicators) • Conditions for acquisition (7 indicators) • Security of status (7 indicators) • Dual nationality (2 indicators)
7) ANTI-DISCRIMINATION	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Definitions and concepts (7 indicators) • Fields of application (6 indicators) • Enforcement mechanisms (12 indicators) • Equality policies (9 indicators)

Source: http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/mipex_indicators_2010.pdf

We include in our analysis data from MIPEX 2010 in order to identify latent classes of integration regimes among the 27 EU countries. The analyzed data consist in scores obtained by countries for all the seven policy areas. Data are presented in Table 2. Sweden registers the highest overall score, having the maximum number of points for labour market mobility and high performance for the anti-discrimination strand. High scores are also obtained by Portugal, Finland and Netherlands. Romania scores 45.2 points from a maximum of 100, displaying poor performances for education and political participation strands and higher value for the anti-discrimination dimension. One should remember that these scores reflect the degree of implementation of certain policies elements (presented in Table 1) that favor the integration of the immigrants. Moreover, the score registered by Romania for the political participation of immigrants is the lowest among the scores obtained by all the 27 EU countries for each of the seven policy areas. Overall, it is considered that the policies implemented by Romania are only halfway favorable to immigrants. Poorest results for 2010 MIPEX are obtained by Latvia, Cyprus and Slovakia.

Table 2. Scores obtained by EU countries for the seven policy areas and overall score of MIPEX, 2010

Country	Area 1	Area 2	Area 3	Area 4	Area 5	Area 6	Area 7	Overall
Austria	56.3	40.8	44.4	32.5	58.3	21.6	33.0	41.0
Belgium	52.7	68.3	65.7	58.5	78.7	68.6	78.7	67.3
Bulgaria	40.4	51.3	14.8	16.7	56.8	23.9	79.7	40.5
Cyprus	20.8	39.2	33.4	25.0	36.8	32.0	59.3	35.2
Czech Republic	54.8	66.5	44.2	12.5	64.7	33.4	44.5	45.8
Denmark	73.1	37.0	51.4	61.9	65.8	33.1	46.5	52.7
Estonia	65.2	64.8	50.4	28.1	66.5	15.5	31.5	46.0
Finland	71.0	69.8	63.5	86.9	58.5	56.8	78.0	69.2
France	48.8	51.6	28.9	43.5	45.6	59.0	77.0	50.6
Germany	76.9	60.2	43.2	64.4	50.1	59.2	47.9	57.4
Greece	49.6	49.2	42.2	39.6	56.3	56.8	49.7	49.0
Hungary	41.5	60.6	11.9	33.3	60.0	31.4	75.3	44.9
Ireland	39.2	33.8	24.6	78.8	42.6	58.2	62.8	48.6
Italy	69.0	73.5	40.6	49.8	65.6	62.9	61.6	60.4
Latvia	35.6	46.3	16.6	17.5	58.9	15.4	24.9	30.7
Lithuania	46.3	59.0	17.2	25.0	56.7	19.8	54.7	39.8
Luxembourg	47.7	66.7	51.7	77.7	55.8	74.0	47.6	60.2
Malta	43.1	48.1	16.2	25.0	64.3	25.5	36.2	36.9
Netherlands	85.4	57.6	50.7	79.4	67.9	65.6	67.5	67.7
Poland	47.9	67.1	28.8	12.5	65.3	35.0	35.8	41.8
Portugal	93.8	90.6	63.1	70.2	68.5	82.0	83.8	78.8
Romania	67.7	64.6	19.7	8.3	54.2	29.1	72.6	45.2
Slovakia	20.8	52.9	23.6	20.8	50.2	26.7	58.8	36.3
Slovenia	44.4	74.8	24.3	27.9	68.9	32.7	66.4	48.5
Spain	84.4	84.6	48.1	55.8	77.5	38.6	48.7	62.5
Sweden	100.0	84.4	77.4	75.0	77.7	79.3	87.7	83.1
UK (Great Britain)	55.4	53.8	57.7	52.5	31.5	59.3	86.1	56.6

Source: http://www.mipex.eu/sites/default/files/downloads/mipex_indicators_2010.pdf

Integration regimes among EU countries

The findings of our paper are based on the results of a latent variable model for categorical data. Latent class analysis (LCA) is similar to factor analysis, in the sense that it identifies the patterns of association that encounters among observations, but it is applied to categorical variables, while factor analysis is suitable for continuous variables (McCutcheon, 1987). The model used seven observed polichotomous variables having three classes to build a latent or unobservable variable which also has three classes. The observed variables are known as the manifest variables (Hagenaars, McCutcheon, 2002).

Therefore, latent class analysis is a clustering technique among observations in multi-way tables of categorical variables. Cases are not absolutely assigned to classes, we estimate a probability of membership to each class. The main idea is to build a model in which any association between the manifest variables can be explained by a single unobserved "latent" categorical variable. Estimated parameters include the class-conditional response probabilities for each manifest variable, the proportions denoting population share of observations corresponding to each latent multi-way table. The estimation was performed with polCA R package and STATA software (Lanza et al, 2011).

In order to decide the number of the latent classes we look for low values in the case of the Akaike's Information Criterion (AIC), Bayesian Information Criterion (BIC), sample sized adjusted BIC statistics and high values in the case of entropy measure. Also, we have to take into account the meaning of the latent classes in practice, the number of individuals in each class and if these classes are associated with observed characteristics in an expected manner.

As shown in the Table 3, number of classes representing different immigration integration regimes is established on the ground of several coefficients and measures of performance. On the base of the registered values, there are two solutions that we could consider as offering a good representation of the reality, namely the solution with 2 classes and the one with 3 classes. Solution with 2 classes obtains better values for AIC and BIC, while the solution with 3 classes scores better to Adjusted BIC and Entropy R-square. Cumulating the values of AIC, BIC, Adjusted BIC and Entropy R-square, we decide to keep the solution with 3 classes as it is consistent with results of Meuleman and Reeskens (2008) who classified integration regimes on the basis of 2007 MIPEX and found three classes of countries.

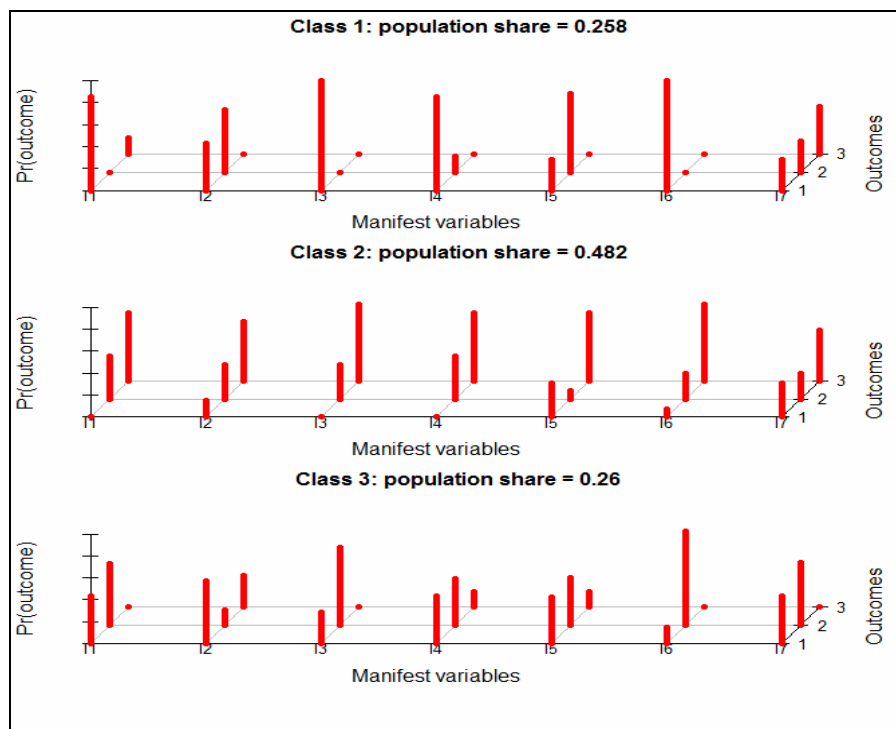
Table 3. Performance of different solutions of the Latent Class Analysis

No. of classes	Log-likelihood	AIC	BIC	Adjusted BIC	Entropy R-sqd
1	-207.637	270.845	288.987	245.494	NA
2	-175.696	236.963	274.542	184.451	0.956
3	-162.959	241.489	298.506	161.816	0.974
4	-156.327	258.225	334.679	151.390	0.96

Source: Author's estimations using LCA Stata Plugin (Version 1.0)

Figure 1 presents the conditional probabilities of a country with a certain level for the studied variables to belong to each of the three classes. First, the results of the latent class analysis show that 25.8% of countries belong to class 1, 48.2% to class 2, while 26% of countries form the third class. Distribution of countries by classes can be interpreted as an indicator for a solution with for classes, but the values of AIC, BIC and Entropy R-square clearly indicate that this solution is no good. The numbers attributed to the classes have no meaning of order, but represent labels of the three integration regimes. The seven manifest variables represent the seven policy areas covered by MIPEX. Class 1 includes countries with low performances registered for variables 1, 3, 4 and 6, meaning labour market mobility, education, political participation and access to nationality. Also, the integration regime specific to class 1 includes countries with low and medium access for family reunion, medium opportunities for long term residence and rather good implementation of anti-discrimination policies. So, first integration regime that covers a quarter of EU countries is not very favorable to immigrants, except for the anti-discrimination provisions.

Figure 1. The conditional probabilities of a specific category, given the class membership



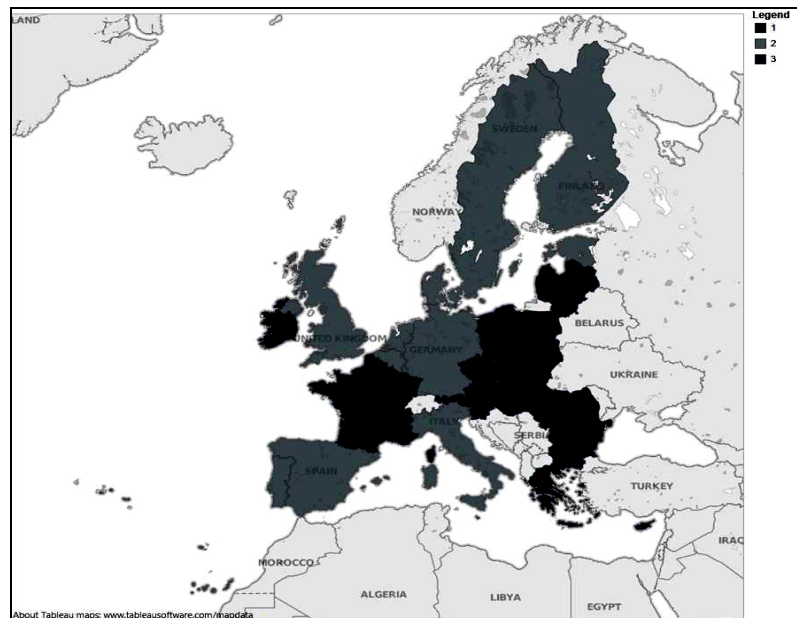
Source: Author's estimations using *polCA* R package

Note: Manifest variables represent the seven policy areas and levels 1, 2 and 3 are labels for low, medium and high values on the MIPEX scale

Class 2 includes countries with high performances for almost all the analyzed policy areas. Strong belonging probabilities to this regime are registered for countries with high levels of immigrants' inclusion (e.g. immigrants' children) in education and very good access to nationality. The area where countries from class 2 don't have good performance is represented by the strand of anti-discrimination policies. So, the second regime of integration includes almost half of the countries of the European Union that implement rather efficient and open policies in the field of immigration.

The third class identified by the latent class analysis registers high probabilities of belonging for countries that display low and medium performance for areas of labour market mobility, access to nationality, long term residence and anti-discrimination. Also, this integration regime is characterized by poor policies with respect to family reunion and medium values for dimensions regarding education and access to nationality. So, the second class reunites countries that are more performant to integration policies for immigrants, while the other two classes include countries that present specific combination of policies. First regime is characterized by poor performances especially for labour market mobility, education, political participation and access to nationality. Finally, the third regime displays poor policy for family reunion, but medium results at the level of education and access to nationality. On the other hand, anti-discrimination is the area that discriminates less among the three integration regime. Still, the third class scores less to this dimension. The belongings of each EU country to the integration regimes are presented in the Figure 2. The map is constructed on the base of highest belonging probabilities.

Figure 2. The map presents the latent class prevalence of each investigated country



Source: Author's representation using Tableau 8.1

Conclusions

This article presents results of the latent class analysis on data coming from 2010 MIPEX. Our results point to a solution with three classes representing three different integration regimes across EU countries. Although the European Union aims to implement a common approach regarding integration policies destined to immigrants, countries still display significant differences in this respect. However, the fact that one of the three identified regimes covers an important number of countries having higher scores in 2010 MIPEX is an indicator towards the achievement of that goal. One should notice that countries displaying this favorable integration regime are countries with more important history of immigration. On the other hand, newer member states that are located to the Eastern border of European Union implement more restrictive integration policies. Different combinations of more restrictive integration policies form the other two policy regimes.

Comparing our classification with the results obtained by Meuleman and Reeskens (2008) on 2007 data that didn't take into account the education strand, we find that the outcomes are strongly consistent. One important difference is the presence of Germany in the group of countries that implements favorable policies for immigrants' integration. Although Germany doesn't score very high to the seven dimensions of the MIPEX, it displays rather homogenous performances for the covered strands. Romania belongs to the integration regime that is characterized by significant restrictions with respect to labour market mobility, access to education, political participation and access to nationality. These domains represent the main areas of socio-economic challenges that are faced by immigrants coming to Romania.

The main differences among the three identified integration regimes show that the first regime, the one that includes Romania, has education and access to nationality policies as weak points and anti-discrimination area as strong point. On the other hand, the second regime is exactly the opposite as it has poorest performances to anti-discrimination and to the access of immigrants to long term residence, as well as very good results at the level of education and access to nationality policies. So, the two groups of countries that form the first two regimes implement rather divergent approaches with respect to the integration of immigrants. The third integration regime has as its main weak point policies regarding family reunion for third-country nationals.

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