CONSTRUCTING IMMIGRANT POLICIES

RESEARCH-POLICY RELATIONS AND IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION
IN THE NETHERLANDS (1970-2004)

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PROEFSCHRIFT

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Petrus Wilhelmus Adrianus Scholten
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te Oost-, West- en Middelbeers

Preface

The multicultural society caught my interest already when I was a student of Public Administration and Public Policy from 1998 to 2003. Almost unimaginable now is that immigrant integration was not such a major issue in the late 1990s. I even kept an archive in which I collected newspaper articles on multicultural policies: if I would still be keeping archive, I think by now I would be archiving entire newspapers instead of just a number of articles.

Triggered by experiences in my personal life, I tried to apply the knowledge and expertise from this study to the domain of immigrant integration policy. On many occasions I found that traditional approaches in administration and policy-making did not fit the actual policy practices in this field. It appeared to me that the multicultural society was much too intractable for classical types of (technocratic) policy making and also for classical type of (positivist) study of these policy processes. Since then, the question has occupied me how we can develop a better understanding of this type of intractable social problems and what our role as social scientists can be in this respect. I did a master thesis on this subject, but the prospect of doing further research lured to me. The (provisional) result of this quest now lies before you in the form of this PhD research.

Doing a PhD has often been a sharp confrontation with myself. One really gets to know ones limitations. Sheer enthusiasm and effort do not do: one has to struggle with both the material and the mind to one's ideas straight and also well-formated in the form of text. Doing this PhD has also been a very erratic process: in some weeks I made the progress of months and in some months the progress of only weeks. Therefore, it is always tricky to ask a PhD 'how far' he or she is with the research: you really cannot tell almost until the very last moment.

This research has been a voyage into the world and history of immigrant integration research and policy-making in the Netherlands. It was great to travel around and talk to the researchers that have been involved in this domain. I want to thank the Scientific Council for Government Policy for its openness in terms of letting me use its archives and in terms of the many interviews I had with current and former members. Also, I am very grateful for the opportunity I had to interview Mr. Henk Molleman, one of the founding fathers of Dutch policy in this domain, who passed away in 2005. Finally, I also want to mention Han Entzinger and Rinus Penninx, not only for the many converstations we had but also for their detailed comments on the final manuscript of this research.

As a social being as anyone else, a PhD student cannot undertake this journey and struggle without a supportive social environment. My promotor Romke van der Veen has been of great support during this PhD and in my development as a young academic. He often stimulated me to formulate my thoughts and texts in coherent, consistent and convincing ways. Especially his capacity to listen and summarize and analyse my findings and ideas in much clearer and shorter ways

has been of great value. My co-promotor, Bert de Vroom, has supported me very closely during this PhD research. We have known eachother very well already since I was a student. Also in a broader perspective, Bert has been a great tutor for my academic development and I'm very excited that we will continue to work with each other after completing this PhD.

Over the past years, I have been participating in various research fora. This PhD bares the traces of how my thoughts were shaped in all these fora. The department of social risks and safety studies (previously; department of sociology) has been a safe haven to me during my PhD research. I put great value on the many stimulating exchanges that I have had with many of my colleagues and I'm delighted that we will continue working together. In this respect, I also want to mention our secretary, Annette van der Tuuk, who has been of great help on many occasions over the past years. In addition, the C9 cluster of the IMISCOE network of excellence on 'the multilevel governance of immigrant and immigration policies in Europe' has very generously welcomed me as an associate member. I have found their meetings very exciting and I hope to continue working with the members of this workshop to build on an international comparative research that will elaborate on the theme of my PhD.

My research, in particular the part on the Scientific Council for Government Policy, was part of a comparative project on the role of several Dutch knowledge institutes: the 'Rethinking' project (Rethinking Politicial Judgment and Science-Based Expertise: Boundary Work at the Science/Politics Nexus of Dutch Knowledge Institutes'). Led by Prof. Rob Hoppe and Dr. Willem Halffman, my involvement in this project helped me to get acquainted with the world of science and technology studies. Especially the so-called 'Tower Meetings' that were regularly held in De Waag in Amsterdam to discuss the state of the art of the literature in this field were vital in this respect. As a student of governance studies rather than science studies, I often felt like 'Alice in wonderland' during these meetings, but they were vital in the development of the interdisciplinary perspective that eventually provided the basis for this research. I would like to thank my fellow researchers from this project for our joyful cooperation: Ragna Zeiss, Stans van Egmond and Udo Pesch.

Then I would like to say thanks to some of my colleagues. Arco Timmermans has been a very inspiring colleague and friend for years now. The articles we wrote together, the conferences we visited and our many exchanges on ideas on diverse topics were of great value not only to my broader academic development and to my joy in academic work. I would like to thank Ringo Ossewaarde, not just for putting in so much effort in discussing draft texts of my PhD, but also for the many conversations we had that thought me how to think as an academic. Also, I want to mention Ron Holzhacker, who was actually the first to suggest to me that I had to 'consider becoming an academic' many years ago. At that stage, this positive stimulus marked a small but eventually very influential step to my eventual choice to pursue an academic carreer. Finally, I want to thank Maaike Moulijn with whom

I have shared a room for several years, for the many enlightening conversations in which we took up many of the major concerns of our age.

I'm very grateful to my paranymphs that will assist me during the public defence of this PhD study. Tineke Lantink has been a close colleague and roommate during the period of finalizing this PhD: especially close because we share perhaps the smallest room of our faculty building and still manage to get along very well! Frank van Dijk has been a close friend for many years now: it feels good to have the support of such a good friend that has supported me at so many turning-points in my life.

Finally, I want to thank my family for their support that provided the foundations on which this PhD has been built. My parents and parents-in-law have stood by me during this PhD, amongst others by babysitting, a factor that should not be underestimated in terms of its positive effect on the progress of PhD's of young fathers. Amal, your love, patience (and lots of it) and indulgence towards my frequent mental absence, provided the mysterious fuel that allowed me to continue this PhD. Safae, when you came into our world, it reminded me that my world was bigger than the over 250 pages that ended up in this PhD. You were there with me, literally, when most of this PhD was written. Therefore, I dedicate this PhD to you, and I promise that I will never do a PhD again.

To Safae

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Part II: The Case of Dutch Immigrant Integration Research and Policy

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INTRODUCTION

In 2002, the Dutch parliament concluded that the immigrant integration policy had been ineffective. After the 'long year of 2002' when immigrant integration was a central issue in one of the more controversial periods in Dutch post-war political history, parliament wanted to provide new élan to policy. It established a parliamentary investigative committee and asked a research institute to evaluate how and why the immigrant integration policy became such a fiasco. However, the study concluded that the integration process had been relatively successful in some aspects. In domains such as education and labour participation, significant progress had been made, which was interpreted as an indication of successful integration of many immigrants in Dutch society.

These researchers apparently understood immigrant integration in terms of the participation of immigrants in these domains. This definition of integration was, however, not broadly shared in government and politics. Disagreement emerged over what immigrant integration actually meant. The researchers and the parliamentary committee faced fierce criticism in public and political debates. Leading politicians discarded the conclusions of the researchers as 'naïve' and biased, and held on to their initial conclusion that policy had been a failure. Government referred, for instance, to other key domains as social cohesion, religion and criminality that the investigative committee had ignored. The government could agree that the policy was partially successful, but also insisted that it was unsuccessful in the aforementioned areas. Clearly, instead of providing a new élan to immigrant integration policy, this research and the parliamentary investigative committee added just another episode to the ongoing controversies to the issue.

This episode illustrates the broader disagreement about how to define and understand immigrant integration. Researchers, politicians and policy makers involved in this episode focused on different facets of immigrant integration and had different ideas on how the integration process should be evaluated. These different understandings led them to dissimilar conclusions in terms of policy success or failure.

Furthermore, this difference of interpretation illustrates the difficulties that were experienced in terms of a fruitful dialogue between research and policy. Such a dialogue was inhibited after the scientific credibility of the involved researchers and research institutes were openly put in question. They would have been 'biased' in terms of their definition of immigrant integration and in terms of their involvement in policy developments themselves. Also, the decision to ask researchers to evaluate the policy received fierce criticism, as it was considered the task of government to

provide a new élan to policy and not that of researchers. The vexing year of Dutch politics in 2002 had led to a fierce rejection of what was considered an elitist way of policy-making with a strong involvement of scientific expertise and without politicization. The disagreement in this episode was not only about the definition and understanding of immigrant integration itself, but also about both sides coming together to define and understand this issue. In essence, it was about defining immigrant integration as well as about how research-policy relations should be organised in this social process of problem definition.

The literature on immigrant integration in the Netherlands has shown that research-policy relations over the past decades have played an important role in developing particular definitions of integration in policy (Entzinger, 1984; Penninx, 2005) as well as in research (Penninx, 1988b; Rath, 1991). The research-policy nexus seems to have been an important factor in research and policy developments. Research institutes as the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) and various experts have played a central role in policy development. Furthermore, policy involvement with research programming and institutes such as the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) as well as with the establishment of general advisory bodies such as the WRR and SCP seem to have had significant impact on research developments as well. The episode surrounding the parliamentary investigative committee illustrates, however, that research-policy relations have in this domain not always been so effective in terms of creating fruitful dialogues on immigrant integration. There has been little research on how and why this research-policy nexus has played such an important role in this domain, and on how and why research-policy relations have been related to changing definitions of immigrant integration in research and policy.

This research aims to unravel how and why changes in the research-policy nexus were related to changing definitions of immigrant integration in policy and research. It does not aim to explain how and why these changes in definitions as such took place, but rather discusses the role the research-policy nexus has played in these changes in research and policy. From a sociological and policy science perspective, it aims to explain the role of the research-policy nexus in this domain by analysing the changing make-up of this nexus over the past decades and by analysing how and why different shapes of the research-policy nexus influenced the definition of immigrant integration in policy and research.

Overall, this research involves a dual analysis of the shaping of the research-policy nexus and the shaping of immigrant integration as a policy and research issue. From this dual perspective, it aims to contribute to a better understanding of research-policy relations in understanding problems in policy and research. Under what conditions can research-policy relations contribute to critical dialogues between research and policy on how issues should be defined? How can 'dialogues of the deaf', such as in the immigrant integration scenario described above, be

averted? Moreover, it aims to contribute to reflection of researchers and policy-makers involved in this domain on how different ways of shaping the research-policy nexus may contribute to resolving the controversies that currently hold immigrant integration in its grasp in Dutch policy and research. Finally, from a theoretical perspective, it aims to contribute to a synthesis of sociological studies of science and policy studies in developing a better understanding of structural relations between research and policy in a society that is moving toward a 'risk society,' characterised by uncertainty about knowledge and about institutions as government and science.

1.1   Immigrant integration: an intractable social problem

Immigrant integration is an ideal case for studying research-policy relations in current society, because it forms a clear example of an issue that has defied resolution and even definition. Whereas decades ago this problem was still considered to be temporary or of a manageable nature, now it has evolved into what has been described as a wicked problem (Rittel & Webber, 1973) or an intractable controversy (Rein & Schön, 1994). It provides an illustration of the transformation of society into a 'risk society,' or a society that faces more and more uncertainty in terms of its understanding of the problems that it faces as well as the structures of policy-making for coping with these problems (Beck, 1992). Also, it provides an example of an issue where not just structures of policy-making, but also structures of research seem to have become increasingly uncertain. Also in this respect, it illustrates the transformation into a Risk society that has moved beyond a positivist belief in the feasibility of society and in which scientific knowledge is increasingly treated as probabilistic (Bourdieu, 2004; Nowotny, Scott, & Gibbons, 2001). That it concerns a social-scientific issue instead of focusing mainly on natural sciences, most often discussed in studies of changing research-policy relations in current society, forms a further element of innovation from a scientific perspective.

Its multifaceted and complex nature seems to have contributed to the 'intractability' of immigrant integration as a social problem. Over the past decades, Dutch society has struggled with various facets of immigrant integration. These include the arrival and position of migrants in Dutch society, as well as the larger effects on society itself. When migrants started to arrive following the Second World War, the Dutch had a tradition of spreading themselves across the world rather than being faced with migration to the Netherlands. There had been relatively early experiences with immigration, such as Protestants (Hugenots) from France. However, since the second half of the twentieth century, roughly parallel to decolonisation, the Netherlands was met with migration on a growing scale. Various categories of migrants can be distinguished. Firstly, colonial migrants arrived from former and present colonies, such as Surinam, the Dutch Antilles, the Moluccans. This also included so-called repatriates from the former Dutch East-Indies (Schuster, 1999). Secondly, labour migrants began arriving in the 1960s,

especially from Mediterranean countries (Spain, Italy, Yugoslavia, Greece, Morocco, Tunisia, and Turkey). Thirdly, family migrants can be distinguished as a category, including the reunion as well as formation of families with migrants that already settled in the Netherlands. Finally, refugee migrants have come to the Netherlands, especially since the 1990s, from a variety of countries, such as from Africa, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and the Far East.

At the beginning of the new millennium, the consequences of migration are becoming increasingly manifest in Dutch society. In 2005, the Netherlands contained 3,1 million immigrants (defined as people born outside the Netherlands, or those with at least one parent born outside the Netherlands), which is 19,2% of the Dutch population. [1] In the major cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, immigrants already comprised 34,2% and 35,1% respectively of the municipal population in 2005.[2] The largest immigrant groups, defined by national origin, are Turks (320 000), Surinamese (309 000) and Moroccans (272 800).[3] In addition to traditional migrant groups, which also include Moluccans, South-Europeans, Chinese, Antilleans and Arubans, new migrant groups have arrived, such as Iraqis, Iranis, Pakistanis, Afghans, Syrians. An indication of the growing cultural and religious diversity is the growing number of Muslims in Dutch society, about 944000 or 5,8% percent of Dutch population by 2004. [4] Only very recently this immigration trend appears to be broken, especially because of a rise of emigration numbers.[5]

In spite of this migration history, it has often proven difficult to define the consequences of migration for Dutch society and to develop appropriate strategies for coping with these consequences. Although immigrant integration is commonly defined as a social problem, its meaning has often remained unclear, uncertain and even fiercely contested. Some speak of emancipation or 'integration with retention of identity', adaptation, participation or segregation. In fact, the notion of integration has been subject to controversy in academic literature as well as in political debates because of its presumed normative bias. Also, the policy approaches to immigrant integration have diverged strongly over the past decades between various countries as well as over different periods in various countries. Whereas the French have adopted an assimilative approach, the Germans have stressed social-economic participation and the British have followed their own national form of multiculturalism.

It may seem that the only given facet of immigrant integration is the migrants themselves, but in fact, the definition of what is a migrant has also proved a very

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[1] Data from 2005, source: CBS statline

[2] Ibid

[3] Data from 2001, source: Blok, 2004: 249.

[4] Data from 2005, source: CBS Statline.

[5] Since 2003, total emigration exceeds total immigration and since 2005 even the number of 'non-natives' that leaves the Netherlands surpasses the number of new immigrants (numbers including administrative corrections). Source: CBS Statline.

complex and at times controversial issue. Migrants can be divided in various categories (as above), and also as various national or ethnic groups or communities (Turk, Moroccans, Surinamese, etc.), or as one broad category of individuals (*allochtonen*). Any way of defining 'migrants' leads to questions of why some groups or categories are included and others are not. For instance Chinese migrants and migrants from Western-European countries that were in the Netherlands were not defined as minorities that had to be 'integrated.' Furthermore, a distinction is often made between first, second and even third generation migrants, depending on whether an individual or one of the parents of grandparents is born outside of the Netherlands. Moreover, there has been controversy over whether migrants must be defined at all. More and more migrants have been naturalised to Dutch national citizens, whilst sometimes also maintaining their original nationality. Defining the migrants that are to be integrated has been criticized for its labelling effect on these migrants themselves, as it has an adverse effect on integration itself (Rath, 1991).

Even if migrants are defined in a general way, there is no general theory of how immigrant integration is to be achieved. The position of migrants is multifaceted. A distinction is often made in the literature among the social-economic, social-cultural and political-legal position of migrants (Fermin, 1997: 19). This concerns social-economic issues as educational achievements, labour market participation and housing, social-cultural issues as cultural organisations, discrimination, racism and social cohesion as well as political-legal issues as naturalisation regulations, dual nationality, equal treatment regulations and voting rights. As the aforementioned investigative committee already showed, different actors often stress different facets of the position of migrants as central to integration. For instance, in spite of the progress that was observed in social-economic domains such as education and labour, others held on to the conclusion that the integration had failed because of insufficient progress in primarily the social-cultural domain.

Finally, how immigrant integration is defined can involve many broader societal values. Immigrant integration is a value-laden notion that has often been connected to the specific normative conceptions of the nation state. In fact, it is the nation-state that defines international migration and that defines immigrant integration as a social issue. In many countries, the definition of migrants and the approaches to immigrant integration has correlated with nation-state conceptions (such as foreigners in the exclusionary ethnic German state, racial minorities in the multiracial British society, and mere immigrants in the inclusive French republic). In the Netherlands too, it has been associated to nation-building legacies such as the history of pillarism and tolerance toward religious and cultural differences. Moreover, immigrant integration has itself become an important issue for the revision of the Dutch national imagined community around the turn of the millennium, in the context of the ongoing social process of globalisation.

Thus, immigrant integration is far from a self-evident notion. Although 'integration' has become broadly accepted in academic and policy discourse in the

Netherlands as in many other European Countries (Favell, 2001: 3), its meaning has been minimally articulated. The meaning of integration, the definition of migrants, the theory of how to achieve integration, and the values and norms to which it appeals has fluctuated, contested by various actors, changeable between various periods and also strongly different between various nations. This unclear meaning of integration may explain why so many actors have managed to accept this notion that lends itself to so many different interpretations. However, it may also have contributed to the controversies and misunderstandings in the 'dialogues of the deaf' in this domain.

1.2   Immigrant integration research and policy

The uncertainty in terms of how to define immigrant integration has manifested itself in immigrant integration policy as well as in research in the Netherlands. Both have struggled over the past decades to come to terms with this complex social problem. In fact, neither spoke of immigrant integration until the 1990s. Until then, rather, they referred to emancipation or to the eventual return of temporary migrants, or 'international commuters'. Since the 1990s, integration's meaning has remained contested, as illustrated by the investigative committee discussed above. Also, migrants have been defined very differently over the past decades, as guest labourers, as ethnic or cultural minorities, as *allochthonous* (or 'not from here') or as newcomers and 'oldcomers'. Furthermore, immigrant integration has endured various explanations, for instance in terms of structural impediments to the emancipation of specific groups or citizenship on the part of migrants themselves. Finally, it has been categorised in different normative perspectives, such as cultural equality in a multicultural society, social-economic equity in a viable welfare state and national social-cultural cohesion in an age of globalisation.

These diverging interpretations of immigrant integration contributed to a series of shifts in Dutch immigrant integration policies over the past decades (Entzinger, 2005). The development of this policy domain has followed a rifted pattern over the past decades (Scholten & Timmermans, 2004). Until about the 1970s, only ad-hoc welfare measures existed for temporary migrants. In the 1980s there was a Minorities Policy, in the 1990s, an Integration Policy and since 2003 there has been a shift toward an Integration Policy 'New Style'. Throughout these policy episodes, immigrant integration was defined in different and sometimes even conflicting ways (Snel & Scholten, 2005; Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004). For instance, policy in the 1970s was aimed at preventing integration to facilitate return migration, which contrasts with later policies aimed at promoting integration. Further, the Minorities Policy provided various facilities to minority groups, whereas the Integration Policy was instead focused on individual migrants.

Also in immigrant integration research, changes in terms of how immigrant integration was defined have occurred. In the 1970s and especially the 1980s, there was a dominant Minorities Paradigm (Bovenkerk, 1984; Rath, 1991). This paradigm

was challenged by other ways of understanding immigrant integration that evolved since the 1990s. Later research involved the Citizenship or Integration Paradigm (Engbersen & Gabriëls, 1995a; Favell, 2001; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1979) as well as perspectives that linked immigrant integration to processes of internationalisation and globalisation (Entzinger, 2002; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001b; Van Amersfoort, 2001) or to rising concerns about national identity and social cohesion (Koopmans, forthcoming 2007; Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2003). These disagreements on how to define and understand immigrant integration show that research on this issue has been far from a coherent enterprise, but rather has been subject to controversies on what integration means, how it should be studied by researchers, what the role of research in integration should be, and so forth.

These different problem understandings in policy and research cannot be understood with reference to problem developments only. Different problem developments have been selected and defined as relevant in different periods. For instance, policy and research have put varying stress on either social-economic or social-cultural problem developments. Also, specific problem developments have often been interpreted differently. The growing visibility and institutionalisation of Islam in Dutch society, for example, has been interpreted both as an indication of successful multiculturalisation as well as an indication of the need for a tougher approach to integration. Of course, problem developments such as ongoing migration and growing diversity contributed to changes in research and policy, but this relation seems selective and indirect.

Also, the characteristics of migrant groups seem to offer an insufficient explanation for the changing definitions in policy and research. In fact, it has proven difficult to define who where the relevant involved groups in the first place; ethnic minorities, foreigners or allochthonous (*allochtonen*). Even when groups were defined in a specific way, it has proven difficult to select specific groups as policy target groups and exclude others. Furthermore, these groups were often badly organised and structured. For instance, migrant groups as Turks and Moroccans only developed group organisations in the 1980s due to intensive government involvement, often leading to sharp divides within the groups in terms of ethnic, cultural and religious differences. And even when migrant groups became increasingly organised, their role in policy and research remained relatively marginal because of their minimal involvement in research funding as well as government's fears that the policy involvement of migrant organisations would lead to relative deprivation of other (non-migrant) groups.

So, there is a need for new explanations on how and why both policy and research have come to understand immigrant integration in such different ways over the past decades. Such explanations must look beyond mere problem developments and immigrant groups involved, as subjects are often ambiguous, uncertain and contested. An important step toward creating a better understanding

of immigrant integration research and policy is to first develop an understanding of how and why researchers and research institutes, policy-makers and policy institutes develop a particular understanding of immigrant integration. This means that we have to study not only how they make sense of immigrant integration, but also on how their logic was structured and why.

1.3 The research-policy nexus

The debates surrounding the parliamentary investigative committee on integration policy suggest that the research-policy nexus has strongly influenced how immigrant integration was defined in policy. The literature on immigrant integration policy-making also contains many references to the prominent role that research institutes, advisory bodies and specific experts have played in this domain (Entzinger, 1984, 2003; Penninx, 1988b, 2005). For instance, several reports of the Scientific Council for Government Policy played a central role in policy turning points over the past decades (De Jong, 2002; Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004). Various other institutes on the research-policy nexus, such as the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) had important influence on policy developments over the past decades. This role of the research-policy nexus as a venue for policy development has also triggered fierce criticism. For instance, the involvement of scientific expertise would have interfered with the involvement of ethnic expertise (Penninx, 1988b: 27; Van Putten, 1990: 361). Also, it facilitated the de-politicization of this issue, offering an alternative venue for policy-making that allow avoidance of open political debates (De Beus, 1998; Rath, 2001; Van Amersfoort, 1984).

Furthermore, the research-policy nexus influenced the development of specific problem definitions in scientific research as well. For instance, government research programming and the establishment of the ACOM for the coordination of research contributed to the development of a Minorities Paradigm that defined immigrants as ethnic minorities characterised by social-economic deprivation and social-cultural deviance (Rath, 1991). Also, government-associated institutes such as the SCP coordinated their selection and acquisition of scientific data on the position of migrants with government demands and needs for information. For instance, as public and political discourse put more stress on social-cultural issues after the turn of the millennium, the SCP started to attribute more attention to social-cultural integration (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2002: 13). Researchers and research-institutes were often strongly oriented at or associated with national government institutes (Favell, 2001: 10). Critics have argued that the policy-involvement of research in this domain contributed to the rise of specific problem definitions and the exclusion of alternative definitions (Rath, 2001: 140). Furthermore, the alleged 'symbiosis' (Van Amersfoort, 1984) between research and national government institutes contributed to a strongly national orientation of research on immigrant integration. Only during the past decade has this national

orientation been challenged by more international or postnational perspectives, amongst others, due to the rise of research-policy nexus on local and European levels (Geddes, 2005).

An important indication of the importance of the research-policy nexus in shaping problem understandings in research and policy are the strong parallels among the periods in which these problem understandings changed in both domains. During the end of the 1970s and early 1980s, both research and policy developed an understanding of immigrant integration in terms of social-cultural emancipation and social-cultural participation of ethnic minorities (Minorities Paradigm and Minorities Policy). Later, during the end of the 1980s and especially the early 1990s, this problem understanding changed in both fields toward a more individualist orientation on citizenship and social-economic participation (Citizenship Paradigm and Integration Policy). Finally, after the turn of the millennium, both policy and research went through another period of significant change, although this time not entirely in the direction of a shared understanding on immigrant integration (Transnationalism, Assimilationism and the Integration Policy New Style). This suggests that immigrant integration research and policy have, at least to some extent, co-evolved in terms of their ways of defining and understanding immigrant integration (Timmermans & Scholten, 2006).

There does, however, not seem to have been one given and fixed research-policy nexus. Different actors were involved in this nexus in different periods, such as the ACOM, the WRR, the SCP, the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, the Department of Home Affairs, and various others. Whereas the nexus seems to have been strongly institutionalised in the 1980s, later it seems to have become more institutionally fragmented (Penninx, 2005). Different scientific disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology, economics and political science, were involved in various periods. Different sorts of expertise were provided, such as conceptual policy advice by the WRR and the ACOM but also more quantitative data by the SCP. A general belief of policy makers in the contribution of the social sciences to the rational feasibility of social problems (Blume, Hagendijk, & Prins, 1991) also seems to have played a role in this domain. This belief seems to have made place for a more sceptic attitude toward scientific expertise over the past decades, as illustrated by the controversies over scientific expertise surrounding the parliamentary investigative committee on the integration policy. Also within the field of scientific research there seems to be a growing number of controversies over what constitutes proper scientific research. Examples include the fierce struggles between the ACOM and the WRR in the early 1990s concerning proper research methods and proper relations with policy makers, the struggles surrounding the methodological premises of international comparative research following an article by the researcher Koopmans on Dutch integration policy in comparison with German policies, and the struggles about the alleged multiculturalist bias of the researchers

from the Verwey-Jonker Institute that made a policy evaluation study for the parliamentary investigative committee on the Integration Policy.

There seems to have been a strong variation in the shape of the research-policy nexus in this domain over the past decades. The nexus did not abide to one of the often-formulated cliché models of the research-policy nexus as 'science speaking truth to power' or 'politics on top, science on tap'. In fact, the shape of the research-policy nexus seems to have been subject to uncertainty and growing controversy, just like the problem definition of immigrant integration. It is this combination of uncertainty about problem definition and institutional uncertainty about how research and policy could tame this complex social issue that defines immigrant integration as an intractable controversy.

The aim of this research is to unravel the relation between the changing shapes of the research-policy nexus and the changing ways of defining of immigrant integration as a social problem. It aims to reach beyond the mere suggestion that the research-policy nexus played an important role in policy and research developments by analysing how and why the research-policy nexus was structured in specific ways over the past decades, and how and why it has affected the definitions of immigrant integration in research and policy. As such, this research seeks to explore to what extent the shaping of the research-policy nexus has structured how immigrant integration was interpreted in research and policy

1.4 Research, policy and reflection

Apart from the recognition that the research-policy nexus played an important role in research and policy developments, which will be examined in detail in this research, it is not clear what its contribution has been to resolving this intractable social problem. The various shifts in how immigrant integration has been understood in policy and research over the past decades and the persisting controversies in both research and policy over what immigrant integration actually means, suggest that this intractable problem is yet far from tamed. Furthermore, the controversies on the shaping of the research-policy nexus indicate difficulties in organising a fruitful dialogue between research and policy in developing a fundamental understanding of immigrant integration in terms of what immigrant integration means, who is involved, how it should be approached and why it would be a problem in the first place. In fact, policy makers have been criticised for being selective in picking and choosing those strands of expertise that fit their problem definitions (Penninx, 2005), and researchers have been challenged for being unable to critically reflect upon their own problem definitions because of their close entwinement with policy (Rath, 2001).

This research pursues a better understanding of how the research-policy nexus could contribute to critical reflection on the level of how to define immigrant integration. Through an empirical analysis of research-policy relations and their effects on policy and research, it hopes to overcome a 'dialogue of the deaf' on the

level of problem definition and to generate insights about how to organise a critical dialogue between research and policy that involves reflection on how to define immigrant integration. This research will not resolve this wicked topic by providing a new and superior problem understanding, such as determining whether immigrant integration is in fact a social-cultural or a social-economic issue. Rather, it takes a step back from ongoing controversies over immigrant integration, to instead focus on the structure of the research-policy nexus in these controversies. It will analyse how and why the research-policy nexus was structured in specific ways in various periods, and how and why different structures of this nexus had specific effects on changing problem understandings in policy and research. Further, this research will not determine what has or has not been proper scientific research. It will not make any claims about the scientific character of specific institutes or specific researchers. Rather, it will take a more empirical approach to studying a myriad research-policy nexus structures and determining to what extent they contributed to or inhibited critical reflection.

Embracing the idea of reflection means stepping beyond objectivist and relativist perspectives on the research-policy nexus. Objectivist perspectives involve a belief that scientific research, when following proper scientific methods and norms, can tame intractable controversies by producing objective knowledge about the nature of a particular social problem and countervailing the irrationality of politics. This provides the foundation of the normative model of the research-policy nexus as 'science speaking truth to power' (Wildavsky, 1979), which has been very influential in the social sciences in general and the policy sciences in particular (Radin, 2000). It has, however, been fiercely criticised for its idealised image of science as a producer of objective knowledge claims and for ignoring the many contingencies among scientific practices and policy-making (Ezrahi, 1990; Hoppe, 2005; Latour, 1993; Mulkay, 1984; Nelkin, 1979). Objectivist methods ignore, for example, that parallel to a process of scientification of politics, a process of politicization of science would have taken place (Weingart, 1999). Conversely, compared to objectivism, relativism involves a more cynical perspective on the role of scientific research in intractable controversies. In this perspective, the contingency of scientific practices and the inherently normative character of scientific knowledge are stressed to such an extent that the role of scientific research in resolving intractable controversies is considered negligible (Knorr-Cetina, 1995; Latour, 1993). It often stresses the role of political ideas or institutional interests of scientists and argues how the production of scientific authority would be primarily a matter of discourse (Gieryn, 1999).

This research takes an empirical approach to the actual social relations between policy makers, researchers and policy and research institutes, and to how these relations would have promoted critical reflection on how to define immigrant integration. Instead of adopting an ex-ante model of the research-policy nexus, it seeks to empirically reconstruct the research-policy nexus's framework during the

periods that the research and policy perspectives on immigrant integration changed. Based on an empirical reconstruction of the role of the research-policy nexus in these changes, an analysis can be made of how and why this nexus did or did not contribute to critical reflection on the level of problem definition. As such, it focuses on the relation between how the research-policy nexus is structured and how immigrant integration is defined, in an attempt to unravel to what extent this nexus was structured in such a way that it contributed to critical reflection or whether its role in the changing problem definitions in policy and research was of a different kind.

Through an empirical analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in policy and research developments, this research will generate insights about how the research-policy nexus can be structured to promote critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem definition. It will not 'resolve' the controversies over immigrant integration by developing a new definition of integration or by developing a normative model of the research-policy nexus. Rather, it aims to contribute to the 'situated' resolution of these controversies by actors within the structural settings of research and policy, through offering insights to involved actors on how to organise the research-policy nexus in a way that is characterised neither by objectivism nor relativism, but rather by an effort to engage in a critical dialogue between research and policy on how to define immigrant integration.

1.5 Research questions and a theoretical perspective

The central question of this research is: *what has been the role of the research-policy nexus in changing problem definitions in immigrant integration policy and research in the Netherlands from the 1970s to the turn of the millennium, how can this role be explained, and to what extent did it contribute to reflective dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem definition?* It is neither a study of of immigrant integration as a social problem, nor a study of immigrant integration research and policy in general. Rather, it is about how research-policy relations can be organised in such a way that they can contribute to the resolution of intractable problems as immigrant integration. In this vein, this research aims to provide more general insights of how the research-policy nexus can affect problem definition and, more precisely, how the research-policy nexus can be organised in such a way as to promote critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem definition.

Several research questions can be derived from this general question. First, as the focus of this research is on reflection on the level of problem definition, an analysis will be made of problem definitions in immigrant integration policy and research. *How has immigrant integration been defined in research and policy over the past decades, and what changes have taken place?* Subsequently, an empirical analysis will be made of the research-policy nexus in the periods that these changes in policy and research took place. This empirical analysis starts with the identification of the

relevant actors on which empirical research will focus. *What research and policy actors were involved in those periods that problem definitons changed in policy and research?* Subsequently, an analysis will be made of how these actors' defined the roles and relations between research and policy. *How and why did these actors construct specific dialogues between research and policy?* Based on this analysis of actors' social practices, an analysis can be made of the more structural nexus between research and policy that was produced as a result of various actors' practices. *What type of research-policy nexus was thus produced?* Finally, an analysis will be made of the role of the research-policy nexus in the changes in problem definitions in immigrant integration policy and research, and to what extent this role involved critical reflection. *How and why did the research-policy nexus contribute to the changes in problem definitions and to what extent did it contribute to a reflective dialogue between research and policy on the level of how to define immigrant integration?*

These questions will be addressed from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, based on the sociological thinking of Bourdieu (1975; 1977; 2004; 1992). This perspective fits the effort of this research to move beyond relativism and objectivism in the study of the research-policy nexus. Structuralist constructivism concentrates on how objective structures affect the social construction of problems as well as how the structures themselves products of ongoing processes of social construction.[6] Both problems and structures are considered to be produced and reproduced in actual social relations. Furthermore, Bourdieu believes that, although such structures can constrain human cognition, they can also offer opportunities for critical reflection. This means that, if social relations are structured in specific ways, they could promote reflection on a cognitive level.

This structuralist-constructivist perspective will be elaborated with the aid of specific theoretical notions from social sciences and from policy sciences. Both areas share a similar structuralist perspective on problem definition and a constructivist perspective on structures, but focus on different facets of the central research question. First of all, the framing-perspective developed by Rein and Schön (1994) will be used for studying how researchers and policy-makers made sense of a multifaceted issue as immigrant integration. The frame concept stresses how actors make sense of complex problem situations in a way that is inherently selective and normative. Actors selectively 'name' relevant problem facets and 'frame' these into normative and convincing cognitive stories that provide meaning to what is happening; who is involved and who is to blame; what caused this situation; and how it could and should be resolved. Intractable controversies concern those situations in which there are multiple frames. This multiplicity of frames can give rise to 'dialogues of the deaf' as actors with different frames tend to talk past each other because of their different ways of making sense of a problem situation (Van

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[6] In this respect, Bourdieu speaks of structuralist constructivism as well as constructivist structuralism. In this research, for conceptual clarity, I will refer to this combination of structuralism and constructivism as structuralist constructivism.

Eeten, 1999). However, when frames are made explicit and when specific structural conditions are met that induce actors to reflect upon their frames and alternative frames, Rein and Schön believe that critical frame reflection is possible, which could lead to the resolution of intractable controversies. Therefore, the first question concerning problem definitions in policy and research will be studied in terms of frames and frame-shifts in immigrant integration policy and research.

Secondly, to understand how researchers and policy-makers shape the research-policy nexus, a theoretical framework is adopted that focuses not so much on the 'framing' of problems but rather on the 'framing' of research-policy relations. To this aim, Bourdieu's notion of 'fields' will be adopted. Research and policy will be studied as structured fields of social relations that contain specific ideas and interests that play a role in the mutual relations between both fields. This involves a structuralist or contingent perspective on what in the sociology of science, and more in particular in Science and Technology Studies, has been described as 'boundary work' (Gieryn, 1995; Halffman & Hoppe, 2006; Jasanoff, 1990; Shapin & Schaffer, 1985). Boundary work refers to discursive, social and material ways ('technologies') of dividing and uniting science and policy in different ways. Boundary work refers primarily to the social construction of boundaries, whereas Bourdieu's field notion refers rather to the structural setting in which this boundary work takes place. Together, they constitute a structuralist-constructivist perspective on how actors in immigrant integration research and policy define their roles and mutual relations.

Thirdly, a typology will be used for analysing the products of this boundary work in the fields of immigrant integration research and policy containing various types of structures of the research-policy nexus, or various 'boundary configurations.' This typology has been developed by researchers from science studies as well as from policy sciences, such as Wittrock (1991) and Hoppe (2005). It allows us to reach beyond universal standard models as 'science speaking truth to power' (Wildavsky, 1979), to describe the diverse ways of how the boundary work of actors in the fields of research and policy can lead to the construction of different types of boundary configurations.

Finally, I will combine this structuralist-constructivist perspective on fields and boundary configurations with a structuralist-constructivist perspective on problem framing and frame reflection. Frames, as Rein and Schön argue, are embedded in specific institutional forums, or what I will describe as structured fields, which may be more or less susceptible to specific frames (1993: 158). Boundary configurations can affect these field structures to which frames are embedded in a way that either reinforces stability or promotes change. They can be sources of negative feedback by sustaining a field structure and a specific frame as well as sources of positive feedback by altering a field structure and supporting alternative frames. These structural implications of boundary configurations on field structures and the frames embedded in them do not necessarily involve frame reflection. Important in the context of this research is the extent to which boundary configurations

contribute to critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing. This means that boundary configurations should provide the structural conditions for frame reflection, such as openness to alternatives; the ability to put oneself in the shoes of another; critical reflection about ones ideas; pragmatism in resolving controversies; and trust (Rein & Schön, 1994: 165-187). If these conditions are not met, boundary configuration can decay into dialogues of the deaf that offer no opportunities for resolving intractable issues as immigrant integration.

This research will involve a single in-depth case study of the nexus between immigrant integration research and policy and its role in problem framing in research and policy in the Netherlands. This case study design provides limitations in terms of generalization to other issue domains in the Netherlands and immigrant integration research-policy nexus in other countries. An important benefit is that it allows for an in-depth study of the evolution of the research-policy nexus in the context of broader developments in the fields of immigrant integration research and policy and over a relatively long period of time (from the 1970s when immigrant integration research and policy evolved). Furthermore, it provides opportunities for analytical generalisation to other 'intractable' issues, which are becoming more and more representative of the transformation into a Risk Society.

1.6   Research map

This research consists of three parts: a theoretical part on the structuralist-constructivist perspective on research, policy and problem framing; an empirical part that includes the case study of immigrant integration research and policy in the Netherlands; and finally, the conclusions aimed at generalisation. In the first part, I will elaborate the structuralist-constructivist perspective that will be used in this research, and discuss how and why I developed this perspective in a theoretical framework based on insights from various disciplines for answering the central research questions. This involves a theoretical discussion of the central research concepts; frames, fields and boundary work, boundary configurations and frame reflection (Chapter 2). Subsequently, I will discuss the epistemological and methodological premises of this research. I will elaborate the methodological design of this research, including the operationalisation of the central concepts and the use of specific research methods (Chapter 3).

In the second part, I will elaborate the empirical case study of immigrant integration research and policy in the Netherlands. First, I will discuss the frames and frame-shifts in research and policy over the past decades, answering the first research question (Chapter 4). In the subsequent chapters, I focus on the three periods in which immigrant integration was reframed in policy as well as research: the first period from 1976 to 1983 (Chapter 5), the second from 1989 to 1994 (Chapter 6) and the third from 2000 to 2004 (Chapter 7). In each chapter, I will answer the second, third and fourth research questions; what research and policy actors were involved and how and why did these actors define the roles and mutual relations;

what type of research-policy nexus or 'boundary configuration' was thus produced; and finally, in what way did this structure of the research-policy nexus contribute to changes in structures and frames in research and policy, and to what extent did this involve frame reflection?

Finally, in the third part, I will draw some conclusions (Chapter 8). This will involve determinations about the case of immigrant integration research and policy in the Netherlands, but also an attempt to make analytical generalisations to other cases. In particular, this research aims to contribute to grounded theory about how the research-policy nexus can be structured in such a way that it stimulates critical frame reflection between research and policy.

PART I

RESEARCH, POLICY AND PROBLEM FRAMING
IN THEORY

2

SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, POLICY-MAKING AND PROBLEM FRAMING

This research adopts a structuralist-constructivist perspective on the central topic of this research: the relation between the research-policy nexus and the framing of immigrant integration in policy and research. From this perspective, the ways in which immigrant integration has been defined in research and policy are seen as inherently selective and normative ways of 'problem framing.' This problem framing is considered to be related to the structural settings in which the framing takes place. In this case the structures of the fields of immigrant integration are research and policy, and in particular, the structure of their mutual relationship. Furthermore, the structures themselves are seen as structural products of ongoing processes of boundary work. A structuralist-constructivist perspective therefore allows for an analysis of how and why the structure of the research-policy nexus has developed, as well as how and why these structural developments affect the framing of an issue, such as immigrant integration.

This structuralist-constructivist perspective differs from both relativist and objectivist perspectives on problem framing and on the research-policy nexus. It parts from the relativist premise that social problems are mere discursive constructs and also from the objectivist premise that social problems can be defined without ambiguity and uncertainty. Instead, structuralist constructivism focuses on structural conditions that affect how problems are cognitively and socially understood and searches for those conditions that may stimulate critical frame reflection. Furthermore, it parts from the relativist premise that the distinction between scientific research and policy is nothing but a discursive construction (science as politics with other means) and from the objectivist premise that research and policy follow fundamentally different logic, such as varied methods. Instead, structuralist constructivism focuses on the structural conditions that affect how the research-policy nexus is constructed and searches for those conditions that may stimulate critical dialogues between research and policy.

The aim of using this perspective for studying the nexus between immigrant integration research and policy is to find out to what extent and under what conditions this nexus has stimulated critical frame reflection on immigrant integration in various periods. It will not provide a full explanation for how and why immigrant integration has been framed in specific ways, as it focuses on one factor (the research-policy nexus) and ignores other factors that may affect problem framing as well (such as the role of minorities organisations, the role of judicial venues, etc.). Also, it will not account fully for the structural development of

immigrant integration research and policy, as it concentrates in particular on the nexus between research and policy in relation to developments in research and policy. Structuralist constructivism does, however, allow for an empirical analysis of how and why the research-policy nexus was shaped in specific ways and how and why this affected the framing of immigrant integration in policy and research. It allows us to see how the structural setting of research-policy relations has affected our understanding of immigrant integration and has played a role in the evolution of this intractable topic in research and policy. Thereby, it can provide insights on how this setting could be structured in such a way to cope with this intractable research and policy topic and also avert a dialogue of the deaf between research and policy.

A structuralist-constructivist perspective on the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing first requires an understanding of how and why immigrant integration has been defined and understood in such different ways in research and policy over the past decades. To do this, I will make use of the theoretical notion of 'framing' (2.2). Then, the structural setting in which this framing takes place must be examined in this case the structural settings of immigrant integration research and policy. In particular, I am interested in how actors within these settings have produced and reproduced specific structural relations between the fields of research and policy. For this situation, I will approach immigrant integration research and policy as 'fields' of structured relations that are produced and reproduced in ongoing processes of boundary work in relation to other fields (2.3). The boundary work processes within both fields can institutionalise in various ways, producing different structures of the research policy nexus, or different 'boundary configurations.' I will elaborate several theoretical models for analysing the developments in these boundary configurations over time (2.4). Then, finally, this research examines how these developments in boundary configurations may have contributed to changes in the structures of immigrant integration research and policy and changes in problem framing in both fields. Accordingly, I will analyse the role of boundary configurations in processes that stimulate change (positive feedback) and that inhibit change (negative feedback), in providing the structural conditions for specific frames to emerge and finally in promoting critical frame-reflection between research and policy (2.5).

2.1 Structuralist Constructivism: Beyond objectivism and relativism

Structuralist constructivism goes a step beyond relativism and objectivism in the study of social structures and social problems. It combines a constructivist view on social structures as science and policy with a structuralist perspective on the social construction of problems as immigrant integration (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 11). It takes an empirical approach to how structured fields as scientific research and policy-making are constructed in actual social relations and practices of actors in these fields. Also, it takes an empirical approach to how these structured fields

influence the way actors socially construct the world around them, for instance how they define social problems as immigrant integration or how they define the research-policy nexus.

Structuralist constructivism is based on distinct ontological and methodological premises. In terms of its world-view or ontology, it sees the research-policy nexus and problem frames as products of structured social relations. This means that the distribution of power and the structural rules of the game in social relations between actors in a specific domain are considered explanations for how and why these actors construct the research-policy nexus and frame problems in specific ways. In terms of methodology, structuralist constructivism involves an empirical approach to the study of the research-policy nexus and problem framing. Only by studying the social practices of, and the social relations among actors can we begin to understand how and why the research-policy nexus is shaped in specific ways and how and why resulting problems are framed in specific ways. In sum, structuralist constructivism neither nullifies nor reifies the research-policy nexus and problem framing, but rather defines both as 'relational' or products of actual social practices and relations (Bourdieu, 1975; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992).

This relational perspective on problems and structures involves a rejection of objectivism and relativism. Objectivism is rejected as both the research-policy nexus and social problems are not given. The idea that there would be an 'essence' or 'nature' to the proper relation between research and policy and to problems as immigrant integration is dismissed. Such essentialism is manifest in, for instance, studies that discuss the role of science in terms of so-called universal standard models of what science should be, or in studies that try to discover the essence of social problems through empirical analysis. Relativism is rejected as well. Relativism implies the impossibility to discuss and reflect upon social problems and research-policy relations in meaningful terms. One way of defining a problem would be as good as any other, and any way of distinguishing science and policy from one another would be as meaningless as any other. Instead, this research will be based on the premise that social problems can be defined in very diverse ways, often focusing on different attributes of a problem situation. Through reflection on these problem definitions, the correspondence with the problem situation and with other problem definitions can be enhanced. Furthermore, research-policy relations will not be determined by essence or nature of science or policy. However, they do involve social structures produced in actual social relations that can be very real in terms of their consequences.

Based on this structuralist-constructivist perspective, two theoretical literatures will be combined for studying the role of the research-policy nexus in problem definition in research and policy. The first is the *framing* perspective, developed by Rein and Schön to study how actors 'frame' issues in inherently selective and normative ways. It recognises that social problems are not merely 'out there', and dictated by facts, but rather are socially defined, or 'made real'. Problem situations,

especially those that are complex, multifaceted and involve various normative issues, will often be characterised by a multiplicity of possible realities or 'frames' (Goffman, 1974; Rein & Schön, 1994). A problem frame will then involve the naming of specific facets from problem situations and an inherently normative way of framing these into cognitive stories about what is going on, who is involved, why it is going on and what could or should be done in solution. For instance, different frames of immigrant integration can focus on different problem facets (such as social-economic or social-cultural facets), on different groups or categories (such as foreigners or minorities), tell different stories to explain what is going on (such as discrimination or inadequate citizenship) and make different normative leaps from 'is' to 'ought' (such as preserving social cohesion or facilitating cultural diversity).

Rein and Schön's frame approach involves a relational perspective on problem framing, as it recognizes the influence of the structural setting in which framing takes place. They refer to frames as being connected to specific institutional forums that induce actors to name and frame a problem situation in a specific way (Rein, 1986: 12). In fact, their discussion of frame reflection concerns the question of when the structures of such forums and of the relations between forums can influence actors to reflect upon their frames and on possible alternative frames. For instance, they argue that such structures must generate openness for alternatives, empathy toward other frames, a critical attitude toward one's own frame and a willingness to adapt it when necessary, and a certain degree of trust among the actors involved in critical frame reflection (Rein & Schön, 1994: 37). By structuring forums and the relations between forums in a way that they satisfy these structural conditions that frame reflection can be promoted. In this respect, Rein and Schön's frame approach differs from more symbolic-interactionist frame approaches such as the one developed by Goffman (1974).

The framing perspective, however, does not contain a relational perspective on these institutional forums themselves to explain how and why these forums are structured in specific ways. In fact, the notion of institutional forums is used rather loosely in the work of Rein and Schön, when applied to organisations as well as to institutions. Also, it does not contain a specific focus on research and policy as institutional forums. Therefore, this frame perspective will be combinedwith a more developed relational perspective on research and policy and on the structure of their mutual relations. Based on the same structuralist-constructivist ontology, this research will adopt Bourdieu's perspective on science and policy as 'fields' of structured social relations that are constantly at stake within the fields themselves as well as in the relations between fields. This notion of fields has been developed more fully in the institutional sociology of science (Hess, 1997: 52). Here, literature has evolved on *'boundary work'*, concerning how actors within specific positions in field structures demarcate a field structure and coordinate its relations with other fields in their social relations. Fields and boundary work are strongly related, in this structuralist-constructivist perspective, as what is at stake at the boundaries of fields

will also affect the stakes within fields themselves. For instance, structural changes within a field can be affected by changes on the boundaries with other fields and vice versa, such as when specific research institutes manage to acquire authority or funding for their research, which will reinforce their position within the research field.

Boundary work and ongoing processes of redefining field structures in research and policy can combine in various ways, producing different structural nexuses between both fields, or different *'boundary configurations.'* These boundary configurations are a structural consequence of boundary work and structural developments within fields. Also, they can be a source of change within both fields. They establish specific relations between both fields and also generate different degrees of autonomy for either field. In literature strongly related to this institutional sociology of science, various theoretical models of boundary configurations are distinguished, such as enlightenment, bureaucratic, engineering and technocratic configurations (Hoppe, 2005; Wittrock, 1991). In this respect, this literature clearly parts from objectivist approaches that stick to one universal standard model of research-policy relations, as well as from relativist approaches that denounce the idea that we can speak about boundary configurations, field autonomy and structural relations among the fields in any meaningful terms.

The literature about fields and boundary configurations will be connected to Rein and Schön's ideas about problem framing and *frame reflection*. As argued, boundary configurations can be a consequence as well as a source of changes in field structures. They can, for instance, either challenge or reinforce the structures or 'institutional forums' to which a specific frame is embedded. They can generate either positive feedback toward change or negative feedback to induce stability (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). As such, boundary configurations can offer strategic opportunities for change in research as well as policy, as in Fischer's analysis of the politics of expertise that showed how research-institutes or think tanks played a role in the war of ideas among different political groups (Fischer, 1993). Furthermore, the structural effects of boundary configurations can generate structural conditions that change the level of susceptibility to specific frames. For instance, Guiraudon has shown how keeping policy-making behind gilded doors, amongst others via research institutes, contributed to policy framing that allowed for the extension of migrant rights in various countries (Guiraudon, 1997).

Frame reflection requires, however, that boundary configurations are structured in a way that provides the conditions for critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing. This involves what Rein and Schön describe as 'design rationality' (1994: 165), which can be fruitfully applied to the structure of research-policy relations. In order to meet the demands of design rationality, boundary configurations have to generate openness, empathy toward alternative frames, critical reflection upon these frames, a willingness to adapt frames if necessary and a certain amount of trust to engage in critical debates in the

first place. If these criteria are met, boundary configurations can be expected to lead to critical frame reflection. If not, they can still play a role in frame-shifts, but in a way other than frame reflection. As perceived from the concept of framing, such non-reflective interaction between research and policy can be understood as dialogues of the deaf. Such dialogues may produce frame-shifts, but not in a way that involves critical reflection on the level of problem framing.

Finally, problem framing and the construction of boundary configurations in the domain of immigrant integration cannot be divorced from the broader social context of this issue domain. In fact, the relation with context will be constantly at risk in problem framing and the boundary work of research and policy actors. However, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, context does not form a mere external constraint on problem framing and boundary work. The selective and normative ways in which actors frame an issue also involves selective and normative ways of perceiving the social context. For instance, developments in the problem situation do not simply determine problem framing, but will be mediated through problem frames of actors that select and interpret these problem developments in specific ways. Furthermore, boundary work practices of actors can be affected by structural developments beyond the scope of the fields of immigrant integration research and policy. For instance, macro-institutional developments in the structure and culture of politics and policy-making can affect the boundary work of actors within the domain of immigrant integration, but will be mediated by the changes in their positions within the research and policy fields.

By taking this structuralist-constructivist perspective on how boundary work can produce different structural boundary configurations and how these boundary configurations can create different opportunities and obstacles to frame reflection this research parts with relativism and objectivism. It parts from relativism in that it does allow for the possibility of research-policy relations being structured in such a way that they can generate meaningful dialogues about how immigrant integration is to be understood or 'framed'. And it parts from objectivism in that it contains neither an ex-ante normative model of how research-policy relations should be constructed nor an ex-ante normative conception of how immigrant integration should be framed. As such, the structuralist-constructivist perspective that is adopted in this research (see figure 1) seems best suited for studying intractable type of issues as immigrant integration, which involve uncertainty about problem framing as well as about the structural mechanisms for coping with new social problems, and which are becoming increasingly characteristic for the evolving Risk Society.

Figure 1: Heuristic model of a structuralist-constructivist perspective
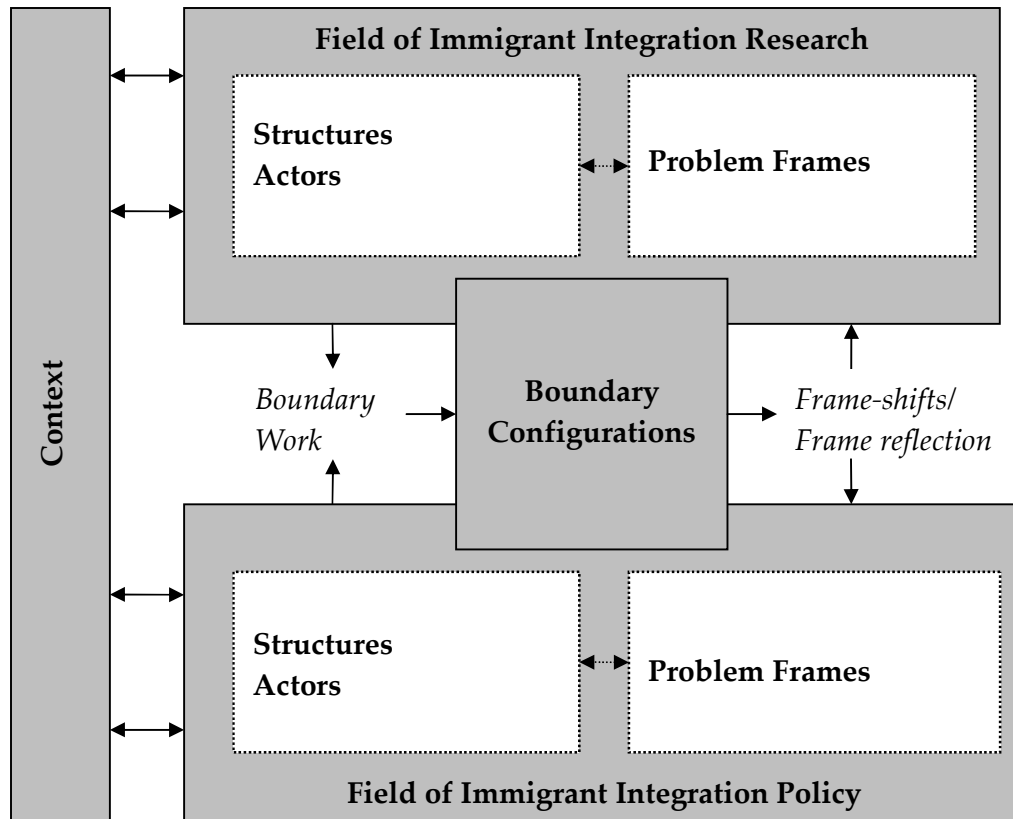
2.2 Problem framing

The different ways in which immigrant integration has been defined and understood in research and policy will be studied from the perspective of problem framing. Framing involves different selective and normative ways that actors make sense of complex and multifaceted issues such as immigrant integration. Actors with different frames will not only perceive problems differently, they will disagree about what the problem actually is, who is involved, how the problem is to be explained and what could and should be done about the problem. This is why intractable issues, characterised by a multiplicity of frames not only involve disagreement about the problem, but also a disagreement about this disagreement. This seems, for instance, to have been the case in the debates about the success or failure of the integration process surrounding the previously discussed parliamentary investigative committee. Here, disagreement did arouse not only about whether the integration had been successful, but also about what integration meant and therefore also what its success or failure would mean.

2.2.1 The sociology of social problems

The frame concept has its theoretical roots in the sociology of social problems. Goffman (1974) was the first to develop the frame concept, and did so within a more

symbolic interactionist strand of theory. He studied how actors construct answers to the question 'what is going on here' within actual social relations, such as everyday interactions with other actors. He coined the term 'frame' to describe how actors attribute meaning to reality and position themselves in this reality. Through frames, actors create a subjective order out of an ambiguous and complex reality, and understand what their own position in this reality is and how their actions upon this reality should be guided.

Rein and Schön (1994) further elaborated the frame-concept, putting it in a more cognitive and structuralist perspective. Their use of the frame notion differs from that of Goffman in that they do not define frames in terms of how actors create images of what is going on in interaction with others. Rather, they position frames on a cognitive level, in terms of how actors have learned to define and understand a situation in specific ways. They do, however, recognise that human cognition is inherently entwined with more subjective images and normative appreciations. They define frames as 'underlying structures of belief, perception and appreciation' (1994: 23). Frames are defined as underlying, as they are generally 'tacit' or even unknown to actors themselves (1994: 34). However, as Rein and Schön argue, although frames are usually tacit, they do play an important role in actual social practices: they provide a 'way of selecting, organising, interpreting, and making sense of a complex reality to provide guideposts for knowing, analysing, persuading and acting' (1994: 32).

Furthermore, whereas Goffman defines frames as outcomes of symbolic interaction, Rein and Schön position framing within a structural context; 'framing (...) always takes place within a nested context' (Rein, 1986: 10; also Rein & Schön, 1994: 32). This nested context involves various structural or institutional 'forums', with their own 'rules of the game' and distribution of 'social roles' (1986: 13). In fact, they argue that this nested context will affect how actors decide to frame an issue; 'the institutional context may carry its own characteristic perspective sand ways of framing issues (...), or it may offer particular roles, channels and norms for discussion and debate' (1986: 12). Different institutional forums involve different 'criteria by which judgments are made about the legitimacy of participants and their standing as participants in the policy conversation' (1986: 13). Rein and Schön adopt a more structuralist perspective on framing than Goffman. In this respect, their frame approach carries resemblance to Gusfield´s sociology of social problems, which focused both on what he described as ´the culture of public problems´ and ´the structure of public problems´. For instance, in his research to the public problem of car accidents, Gusfield showed how the structure of this problem, involving a dominant role of the National Safety Council as well as insurance companies and industries, influenced the culture of this problem, focused on unsafe drivers (´the drinking driver´) rather than on unsafe cars or roads (Gusfield, 1980). This is reminiscent of Schattschneider´s dictum that every structural organisation involves a selective mobilisation of bias (1960).

The frame approach as developed by Rein and Schön differs from more social-constructivist and structuralist approaches in the sociology of social problems. Social constructivists Spector and Kitsuse (1977), focus on how actors socially construct problems through their claims making. They argue that it is through 'the emergence, nature and maintenance of claims-making and responding activities' of social actors that problems are constructed (Spector and Kitsuse, 1973: cit. in Rubington & Weinberg, 1995: 296). This social-constructivist tradition has contributed to the rise of discourse theories that focus in particular on discursive claim making, involving a strong focus on language (Hajer, 1995; Yanow, 1996). However, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, discourse forms part of the structural context in which framing takes place. Discourse, or language, constitute structures of meaning that have been institutionalised over decades or centuries, and whose acquisition and change is also a structural matter rather than a mere form of interaction in an institutional or structural void. For instance, it is through the available institutionalised repertoire of language that signification occurs, or that meaning is attributed to reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). Through the wording of problems, these problems are made real, or objectified, in a way that they can be recognised and understood by actors, as well as communicated amongst actors (ibid : 49-61).

On the other hand, structuralist approaches often put great stress on the role of structural interests and power structures in the definition of social problems. However, from a relational perspective, interests or power and cognition are considered reciprocal. Lukes has, for instance, drawn attention to how power reveals itself in cognitive beliefs. He has described this as the 'hidden faces of power', saying 'A may exercise power over B by getting him to do what he does not want to do, but he also exercises power over him by influencing, shaping or determining his very wants' (Lukes, 1974: 24). As such, power and interests cannot be assumed to be objective or 'given' to the actors involved as well as to the researcher that studies power and interests. This does not mean that power and interests are irrelevant, but rather that they must be studied on the level of human cognition and actual social relations rather than as exogenous constraints on problem framing.

2.2.2   The naming and framing of reality

Frames 'name' and 'frame' a specific situation in a way that provides an answer to the question 'what is going on here?' In the literature of the sociology of social problems, several facets of how problem situations are made sense of in problem framing have to be distinguished. This involves the use of specific discourse or language for naming the problem situation, the definition of the groups or categories that are involved, a causal story to explain the problem and a normative perspective for suggesting what could and should be done about it.

First of all, frames name an issue in terms of specific concepts and metaphors. The naming or wording of reality is the first step of the framing of reality. Language is more than a neutral description of reality; it not only describes, but also makes reality. According to Edelman (1988: 9); 'the language that interprets objects and actions also constitutes the subject.' Concepts can convey social meaning to particular situations, especially as these concepts themselves have developed a specific meaning through their historical usage. They can make subjects 'tangible' or 'real', by referring to meanings that are more generally known (Parsons, 1995: 180). Concepts can therefore become central carriers or devices in the 'dynamics of knowledge', transferring meaning among various issue domains (Maasen & Weingart, 2000). They can become 'generative' metaphors (Rein & Schön, 1994; D. Stone, 1988/2002) as they project a particular historically developed meaning onto a new situation. Specific concepts and metaphors can therefore play a central role in the framing of policy problems. In fact, as Edelman (1977; 1988) has argued, the construction of symbolic meaning can become the centre of the 'political spectacle' rather than actual problem-solving. For instance, as politicians try to convey positive images about particular policy frames in spite of huge deficiencies of pathologies of such policies as seen from contending frames, it is quite possible that words succeed whereas policies actually fail (ibid).

Secondly, the naming of issues involves the social classification of relevant groups or categories (Yanow, 2000). Defining whose problem it is and why, is an important part of issue framing. Social classification involves the definition of groups, with a specific group structure or categories, which do not involve a structure but instead share a specific characteristic within a category. For instance, it can make a great difference whether integration concerns specific ethnic or cultural groups (such as Turks, Muslims) or specific categories (such as guest workers, foreigners, aliens). The classification of groups or categories is far from an unambiguous or neutral process, as Schneider and Ingram have shown (1993; 1997). They drew attention to how social classification conveys specific public images and perceptions of power positions of specific groups or categories. Groups or categories can be defined as advantaged, contenders, dependents or deviants, which can have significant practical implications. For instance, it poses important political risks to impose burdens on the advantaged or on dependents or to provide benefits to contenders or deviants. Similarly, it poses political opportunities to impose burdens on contenders and deviants, or to provide benefits to advantaged and dependents.

Thirdly, the framing of a problem situation means not only that relevant facets and groups and categories have to be named, but also that these names are glued into an intelligible and convincing story about how an issue can be explained. According to Rein and Schön, stories 'construct a problem out of the vague and indeterminate reality' (1994: 26). Stone (1989) has elaborated the concept of causal stories as stories about what causes a problem (responsibility) and about the extent

to which a problem could be tamed (control). Important in this respect is that these are stories about causality which, apart from debates of whether reality is causally determined, socially construct causality in a way that should be comprehensible and convincing rather than empirically accurate. The stories are products of social struggles over causality. Attributing control or responsibility to a particular group or category can be an important part of politics of either blame avoidance or blame attribution. According to Stone, so-called 'strong stories' that either clearly attribute or avert responsibility and control for a problem are important for actor strategies to avoid blame or attribute blame to other actors. In contrast, stories of 'intentional cause' attribute clear responsibility and control for policy success or failure to a particular actor, whereas stories of 'accidental cause' are aimed to avoid blame by attributing failure or success to unguided action and unintended consequences. In addition, Stone distinguishes stories of mechanical cause, involving unguided action but intended consequences, for instance as policy failure is the result of intervening factors that caused policy efforts to fail, or inadvertent cause, involving purposeful action but unintended effects, for instance the negative side effects of policies.

Finally, frames are not only about what 'is' but also about what 'ought to be.' They are inherently normative. Rein and Schön (1993: 148) label this as the 'normative leap from is to ought'; frames also contain ideas about what 'ought to be' and what 'ought to be done'. As such, frames do not only influence knowledge and understanding, but also social action. This normative leap will often involve core values that are broader in society and that can be 'communicated directly and simply through image and rhetoric', such as equality, equity, liberty, progress, solidarity, patriotism, etcetera (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 7). In addition, it often involves a call for social action, which has been referred to as the performative function of frames; they not only construct a reality but also call for action upon this reality (Fischer & Forester, 1993). For instance, framing society as a multicultural society will also appeal to values such as cultural equality and equity and call for action to effectuate such values. In contrast, framing society with reference to values as patriotism would lead to a very different normative leap from is to ought to be.

The frame perspective concentrates on how actors make sense of problem situations in terms of specific discourse or terminology, specific ways of classifying involved groups or categories, causal stories that explain the problem and specific normative ideas about what ought to be done. It is through this naming and framing that actors make sense out of complex and multifaceted problem situations. Furthermore, as will be discussed in more detail later, the specific ways in which this naming and framing takes place, and the extent to which actors are able to reflect upon their usually tacit frames, will depend on the structural context in which framing takes place.

2.2.3   Intractable controversies, frame-shifts and frame reflection

Rein and Schön refer to 'intractable controversies' as those situations that are characterised by a multiplicity of frames or 'multiple social realities' (1994: 4; 1996: 240). This means that within the context of a problem situation there are actors that carry different frames: they name the problem in different terms, they have different ways of social classification of involved groups of categories, they explain the phenomenon in different ways and also carry different normative ideas about it. The actors can involve, for example, a framing of immigrant integration as an issue of social-economic participation of individual migrants in the context of the welfare state or as an issue of social-cultural emancipation of ethnic minorities in a multicultural society. This kind of controversy, characterised by multiple frames, tends to be 'intractable' as it seems to defy resolution and obstruct critical debates about a problem situation, because the involved actors not only share different ideas about a certain issue, but also disagree about the very issue at stake.

Intractable controversies involve 'frame-conflicts', or 'struggles over the naming and framing of a policy situation, (...) symbolic contests over the social meaning of an issue domain, where meaning implies not only what is at issue but what is to be done' (Rein & Schön, 1994: 29). Such frame-conflicts differ fundamentally from disagreements about more structured problems, or problems that are characterised by a general agreement about 'problem framing' (Hisschemöller & Hoppe, 1995). They defy resolution by merely studying 'the facts', because actors with different frames tend to select different factual evidence, and even if they agree on the selection of evidence, they tend to interpret it differently. For instance, the relevance of factual evidence on educational achievements of migrants depends on the relevance of education as a sphere of integration in a specific frame. Also, evidence about educational achievements can then still be interpreted differently, for instance as an indication of progress over time of migrants as well as an indication of persisting relative deprivation in comparison to other social categories.

Problem situations that are characterised by a multiplicity of frames tend to become intractable, as involved actors disagree about the nature of their disagreement. As long as actors remain unconscious of their usually tacit frames, these situations will lead to dialogues of the deaf rather than rational controversy resolution (Van Eeten, 1999). Actors will often not be inclined to become aware of their frames, as these have become 'taken-for-granted' or naturalised in their everyday discourse and are often also strongly embedded to actors normative perspectives.

Frame-shifts thus involve fundamental changes in how actors define and understand specific problem situations. They constitute 'reality shifts' (Fischer, 2003: 155) rather than merely different ways of perceiving a problem. Social science literature is full of references to the difficulties of achieving such frame-shifts. For instance, both Hall and Sabatier question the capacity of individuals to become aware, reflect upon or even alter their most fundamental beliefs, as this would be

similar to religious conversion. They believe that 'learning' on a cognitive level could only lead to relatively minor adjustments of frames (Hall, 1993; P.A. Sabatier, 1987; P.A. Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999: 123). Frame-shifts would rather be the consequence of changes in the institutional context or as Sabatier describes them, 'external perturbations' (P.A. Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1999: 118). This involves, for instance, broader cultural changes (mood swings), social-economic developments, political shifts and constitutional changes. Furthermore, these institutional changes would lead to frame-shifts by changing the power relations (distribution of resources, capital) between actors with different frames, rather than bringing about awareness of different frames. Agenda-setting theory is also rather sceptic of the opportunities for actors to become aware of their tacit frames. It hypothesises frame-shifts as consequences of agenda setting. According to Baumgartner and Jones (2002: 15-23), this agenda setting would be achieved primarily by shifting attention to other problem facets rather than by reflecting upon a frame (attention-shifts or non-contradictory argumentation) or through the social process of mimicking (unreflectively adopting the ideas of others). Agenda setting theory also refers to the relevance of 'external perturbations', such as the occurrence of focus-events (Kingdon, 1995: 94).

Rein and Schön argue, in contrast, that critical reflection on actors' frames is possible. They believe that actors can become aware of their own frames, and critically reflect upon them. Such frame reflection would involve critical reflection on a frame's internal consistency and coherency, on its relation to developments in a problem situation and its relation to larger developments in society (Rein & Schön, 1994: 37). This means that actors would be able to reflect critically to what extent their frame offers a convincing story about a problem situation, whether it fits the evidence (as selected based on the frame itself) and whether it fits with ones broader normative perspective.

> Starting with the analysis of controversy as frame conflict, we propose that human beings can reflect on and learn about the game of policy making even as they play it, and, more specifically, that they are capable of reflecting in action on the frame conflicts that underlie controversies and account for their intractability. In our view, human beings are capable of exploring how their own actions may exacerbate contention, contribute to stalemate, and trigger extreme pendulum swings, or, on the contrary, how their actions might help to resolve the frame conflicts that underlie stubborn policy disputes. We believe that hope for human reason in the chaotic, conflictual world of policy-making lies in a view of policy rationality that gives a central place to this human capability for reflection 'within the game' (Rein & Schön, 1994: 37-38).

Frame-reflection is, according to Rein and Schön, always 'situated'. This means that there is no universal law of how frame-reflection can be achieved. How and to what extent it can be achieved will depend on the institutional setting (situational context). Only when this institutional setting is structured in a way that meets

specific criteria (openness, empathy to other frames, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust), will it lead to frame-reflection. Therefore, actors can reflect upon their frames and possibly adapt their frames if the structural context is favourable (Rein & Schön, 1996: 150). Thus, frame-reflection could lead to the 'situated resolution of frame controversies' (Rein & Schön, 1994: 176). This belief marks the difference between relativist approaches that discard the possibility of frame reflection and objectivist approaches that see framing as a consequence of structural developments rather than reflection. Also, it differs from Habermas' perspective on how to achieve reflection beyond relativism and objectivism by establishing a so-called 'ideal free speech situation' in which a power-free social context is created so as to reflect upon frames. Rein and Schön believe that frame-reflection has to be achieved within the structural setting of a problem situation, rather than by creating a setting removed from the actual structural setting of actors involved in a problem situation.

2.3   Boundary work and research and policy fields

Rein and Schön already attribute considerable attention to the situational setting in which problem framing takes place. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the social construction of problems is considered inherently related to the social construction of the structural setting in which this framing takes place. This research will focus specifically on the nexus between immigrant integration research and policy as part of the structural setting in which the framing of immigrant integration has occurred. This means that we have to put problem framing in the perspective of the structural setting of social relations within and between research and policy. Or, in Gusfield's terms, we have to pay attention the culture of public problems as well as to the structure of these public problems; in this case the structure of research, policy and of their mutual relations. To do this, I will analyse immigrant integration research and policy as fields of structured relations that can involve different sorts of boundary work in the relations between the fields.

2.3.1   Scientific research and policy-making as fields

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, both scientific research and policy-making are defined as fields of structured social relations (Bourdieu, 1975, 2004; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Any field has its own structure, involving actors with specific positions within a field structure that follow specific institutional rules of the game. Both scientific research and policy-making are fields with distinct structures characterised by a different distribution of positions amongst actors and different institutional rules. The positions and rules of the game within a field involve specific distributions of power or 'capital' amongst actors. This can involve economic capital (such as resources), as well as social capital (networks), cultural capital (knowledge) and symbolic capital (authority, legitimacy) (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 17). According to Bourdieu, the distribution of capital defines a field structure, as it determines the distribution of positions amongst actors and determines the rules of the game. In this perspective, a field is not a level playing

field, but contains a specific distribution of capital. For instance, in his study of the field of intellectuals, Bourdieu shows how actors are driven by a determination to distinguish their positions as intellectuals from other actors (non-intellectuals) and define the rules of being a good intellectual in such a way that provides them with symbolic capital (authority) within the structure of the intellectual field (Bourdieu, 1988).

Field structures are inherently dynamic. They provide 'spaces of conflict and competition' among actors that advocate change as well as stability. Some actors will be driven to change a field structure while others will be more inclined to reproduce a field structure, depending on the distribution of capital in this field structure. Some actors will be driven to construct a field structure in such a way that it includes and excludes specific actors. The boundaries between one field structure and that of other fields are thus constantly at stake within the field itself.

> '(...) A field may be defined as a network, or a configuration, of objective relations between positions. These positions are objectively defined, in their existence and in the determinations they impose upon their occupants, agents or institutions, by their present and potential situation (...) in the structure of the distribution of species of power (or capital) whose possession commands access to the specific profits that are at stake in the field, as well as by their objective relation to other positions. (...) We can (...) compare a field to a game (*jeu*) although, unlike the latter, a field is not the product of a deliberate act of creation, and it follows rules or, better, regularities, that are not explicit and codified. (...) The question of the limits of the field is a very difficult one, if only because it is always at stake in the field itself and therefore admits no a priori answer. (...) Thus, the boundaries of the field can only be determined by an empirical investigation. (...) Every field constitutes a potentially open space of play whose boundaries are dynamic borders which are the stake of the struggles within the field itself' (in Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 97-104).

It is important to note that from a structuralist-constructivist point of view, as taken by Bourdieu, these field structures do not exist outside the actors in a field. Rather, 'it is in the relationship between the various agents that the field and the relations of force that characterise it, are generated' (Bourdieu, 2004: 33). This means that a field structure is not seen as an exogenous constraint on actor relations but as an endogenous product of these social relations. Field structures simultaneously constrain and enable social relations through what Bourdieu describes as relatively enduring dispositions or the 'habitus' of actors. A habitus does not involve a form of conscious rule following, but rather a sort of 'feeling' or 'sense for the game'. It is in the regularities of the habitus of actors that field structures exist. Furthermore, this habitus is a reflection of the capital an actor possesses. For instance, to become an 'intellectual' would require an intensive conversion of economic capital (resources, time) into social, cultural and symbolic capital to obtain a position within the intellectual field and to get to 'sense' the rules of the game. Once such a

position within the intellectual field is obtained, the habitus of the actor will constrain the inclination to transform the field structure in a way that would produce negative outcomes in terms of the distribution of capital, for instance in a way that would change the rules of being a good intellectual in such a way that symbolic capital is transferred to other intellectuals.

The field perspective thus focuses on how the structural positions and rules of the game in the fields of research and policy-making reflect a specific distribution of species of capital. For instance, it focuses not merely on the formal roles of policy institutes and researchers, but rather on the actual positions they obtain within their fields through relations to other actors and on the rules of the game (norms) they abide to in doing research and making policies. It shifts attention from how actors within these fields frame issues as immigrant integration, to their habitus, their structural positions and their feeling for the rules of doing research and making policies. This habitus and field structures can only be established by empirical analysis of actual social relations or practices of the actors within both fields. They cannot be assumed as in objectivist analyses or ignored as in relativist analyses. The focus is on scientific research and policy-making as 'crafts' or 'arts' (Bourdieu, 2004: 38)

> 'The pure universe of even the purest science is a social field like any other, with its distribution of power and its monopolies, its struggles and strategies, interests and profits, but it is a field in which all these invariants take on specific forms. (…) As a system of objective relations between positions already won (in previous struggles), the scientific field is the locus of competitive struggle, in which the specific issue at stake is the monopoly of scientific authority, defined inseparably as technical capacity and social power, or, to put in another way, the monopoly of scientific competence, in the sense of a particular agent's socially recognized capacity to speak and act legitimately (i.e. in an authorized an authoritative way) in scientific matters' (Bourdieu, 1975: 19).

Both the policy field and research field are characterised by their own distinct forms of capital, often described as political capital and scientific capital (ibid: 34). Both are forms of symbolic capital concerning the recognition of the authority and legitimacy of actors to make policies or to be recognised as 'scientific'. As forms of symbolic capital they are 'based on knowledge and recognition (…) which functions as a form of credit, presupposing the trust or belief of those who undergo it because they are disposed to give credit, belief' (ibid). Depending on a field structure, some actors will be more effective in terms of defining scientific and political capital in a way that works in their favour, or those 'who manage to impose the definition of science that says what the most accomplished realization of science consists in having, being and doing what they have, are and do' (ibid: 63). As such, both fields can be perceived as a 'structured field of forces', characterised by 'struggles to conserve or transform this field of forces' (Bourdieu, 2004: 33). In other words, 'the

definition of what is at stake in the scientific struggle is one of the things at stake in the scientific struggle' (ibid: 63).

This structuralist-constructivist perspective on research and policy as fields also involves a structuralist-constructivist perspective on how problems are framed or 'knowledge' or 'truth' is produced within these fields. Truth is defined in relational terms, which means that what passes as objective knowledge is what gets defined as such in the context of the structure and the distribution of power in a field. 'The objective truth of the product - even in the case of that very particular product, scientific truth – lies in a particular type of social conditions of production, or, more precisely, in a determinate state of the structure and functioning of the scientific field' (Bourdieu, 1975: 19). The epistemological and social characteristics of knowledge production are considered inherently entwined. 'Epistemological rules are nothing other than the social rules and regularities inscribed in structures and/or in habitus, particular as regards the way of conducting a discussion (…) and settling conflict' (2004:   71). Thus, struggles over the structure of field structures are considered inherently related to struggles over what is defined or 'framed' as 'the truth' within these fields.

The fields perspective differs from perspectives that tend to nullify the structural regularities of the situational setting in which problem framing takes place as well as perspectives that tend to reify these regularities of structural laws of problem framing (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 11). It differs from relativist approaches to science, such as in symbolic interactionist and in postmodernist social theory. Symbolic interactionists tend to ignore the structural properties of science as a field, focusing instead on the mere discursive and episodic construction of what is widely considered as 'science.' For instance, Gieryn has described science as 'a kind of spatial market for cognitive authority, empty until its insides get filled and its borders drawn amidst context-bound negotiations over who and what is "scientific". 'Whatever ends up as inside science or out is a local and episodic accomplishment, a consequence of rhetorical games of inclusion and exclusion in which agonistic parties do their best to justify their cultural map for audiences whose support, power or influence they seek to enrol' (1995: 405-406). Others, like the philosopher Bruno Latour, have developed so-called Actor Network Theories of science that stresses the inherently hybrid or 'seamless web like' connections between science and policy (Latour, 1993). In this perspective, science is nothing but politics, but with other means (Latour, 1988: 228). In contrast to these perspectives, social-constructivism puts more stress on the historicity of science as a field with positions and rules that uphold specific interests and capital. It studies science more as a social structure than as a form of language or discourse.

Also, the fields perspective differs from structuralist perspectives on science, which have been very pronounced in the policy sciences and political sciences. Schneider and Ingram referred to the 'scientific exceptionalism within this discipline, which means that they, 'like almost everyone else, have accepted that

science is exceptional (...) because it is involved in the search for truth [and because] scientists are accepted as arbiters of facts on the basis of their professionalism, autonomy and superior intellect' (Schneider & Ingram, 1997: 154). This would have been especially characteristic for the 'policy-analytic movement' that sought to develop a rational approach to policy in which science would 'speak truth to power' (Dunn, 1994; Radin, 2000; Wildavsky, 1979). However, also within the sociology and philosophy of science, structuralist or objectivist approaches to science have been common ground. Essentialists have searched for a universal standard 'essence' of science amongst others methods of verification (Vienna Circle) or falsification (Popper, 1962) and in norms of good science (Merton 1996). These perspectives have been criticised for various inconsistencies, such as the 'theory-ladenness of scientific facts' (Popper, 1962), the lack of methodological stringency of scientists in practice (Latour & Woolgar, 1986), the reluctance of scientists to 'falsify' their theories (Collins, 1983) and the ambivalence of norms of good scientific practice (Gieryn, 1995). In particular, they have been criticised for not being able to account for the occurrence of so many scientific controversies. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, these controversies are manifestations of struggles over field structures and over the framing of the truth.

Structuralist constructivism has many commonalities with sociological and historical institutional perspectives on scientific research and policy. This involves for instance Kuhn's analysis of historic scientific revolutions that establish paradigms of science (Kuhn, 1964). Kuhn also drew attention to the episodic and contingent character of science, but put more stress on the scientific paradigms themselves than on the structural field setting in which such paradigms were embedded. Sociological institutionalism also focuses on the 'symbol systems, cognitive scripts and moral templates that provide the 'frames of meaning' guiding human action' (Hall & Taylor, 1996: 947). However, sociological institutionalists as Selznick have focused on cultural legitimacy and cultural authority of institutions (ibid: 950), rather than on the structural setting that produces and is reproduced by the cultural authority of institutions as science. In this respect, Hall and Taylor have criticised sociological institutionalists for ignoring the 'struggle and political importance of (...) legitimacy and authority' in specific institutions (ibid: 954), or as Bourdieu describes them, fields. It is in this focus on the structural setting in which actors define what goes as scientific legitimacy and authority and define who is legitimated and authorised to make policies, that structuralist constructivism differs from these institutionalisms.

2.3.2 Boundary work and the co-evolution of fields

Fields are defined as inherently dynamic, as the positions and rules of the game in a field are constantly at stake. Moreover, the dynamics in field structures are related to the dynamics of its relations with other fields. Changes in a field structure may be difficult to achieve from within because the positions and rules that define a field

structure carry a particular distribution of capital that creates interests for actors with central positions in this field structure to resist change. Interaction with other fields would therefore constitute a more likely cause of changes in a field structure. The constitution of a field's structure is considered to be related to the constitution of boundaries with other fields. For instance, redefining the boundaries between fields may open op opportunities for involvement of actors that had been left out, whose involvement can change the distribution of positions and the rules of the game within the field. Or, the construction of boundaries can lead to the clarification of the rules of the game within a field in relation to other fields, for example with the goal of enhancing the autonomy of the field so as to preserve its prevailing distribution of capital and protect it from interference from other fields. Thus, the construction of boundaries with other fields is an important facet of defining the structure of a field itself:

> '(...) [C]hanges within a field are often determined by redefinitions of the frontiers between fields, linked (as cause or effect) to the sudden arrival of new entrants endowed with new resources. This explains why the boundaries of the field are almost always at stake in the struggles within the field' (Bourdieu, 2004: 36).

According to Bourdieu and Wacquant there are no 'transhistoric laws of relations between fields' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 109-110). The relations between fields must be studied empirically by analysing the actual social relations among the actors from the involved fields. 'Boundary work' is a theoretical notion that has been coined in the institutional sociology of sciences to refer to these social practices on the boundaries of fields. A focus on boundary 'work' stresses that these boundaries are not considered given. It refers to how actors in their actual social practices create a social boundary that distinguishes one field (its structural positions, its rules of the game, its species of capital) from other fields. Gieryn (1983: 782) defined boundary work as the attribution of 'selected characteristics to the institution of science (i.e., to its practitioners, methods, stock of knowledge, values and work organization) for purposes of constructing a social boundary that distinguishes some intellectual activities as 'non-science'. This notion allows for an empiricist study of the relations between fields, studying actual boundary work practices instead of doing boundary work with ex-ante models or 'laws' of relations between fields such as science and policy.

Boundary work involves more than the demarcation of fields by distinguishing their field structures. It does not simply mean dividing fields as science and politics to different degrees, as the somewhat one-dimensional term 'boundary' may suggest. Shapin and Halffman have drawn attention to the dual nature of boundary work – not only demarcating scientific research and policy, but also coordinating their mutual relations (Halffman, 2003; Shapin, 1992). Fields are demarcated so that their relations can be coordinated in specific ways, and the coordination of their

mutual relations will allways also contain a specific demarcation of their roles or tasks. Elaborating upon a definition from Shapin (1992: 335), Halffman defines boundary work as follows:

> 'Boundary work defines a practice in contrast with other practices, protects is from unwanted participants and interference, while attempting to prescribe proper ways of behavior for participants and non-participants (demarcation); simultaneously, boundary work defines proper ways for interaction between these practices and makes such interaction possible and conceivable (coordination)' (Halffman, 2003: 241)

Whereas Shapin and Halffman refer to boundary work as the demarcation and coordination of practices, I will slightly alter their definition of boundary work so as to apply it to the demarcation and coordination of fields. The central difference is that the structuralist-constructivist perspective that is adopted in this research focuses more on the structural properties of fields and its relation (as cause and effect) to how boundaries with other fields are constructed. Shapin and Halffman have a more symbolic-interactionist conception of boundary work, although they do, much more than for instance Gieryn, extend their analysis of boundary work beyond the realm of discourse.

Gieryn (1999) has distinguished at least four ways in which boundary work can play a role in the transformation of field structures. Firstly, it can be aimed at the monopolisation of a specific model of doing science or making policies by developing a specific relation with actors and capital in another field (Gieryn, 1995: 394). For instance, with aid from other fields, actors can strengthen their position within their own field or alter the rules of the game in their favour. Secondly, boundary work can be aimed at the expulsion of specific actors, by redrawing the boundaries of a field so that specific actors are excluded (for example, depriving researchers of their scientific credibility) (Gieryn, 1999: 16). Thirdly, boundary work can involve expansion, which occurs when actors in a field have a specific idea about how to transform the structure of another field and reconstruct boundaries in an effort to intrude on another field (ibid: 17). Finally, boundary work can be aimed at strengthening the autonomy of one field from another. Autonomy does not mean that fields are not interrelated, as Jasanoff has shown that 'keeping politics near but out' (Jasanoff, 1990) formed a very effective strategy for research institutes to strengthen their authority by being involved in policy to some degree.

Boundary work thus constitutes an important facet of the transformation of field structures by its demarcation from and coordination of relations with other fields. Although there are no 'trans-historic' laws of the relation between scientific research and policy-making, there is a well-evolved literature base about the co-production or co-evolution of science and politics (Ezrahi, 1990; Jasanoff, 2004; Nowotny et al., 2001; Shapin & Schaffer, 1985). Nowotny a.o. (2001:245) referenced the growing transgression of science-politics boundaries and the contextualisation

of science, which means that science not only speaks to society but society also speaks back to science. According to Shapin and Shaffer (1985: 332), there is a 'conditional relationship between the nature of the polity occupied by scientific intellectuals and the nature of the wider polity'. Ezrahi (1990) has described the rise of modern science in relation to the rising demand by modern societies as instrumental means to sustain administrative control; science would have been an important political resource for depersonalizing and depoliticizing ideological state control and thereby legitimizing modern liberal democratic politics.

Bourdieu has, in this context, pointed to the role of the conversion of scientific capital to other sorts of capital in the relations between the fields of research and policy. This concerns the conversion of scientific capital to other types of capital, including economic, social or cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1975: 25), as well as other sorts of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 2004: 55). For instance, besides 'strictly scientific authority', there would also be a sort of scientific capital that is more related to other sorts of capital, or a sort of capital that involves 'power over the scientific world which can be accumulated through channels that are not purely scientific (...) and which is the bureaucratic principle of temporal powers over the scientific field such as those of ministers and ministries, deans and vice chancellors or scientific administrators' (2004: 57). This can refer, for example, to the accumulation of scientific capital by the acquisition of research funding or policy influence as a scientific expert, rather than by actually performing scientific research.

Organisations that have a niche in the interaction between the fields of scientific research and policy will often play a central role in the boundary work and the co-evolution of these fields. Such 'boundary organisations' (Guston, 2000; Miller, 2001) can come in many shapes and sizes, such as think-tanks (D. Stone, 1998) but also so-called 'universities without students' (Weaver, 1989), specific foundations with combined social and scientific purposes, private consultancy firms or government contractors, government research bureaux (D. Stone & Garnett, 1998), advocacy think tanks (Abelson, 2002). Although these organisations are often portrayed as 'bridges' or 'transmission belts' between research and policy, they generally have a more active role (and an interest) in boundary work. They are generally hybrids of the structures of both fields, combining elements of both science and politics (Miller, 2001). However, they derive much of their credibility from clearly demarcating science and politics, and positioning themselves somewhere in between

> 'Their credibility is grounded in the 'two worlds' metaphor. (...) [I]t is in the interest of think-tanks in general to maintain the myth of the distinction between knowledge and scholarship on the one hand, and politics, policy and interests on the other. If policy research institutes are 'above' politics they are not a threat to democracy. Portrayed passively as a bridge or a transmission belt from the scholarly domain, the metaphor of two worlds gives them a safe distance from politics and protects their credibility and charitable status' Stone (1998: 121).

The niche of these boundary organisations consists of their capacity to convert scientific and political capital. They often occupy positions within both fields and also have to find ways to functionally blur the rules of the game within both fields in a way that allows for interaction between them. For instance, a scientific advisory body has to possess authority in both fields to be able to provide counsel that is considered both useful in politics and credible in science. Internally, boundary work also involves a degree of balancing work in an effort to maintain authority within both fields.

Furthermore, in relation to the broader fields of research and policy, boundary organisations can form an important part of the institutionalisation of the research-policy nexus. Every boundary organisation will involve a particular way of demarcating and coordinating research and policy that, once the boundary organisation is established, tends to institutionalise. Clearly, in this institutionalisation process, boundary organisations not only play a role in research-policy relations, but also play a central role in organising these relations in specific ways.

2.4   Boundary configurations

Boundary work can also lead to more enduring structural relations between fields. Social practices aimed at demarcating and coordinating the structures of fields, i.e. scientific research and policy, can institutionalise into more structural configurations of the boundaries and relations between fields. Such institutionalisation will occur in particular when boundary work practices by actors from both fields combine in a mutually reinforcing way. These actors will then have an interest in institutionalizing the research-policy nexus in a specific way. This means that the research-policy nexus will contain a structure of its own, or as I will describe it, a specific configuration of research-policy boundaries.

2.4.1   Structures of the research-policy nexus

Similar to the structures of fields, the structure of the research-policy nexus or the 'boundary configuration' will have its own structural distribution of positions and roles for both sides of the boundary and its own structural rules of the game concerning the relations across the boundary. As such, a boundary configuration does not create a level playing field, but rather structures the interaction between two fields in a very specific way, giving primacy to actors on either side of the boundary and dividing their roles by various degrees.

Structural patterns of boundary work can coordinate research-policy relations in a way that puts either primacy on the side of research or the side of policy. In the literature, various models have been created in which either science or politics has relative primacy. Weber was very clear on the political primacy in science-policy relations. The task of the expert – generating knowledge – is clearly separated from that of the politician who makes decisions about what to do with knowledge. Political decision making involves choices in terms of values, goals and needs,

which cannot be left to the rationality of the expert. Rather, science is drawn into the political administration dichotomy as a service of rational development of policies based on politically set goals and values; it is politics 'on top' and science 'on tap.' This model has been described as the *decisionistic model*, as science helps politics make decisions.

Habermas has a very different conception of the science-policy relationship, which is closer to the traditional model of 'science speaking truth to power'. Habermas claims that in modern society, the relations between scientific research and policy are often structured in such a way that the rationality of the expert dominates political decision making and reduces value choices and goal setting to technical and rational issues. This has been described as the *technocratic model* of science and politics' relations. In technocracy, the politician 'becomes the mere agent of a scientific intelligentsia, which (...) elaborates the objective implications and requirements of available techniques and resources as well as of optimal strategies and rules of control', leaving the politician 'with nothing but a fictitious decision-making power' (Habermas 1968, in Outhwaite, 1996). As such, according to Habermas, science has taken over relative primacy from politics.

Besides the distribution of relative primacy by the structure of boundary configurations, a number of sociologists of science and policy scientists have drawn attention to another facet of boundary configurations. The structure of research-policy boundaries also involves specific rules concerning mutual relations, or specific structural 'conditions of exchange' (Halffman, 2003: 64). Of course, these conditions of exchange are not separate from the distribution of primacy, but can at least be analytically distinguished. According to Wittrock, these conditions of exchange are inherently connected to how research and policy are demarcated in patterns of boundary work. 'Any conceptualisation of [the research-policy] relationship ultimately rests on an assumption about the analogy between the operational modes of the realms of research and of policy' (Wittrock, 1991: 336). Thus, depending on the demarcation of boundaries, boundary configurations can involve rules of the game that establish a sharp division of labour between research and policy, or rules of the game that bring about more convergence in the roles of research and policy. Therefore, these rules structure either a divergence or convergence between the roles of research and policy.

This focus on how the demarcation of research-policy relations are institutionalised in specific rules of the game forms an extension to the models of boundary configurations as developed by Weber and Habermas. Weber's decisionistic or 'bureaucratic' model not only assumes political primacy, but also assumes clear rules concerning the division of labour between research and policy. In this model, research would be drawn into the fact-value dichotomy that is also applied to the relation between administration and politics, with science in the role of producing the facts and politics in the role of determining political values. In Habermas' technocratic model the operational modes of science and politics are

assumed to be more analogous, or diffusely demarcated; science not only deals with the facts, but also with values and as such determines the political decision-making process. This means that in their theoretical conceptualisation of boundary configurations, these bureaucratic and technocratic models seem to be opposites in terms of the distribution of relative primacy as well as in terms of the structural conditions of exchange.

2.4.2 Models of boundary configurations

In addition to Habermas' technocratic model (scientific primacy, convergence) and Weber's bureaucratic model (political primacy, divergence), two other models of boundary configurations can be distinguished as possible theoretical combinations of primacy distribution and conditions of exchange. Wittrock (1991) and Hoppe (2005) have further distinguished an enlightenment model (scientific primacy, divergence) and an engineering model (political primacy, convergence) to offer other logical possibilities, which are depicted in figure 2.

Figure 2: Theoretical models of boundary configurations, based on Wittrock (1991) and Hoppe (2005)

		Coordination of field relations	
		Scientific Primacy	Political Primacy
Demarcation of field structures	Divergence	**Enlightenment Model**	**Bureaucratic Model**
	Convergence	**Technocratic Model**	**Engineering Model**

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, these models cannot be defined as 'typologies'. The fundamental difference with Weber's typology concept lies not in the subjective and normative meaning of these models. Indeed, these models do refer to how actors make sense of the research-policy nexus in an inherently subjective and normative way based on their particular 'habitus.' Also, these models are, just as typologies, theoretically constructed possibilities of boundary configurations. These models are very unlikely to be found in their pure form in empirical research, but they do provide a framework for understanding and describing the structure of research-policy relations. The difference lies rather in that they refer to more than just the habitus of actors, also including more or less objective structures that are reproduced through this habitus. These models refer

simultaneously to objective structural relations on the research-policy nexus and how these are embedded to the habitus of involved actors.

Enlightenment

In the Enlightenment model, the research-policy nexus is structured in a way that establishes scientific primacy and involves divergence between the roles of scientific research and policy. This model closely resembles the standard model of science, in which science is considered 'exceptional' because of its objective norms or methods. It contains a modernist hope that science will 'enlighten' supposedly irrational politics and policies. Science is to be as autonomous and independent as possible and policy development should be rationalised by relying on scientific evidence instead of political argument.

In this model, the sharp demarcation of science and policy also involves the absence of a strong institutional relation. This means, on the one hand, an absence of policy interference in the field of research. The boundary between research and policy is heavily protected so as to maintain scientific autonomy. On the other hand, research is not directly involved in the field of policy-making. Rather, the pervasive rationalizing influence of science will be largely indirect, through what Weiss has called a gradual 'knowledge creep' of scientific knowledge into all facets of society (1977; 1991). Scientific advisors in this respect are meant to speed up this diffusion process or 'knowledge creep' in the direction of government and politics.

These conditions of exchange in favour of protecting scientific autonomy are strongly related to the distribution of primacy. The focus on autonomy reveals a value-orientation that contains a strong belief in scientific rationality and progress. Science is expected to deliver the conceptual and analytical tools as well as the technologies that steer policy and politics so as to 'tame' the irrationality of politics. Thus, the rules concerning a sharp division of labour are clearly related to the idea of enlightenment based on scientific research that is generally seen as credible and independent.

Technocracy

As with the enlightenment model, in the technocratic model science also enjoys relative primacy: government and politics should be rationalised by science. However, the conditions of exchange between research and policy are more lenient in the technocratic model, creating a setting of convergence between research and policy. Technocracy involves the direct role of scientists in policy development in that they virtually (possibly even literally) take over the tasks of policy-makers and politicians. In this respect, the technocratic model not only asserts that science 'speaks the truth', as in the enlightenment model, but also that science actually 'speaks the truth to power' (Wildavsky, 1979). For instance, scientific policy advice becomes more than a mechanism to speed up 'enlightenment', as it is also a mechanism for scientists to be more directly involved in policy design.

In this model, the research-policy nexus not only protects scientific autonomy (for speaking the truth), but also stimulates the involvement of science in the practice of policy making and political decision making. Rather than remaining in its 'ivory tower', science should come forward and translate its knowledge into policy practice. The development of a strongly institutionalised research-policy nexus can be an important manifestation of such structural convergence. Furthermore, this structural convergence is aimed at establishing scientific primacy, as technocracy contains a strong belief in the development of rational policies based on scientific rather than political involvement.

Bureaucracy

In the Bureaucratic model, policy, or rather politics, retains its primacy: it is politics that decides what values and goals are set and how these are to be pursued in government policies. The bureaucratic model contains clear rules concerning the division of labour between scientific research and policy, demarcating the role of research as the production of facts or data as input for the political decision making process. This way of creating divergence between the roles of research and policy is also meant to safeguard against a technocratic reduction of value choices to mere technical-scientific resolution matters; politics should have primacy in dealing with normative issues.

This strong emphasis on political primacy in the bureaucratic model is related to the fact-value dichotomy as a rule in the exchange between research and policy. Furthermore, another structural condition for exchange between research and policy in this model is that scientific research will often be drawn into the government administrative apparatus. On the one hand, this means that a firm institutional nexus between research and policy is created, for instance in the form of a system of advisory bodies and planning offices that are closely associated or even part of government. On the other hand, the fact-value will remain an important condition for exchange between research and policy, as instrumental research in this model is drawn into the politics-administration dichotomy. As with public administration, scientific research has to be responsive to the primacy of politics and refrain from normative involvement in policy-making, which is primarily the responsibility of politics.

Engineering

Finally, the engineering model also involves political primacy but defines the roles of research and policy in a more convergent way. Just as in the bureaucratic model, in the engineering model it is 'politics on top and science on tap.' However, in this model the fact-value dichotomy does not offer the possibility for exchange between research and policy. Rather, scientific research can be involved in the rational design of policies and the rational resolution of policy problems in a way that will also involve inherently normative facets. Hence it is called the 'engineering' model, as science becomes more closely involved the rational engineering of society based on

political priorities (in contrast to the technocratic model, where society is structured according to scientific beliefs).

Whereas the conditions for exchange in the engineering model involve more convergence between the roles of research and policy than in the bureaucratic model, the nexus between research and policy will be less institutionalised. The institutional relation between government or politics and scientific advice could be described rather as a principle-agent relationship, in which the principle decides and the agent is deployed at the service of the principle. Salter and Levy have referred to this type of scientific research that is produced in this model of boundary configuration as 'mandated science' (Salter & Levy, 1988), in which politics selects or commissions models of scientific expertise that are considered useful. In the engineering model, research will often acquire a prominent role in social engineering, but the relations between research and policy tend to be provisional. Depending on prevailing political values and goals, different sources of expertise can be mobilised, therefore politics as a principle can at any time change its relation to specific agents.

2.5   Frame-shifts and Frame-reflection

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the structure of the research-policy nexus will be related to structural developments in the fields of immigrant integration research. Different boundary configurations will have different effects on the structure of research and policy fields, for instance concerning the positions of specific actors or the rules of the game in the field. They can, as an example, either sustain or challenge the structural monopolies or 'iron triangles' within both fields (Heclo, 1978). In this way boundary configurations can also affect the structural setting in which problems are framed, or as Gusfield described it, the structure of public problems (Gusfield, 1980: 6). They can help create the structural conditions in research and policy for the rise of specific frames. However, this role of boundary configurations in frame-shifts and problem framing does not necessary involve critical frame reflection. In fact, as we have seen, the literature is quite sceptical about the possibilities for reflection on frames in general as well as about frame reflection in critical dialogues between research and policy in particular. Thus, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, this research aims to examine in what ways the structures of the research-policy nexus have influenced frame-shifts and problem framing in research and policy, and to what extent this involved frame-reflection.

2.5.1   Feedback and field structures

One way in which boundary configurations can contribute to frame-shifts is in their relation to the ongoing dynamics of field structures. These inherently dynamic field structures provide the structural setting in which problems are framed. They contain constant pressure for change, including actors' compulsion to ameliorate their position or change the rules of the game, as well as pressure to resist change,

for instance from actors that have an interest in maintaining the status quo. The structure of a field is thus constantly at stake and the causes of change as well as stability rest both in the structure of social relations and its distribution of capital within the field. According to Bourdieu, 'the analysis of the structure, the statics, and analysis of change, the dynamics, are indissociable' (Bourdieu, 2004: 61);

> 'The statics and dynamics are inseparable, with the principle of dynamics lying in the statics of the field, in the power relations that define it: the field has an objective structure that is nothing other than the structure of the distribution (...) of the pertinent and therefore efficacious properties, assets that are effective within this field (...), and the power relations constitutive of this structure – which means to say that properties, which can be treated as logical properties, distinctive features making it possible to divide and classify (...), are simultaneously stakes - possible objects of appropriation - and weapons - possible instruments for use in struggles to appropriate - for groups which divide or assemble around them' (ibid).

Boundary configurations can contribute to changes in field structures by reinforcing either the pressure to enforce stability or the pressure to enforce change. Baumgartner and Jones have referred to situations in which field structures manage to reproduce themselves as 'structure-induced equilibria' (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 19). This stresses that these equilibria are 'structure-induced' in that they are consequences of historically developed structures that resist change. This can involve lock-in effects of past developments, or path-dependency (Pierson, 1994), but also the structural distribution of specific species capital that generates interests for at least some actors in preserving the prevailing structure (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 19; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 105). For instance, once a specific boundary configuration is institutionalised and has created specific boundary organisations, these organisations will have an interest in preserving this boundary configuration so as to maintain their structural position. In various literature, such structure-induced equilibria has been described as 'iron triangles' (Heclo, 1974), 'systems of limited participation' (Cobb & Elder, 1983), 'epistemic communities' (Haas, 1992), 'subsystems' (Lauman & Knoke, 1987) or 'institutional monopolies' (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993).

By reinforcing such structure-induced equilibria, boundary configurations can generate so-called 'negative feedback' in relation to the ongoing dynamics in field structures (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993: 16). This means that the ongoing dynamics are affected in a way that inhibits change and stimulates stability. For example, this may occur when research-policy relations provide legitimacy to established policy institutes or when policy institutes provide funding to established research institutes. However, boundary configurations can also influence the dynamics in a field by mobilizing so-called 'positive feedback' (ibid). Positive feedback means that ongoing dynamics are affected in a way that promotes change and challenges the status quo. There are no universal laws of how and when the research-policy nexus

could or should contribute to negative or positive feedback. Its role in field dynamics is very much dependent on the structural setting of ongoing dynamics in the fields and of course on the structure of the research-policy nexus.

In structuralist-constructivist as well as institutionalist literature, it has been observed that structural patterns of negative feedback in support of structure-induced equilibria tend to be interrupted only occasionally by positive feedback and dramatic breakthroughs. Institutionalists have argued that once negative feedback mechanisms are disrupted, change will occur in a 'ruptured manner' that is 'episodic and dramatic, responding to institutional change at the macro level, rather than incremental and smooth' (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991: 10-11). Baumgartner and Jones have described this as a pattern of punctuated equilibrium with episodes of relative stability as well as ruptures of dramatic change, described as or 'punctuations' (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993) 'paradigm shifts' (Hall, 1993). Although this pattern has been observed primarily in studies of policy developments, it can reasonably be extended to the study of research developments, at least from a structuralist-constructivist perspective that defines both policy and research as fields of structured social relations.

2.5.2 Structures of problem framing

By affecting the field structures of research and policy, boundary configurations will also affect the structural setting in which problem framing takes place. As such, they not only contribute to the structural conditions for frame-shifts, but also to the structural conditions for the rise of specific problem frames. As Schattschneider has observed, every structure or every form of organisation involves a 'mobilisation of bias' (1960: 71-73). Thus, any way of changing a field's structure also involves a change in this selective mobilisation of bias.

Baumgartner and Jones have further developed this idea of selective mobilisation of bias in their conception of how problem images interact with specific institutional venues. The central premise is that some structural settings are more susceptible to specific frames than others. Actors will seek those structural settings that are most receptive to their frames. This has been described in the literature as 'venue shopping' (Baumgartner, Green-Pedersen, & Jones, 2006; Baumgartner & Jones, 1993; Guiraudon, 2000a; Pralle, 2003). Thus, venue shopping can be a motive for actors in either the research or policy field to seek access to the other field when the field structure is considered more receptive to a specific problem frame. For instance, researchers that are relatively marginalised in the scientific field can seek support from the policy field if they think their ideas fit with those of specific actors in the policy field. Also, actors can try to change the structure of their fields in such a way that it becomes more receptive to their frames. However, as observed earlier, such structural changes are also often achieved through interaction with other fields rather than as a consequence of internal

changes. So in both respects, boundary configurations can play an important role in searching for structural settings that are receptive to specific frames.

Although there is no universal law of how and why structural settings promote problem framing, there have been numerous studies of how different structural boundary configurations can affect problem framing. Nelkin has observed how structural settings with a strong policy involvement of researchers, or even those that limit participation to a network of researchers, tend to create technical-scientific problem frames (Nelkin, 1979),. This would have occurred, amongst others, in the domain of environmental policies, where technical matters often played a dominant role in regulatory policies, hiding the moral aspects of the environmental issue.

Specific to the issues of migration and immigrant integration, Guiraudon drawn attention to a relationship between the scale of the debate on these issues and the extent to which frames were adopted that supported the extension of migrant rights (1997). Experts and research-institutes often limited the scale of debate, which facilitated the extension of migrant rights. The same would apply for other 'venues' that limited participation, such as administrative bodies and legal venues. On the other hand, she also showed how national governments 'shopped' for intergovernmental venues on a European level so as to get their ideas on restrictive immigration policies accepted beyond the influence of national venues that might have opposed such policies (Guiraudon, 2000a).

Thus, we must focus not only on how boundary configurations contribute to, or inhibit frame-shifts by mobilizing either negative or positive feedback, but also on how the shifts provide the structural conditions for specific problem frames by changing the selective mobilisation of bias within the fields of research and policy. Various studies have observed that boundary configurations can have specific effects on problem framing. However, as there is no universal law of such relationships between boundary configurations and problem framing, we must examine this relationship empirically, against the background of the structure of both fields.

2.5.3 Frame Reflection

Boundary configurations may contribute to frame-shifts and problem framing, but this does not necessarily involve frame reflection. In fact, we have already observed that in the literature frame-shifts and problem framing are mostly considered a product of processes other than frame reflection. For instance, they may be consequences of changes in power relations within research or policy that are triggered by broader developments in society (P.A. Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, 1995), or agenda-setting processes that follow very irregular and unpredictable patterns (Baumgartner & Jones, 1993). Others have completely rejected the theoretical possibility of frame reflection, arguing that actors are fundamentally incapable of becoming aware of their deeper cognitive and normative frames, which they argue will always remain more or less tacit.

Rein and Schön as well as Bourdieu have been concerned with the issue of reflectivity. Rein and Schön believe that actors are able to reflect upon their usually tacit frames in actual social practices (Rein & Schön, 1994: 37). They believe that 'hope for human reason in the chaotic, conflicting world of policy-making lies in a view of policy rationality that gives a central place to this human capability to reflection "within the game"' (ibid: 38). While Rein and Schön focus primarily on reflection in policy practices, Bourdieu focuses more on reflexivity in the scientific enterprise (Bourdieu, 2004). This involves 'the systematic exploration of the unthought categories of thought which delimit the thinkable and predetermine the thought as well as guide the practically carrying out of the social inquiry' (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: 40). Bourdieu, as well as Rein and Schön, refer to reflection about structures or institutions as well as reflection about the framing of reality, or as Wacquant describes it for the scientific field: 'the collective scientific unconsciousness embedded in theories, problems and (especially national) categories of scholarly judgement' (ibid).

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, Bourdieu as well as Rein and Schön have discussed the structural conditions for achieving reflectivity. In studies of the scientific field, Bourdieu has pointed to how structural dependencies between the scientific field (or the academic/intellectual field) and developments in other fields have obstructed reflexivity or the progress of scientific reason. Throughout his work, Bourdieu has expressed a special concern over the autonomy of the scientific field. This personal concern had its roots in developments in French public intellectuals' life in the early 1980s (Bourdieu, 1988; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992). Within well-articulated borders of the scientific field, with control on entry and on the logic of the scientific field, Bourdieu argues:

> 'The fact that producers tend to have as their clients only their most rigorous and vigorous competitors, the most competent and the most critical, those therefore inclined and most able to give their critique full force, is for me the Archimedean point on which one can stand to give a scientific account of scientific reason, to rescue scientific reason from relativist reduction and explain how science can constantly progress towards more rationality without having to appeal to some kind of founding miracle.' (2004: 54)

Rein and Schön have given further thought on how to achieve such critical reflection. They argue that frame reflection is situated, and could lead to what they call the 'situated resolution of frame controversies' (Rein & Schön, 1994: 176). Frame reflection would be most likely achieved within a situational setting characterised by 'design rationality' (Ibid: 166-187). From their discussion of design rationality, several structural conditions can be derived that would lead to critical frame reflection.

First of all, Rein and Schön posit a communicative imperative (ibid: 182), meaning that actors involved in a controversy must be willing and able to communicate openly with one and another and should not exclude specific actors

from the frame conversation. Frame-reflection must therefore be an open social process. Secondly, actors must be able to identify alternative frames and try to understand how actors with such frames make sense of a problem situations (ibid: 176). This means, they must be capable of empathy or 'putting themselves in the shoes of others'. Thirdly, actors must become aware of their own frames, possibly in interaction with the identification of alternative frames (ibid: 174). This creates the possibility to reflect critically upon one's own frame and to search for possible design flaws of the frame, such as internal inconsistencies or incoherencies. The same applies for incompatibilities with new information or knowledge of problem developments that may contradict a frame. Fourthly, actors must not only reflect upon their own frames and alternative frames, they must also be willing and capable of acting when design flaws are traced or when the confrontation with alternative frames produces undesirable results (ibid: 186). This means that there must be a certain pragmatism, not in terms of the framing itself, but in terms of an unbiased willingness to adapt one's frame if necessary. Finally, frame-reflection usually requires mutual trust (ibid: 179). Without trust, necessary capacities such as communication, putting oneself in the shoes of others, correcting one's own frames and pragmatism are unlikely to thrive.

Boundary configurations would contribute to frame-reflection by satisfying these five structural conditions – openness, empathy to alternatives, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust. This means that in order to achieve critical dialogues between research and policy, research will have to extend its role beyond that of the traditional model of 'speaking truth to power', wherein researchers dictate how problems are framed. Also, politics should move beyond the positivist belief in scientific truth as well as the relativist predicament that science is nothing but politics with other means. Rather, to achieve frame reflection, scientific research should help politics to make sense of the issues (Hoppe, 1999; Rein & Schön, 1996). Instead of producing knowledge that is robust in terms of its scientific methodological foundation, research has to produce 'socially robust knowledge' that is founded on critical debates about problem framing (Nowotny et al., 2001: 166).

2.6   Conclusion

This research adopts a structuralist-constructivist perspective for analysing the role of the research-policy nexus in the intractability of immigrant integration as a topic in research and policy in the Netherlands. It will focus on the relation between the structure of research-policy relations and the inherently selective and normative ways in which immigrant integration has been framed in research and policy. The goal of adopting this perspective on research and policy in this domain is to find out to what extent the relations between actors in these fields involved critical dialogues on this fundamental social process of making sense of immigrant integration. It seeks to unravel how and why the research-policy nexus has been structured in

ways that may or may not have contributed to critical frame reflection and the situational resolution of this intractable controversy in research and policy.

The intractability of immigrant integration will be analysed in terms of the multiplicity of problem frames in policy and research over the past decades. Every frame involves not just another way of perceiving immigrant integration, but a different way of naming and framing immigrant integration in the first place. Every problem frame involves different terminology, a different way of classifying involved groups or categories, different causal stories and also a different normative perspective. When there is no general agreement on the level of problem framing, actors will not only disagree about a problem situation but also disagree about the nature of their disagreement. It is by such dialogues of the deaf in terms of problem framing that intractable controversies are maintained.

From a structuralist-constructivist viewpoint, this research will focus on the structural setting in which problems are socially constructed or 'framed', specifically the structural setting of research-policy relations. Both immigrant integration research and policy will be analysed as distinct 'fields' of structured social relations, with specific positions, specific rules of the game and a specific distribution of capital. Problems are framed against the background of these structural settings. Field structures are produced and reproduced by different ways of demarcating them from other fields and coordinating relations with other fields. This 'boundary work' in relation to other fields plays a role in the shaping of field structures, but also in the shaping of relations. As such, boundary work can also play a role in producing specific structural settings in which problems are framed in research and policy. In other words, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, boundary work plays an important role in the construction of structures.

Institutionalised patterns of boundary work can create structural configurations of research-policy relations, or 'boundary organisations'. Such boundary organisations have a structure of their own, coordinating relations between positions in both fields in specific ways and also demarcating the roles of both fields with specific rules of the game. Four theoretic models of boundary configurations were distinguished: enlightenment, technocracy, engineering and bureaucracy.

Boundary configurations are seen from a structuralist-constructivist perspective as related to the structural settings in which problems are framed in research and policy. Boundary configurations can either reinforce the structural dynamics toward change (positive feedback) or reinforce prevailing structure-induced equilibria (negative feedback) within the fields of scientific research and policy-making. As such, they can stimulate and inhibit frame-shifts. Also, by their effect on the structural dynamics within the fields of research and policy, boundary configurations may also contribute to structural settings in which specific frames can arise. For example, various studies revealed a relation between the involved 'venues' in problem framing and the type of frames that will emerge. The role of boundary configurations in problem framing does, however, not necessarily involve

frame reflection. Frame-reflection will, according to existing literature, occur only when the structural setting promotes openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust. Boundary configurations only contribute to the situational resolution of intractable controversies through frame reflection, when they contribute to these specific structural conditions.

With this perspective, this research aims to reach beyond relativism and objectivism in the study of research-policy relations and the framing of social issues as immigrant integration. Relativism has tended to nullify the social meaning of scientific research and its role in critical reflection on complex and controversial issues such as immigrant integration. Objectivism has, in contrast, tended to ignore the diverse structural settings of research-policy relations and the importance of these structural settings for how actors frame issues in selective and normative ways. Beyond relativism and objectivism, this research aims to contribute to critical reflection on how research-policy relations can be structured to contribute to critical reflection on how to frame immigrant integration. In this respect, the dual aim of this research is to help resolve the intractable controversies over research-policy relations as well as the intractable controversies over immigrant integration by promoting critical reflection instead of nihilism and essentialism.

3

RESEARCH DESIGN:

THE RESEARCH-POLICY NEXUS AND FRAMING IN PRACTICE

This research takes an empiricist approach to research-policy relations and problem framing. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective it focuses on how the relations between immigrant integration research and policy were structured and on how immigrant integration was framed in actual social practices. It studies the construction of research-policy relations (boundary work and boundary configurations) as facets of empirical social relations, adopting a theoretically informed approach to how these relations would or should be structured. Also, it studies problem framing as an empirical process of making sense of problem situations, rather than taking a theoretically-informed approach to what immigrant integration 'is' or how it should be framed. In short, this research empirically *studies* boundary work and boundary configurations rather than *doing* boundary work and constructing boundary configurations, and it empirically *studies* problem framing rather than *doing* problem framing.

With this empirical approach, the research seeks to contribute to reflection on the part of the actors who are actually involved in research-policy relations and problem framing in this domain. With an empirical analysis of boundary work and problem framing in actual social practices, it aims to raise awareness about these social processes amongst the involved actors. By stimulating such awareness, this empirical reconstruction could contribute to social learning about how to structure science-policy relations so as to promote critical dialogues between research and policy are promoted on the level of problem framing. In this way, this research seeks to contribute to the situated resolution of the intractable controversies over immigrant integration.

In this chapter, I will elaborate this empiricist research design. I will discuss the epistemological premises of the structuralist-constructivist perspective and discuss the methodological implications of these epistemological and ontological research foundations. Then I will develop the research design by reiterating the central research questions, elaborating the case study design, discussing how a valid chain of evidence is created, discussing how the reliability of the research was ensured and finally, discussing how generalisation is achieved in this research.

3.1   An empirical epistemology

The methodological design of this research will be based on an empirical epistemology (Rein & Schön, 1994: 57), which means an empiricist approach is

chosen to study research-policy relations and problem framing. This empirical epistemology follows out of the structuralist-constructivist perspective of this research, which focuses on how actors make sense of research-policy relations in actual social practices and how they make sense of problem situations within specific structural settings of social relations. Without an ex-ante theoretical premises, this research will retrieve how social actors themselves make sense of structures and problems in actual social practices.

This research will take in no ex-ante theoretical position concerning the framing of immigrant integration. Rather, it takes a step back from the ongoing controversies over the framing of this issue to analyse controversies over problem framing. It is not the framing of immigrant integration that is the subject of this research, but rather the structural settings in which this framing process takes place. Rather than providing empirical evidence for one frame or another, it will provide empirical evidence of how and why problem frames emerged in specific structural settings. Rein has described this 'empirical epistemology' as 'not a theory of knowledge in the philosophical sense but an inquiry into the knowing-in-practice by which, in our society, we deal with policy controversies in the absence of an agreed-upon basis for resolving them' (Rein, 1986: 1).

Also, this research will take in no ex-ante theoretical position concerning the configuration of research-policy relations. Instead, it will provide an empirical reconstruction of how actors produced and reproduced such boundary configurations in their actual social practices. Instead of doing boundary work from an ex-ante theoretical or philosophical position, this research will study boundary work empirically by analysing the boundary work as done by real-world actors (Gieryn, 1995: 394). It will not provide any philosophical argument in favour of a specific model of research-policy relations, but only empirical arguments on how and why actors constructed research-policy relations in specific ways and what empirical effects this had in terms of problem framing.

This empirical epistemology introduces a complexity in terms of different levels of hermeneutics. Three hermeneutical levels of understanding can be distinguished. The first level involves developing an understanding of the issue of immigrant integration itself and of the social practices of researchers, policy-makers, research institutes and policy institutes in this domain. It is on this level that, for instance, studies of immigrant integration are situated. The second level is less concerned with understanding the problem situation and social practices of actors from a theoretical perspective, but more with developing an understanding of how the actors understand the problem situation and their social practices in this problem situation. It is on this level that concepts such as boundary work and problem framing try to grasp how actors provide social meaning to their own social practices and to the problem situation at hand. An example is how actors understand their own roles as policy-makers and researchers and how they define and understand ('frame') some social practices as 'integration.' It is on this level that Giddens has

stressed the 'double hermeneutics' in the relation between the 'social theories' that actors develop about their roles and about problems on the one hand, and their actual social practices in their roles and in specific problem situations on the other hand (Giddens, 1984: xxxii).

The third level of hermeneutics involves reflectivity, meaning that actors are able to grasp their own understanding of their roles and of specific problem situations. This research not only tries to develop an understanding of how actors do boundary work and frame problems in specific ways, but tries to bring about an awareness amongst these actors about their boundary work practices and about problem framing. The research seeks to create awareness of the double hermeneutics as described by Giddens.

The empirical epistemology of this research primarily involves the second and third levels of hermeneutics. It is not so much a study about immigrant integration research and policy as such, which would be located at the first level of hermeneutics. Rather, it offers an empirical viewpoint to how actors frame immigrant integration and develop research-policy relations in specific ways, which encompasses the second level of hermeneutics. Furthermore, it tries to achieve a growing awareness of such boundary work and framing practices so as to stimulate reflectivity and the 'situated resolution of controversies' in this domain, as found in third level of hermeneutics.

3.2 Research Design

Based on this empirical epistemology, the research design can be further elaborated. First of all, at this point the central research questions will be reiterated. Then, the case study design will be elaborated. Subsequently, I will discuss the methodological approach to the central concepts (frames, boundary work, boundary configurations, frame reflection) and the central theoretical relations. How is the 'chain of evidence' (Yin, 1994: 34) concerning the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing constructed in the case study design? Subsequently, the use of methods in the construction of this chain of evidence will be discussed: how was the reliability of this research ensured? Finally, I will discuss the opportunities for generalisation from this research design: what is the external validity of this research?

3.2.1 Research questions

The general research question can be formulated as: *What was the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts in immigrant integration in research and policy in the Netherlands over the past decades, how can this role be explained, and to what extent did the research-policy nexus contribute to critical frame reflection?* This formulation of the general research question clearly distinguishes this study as a study of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing, rather than a study of immigrant integration research or policy or of immigrant integration 'an sich'.

This central question can be further elaborated based on the structuralist-constructivist perspective and the theoretical concepts that were discussed in the previous chapter. A first sub-question is: *What frames have emerged and what frame-shifts have taken place in immigrant integration research and policy over the past decades?* This research builds on other studies that have shown that the framing of immigrant integration has changed significantly over the past decades (Entzinger, 2005; Snel & Scholten, 2005). Such occurrences of frame-shifts are generally understood as an indication of the intractability of a topic. Thus, the intractability of immigrant integration is considered a starting-point (rather than as an empirical outcome) of this research, and, as will be discussed later, one of the core reasons for formulating this research question and selecting this case study. This first research question is meant primarily to provide a reconstruction of the intractability of immigrant integration by identifying the frame-shifts that have taken place over the past decades. It is, however, of great importance for the remainder of the research, as it provides the selection of the frame-shifts that will be analysed in more detail in terms of the role of research-policy relations.

The second question asks: *What research and policy actors were involved, what were these actor's frames and what positions did they hold in the fields of research or policy?* This question closes in on the actors involved in the frame-shifts that were identified in response to the first question. It involves an analysis of the context in which this frame-shift took place so that relevant research and policy actors can be identified. Subsequently, a reconstruction is made of the frames of these actors. The discussion of actors and context will be entwined, because from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the role of context is considered to be mediated through actor frames and the positions that actors hold within their fields (research/policy fields). For every period that a frame-shift was identified in response to the first question, this second question will depict the actor setting and the contextual setting. Within this playing field, the following questions focus in more detail on the research-policy nexus and its role in these frame-shifts.

The third question inquires: *How did these actors define the relationship between research and policy, and how can this be explained?* As with the previous question, this research question will likely produce different answers depending on the periods in which frame-shifts took place. It shifts attention from problem framing to how the actors defined the relationship between research and policy. It clearly adopts an empiricist approach to the analysis research-policy relations. Furthermore, informed by the structuralist-constructivist perspective, the question is raised about how the positions of actors within the field structures of immigrant integration research and policy may provide an explanation for how they defined research-policy relations.

The fourth question solicits: *What structural configuration of research-policy relations can be identified?* This question will also produce different answers for the different frame-shifts. It transfers attention from the actors to the more structural setting of research-policy relations. It tries to identify the more structural boundary

configuration that was produced and reproduced by the actors from the fields of research and policy.

Finally, the fifth question concerns: *What has been the role of these boundary configurations in frame-shifts in research and policy, what has been their role in problem (re)framing, and to what extent did their role involve critical frame reflection?* This question turns the attention to the effect of boundary configurations on the structural settings of immigrant integration research and policy, and to their role in promoting either change or stability. Furthermore, it raises the issue of how these structural effects of boundary configurations may have contributed to the rise or fall of specific problem frames. These two sub-questions address, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, what has been called both the structure and the culture of public problems The final element of this question involves the extent to which this effect on problem framing did involve frame reflection, or whether reframing was (as predicted in the literature) a consequence of factors other than reflection.

These five questions will guide the design and structure of this research. Their open and empirical nature will, as we will see next, determine the choice of the case study design. The questions determine the various steps that have to be taken to construct a valid and reliable chain of evidence concerning the role of the research-policy nexus in frame-shifts. Also, they will determine in what terms generalisation will and will not be possible.

3.2.2   Case study design

This research follows an 'embedded, single-case study design' (Yin, 1994: 42). It is a single-case study, as it analyses the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing in one case; the issue of immigrant integration in the Netherlands over the past three to four decades. It is an embedded case study as, although it involves one object of analysis (actors involved in research-policy relations in the domain of immigrant integration), it involves two 'embedded' units of analysis. These units of analysis concern the structure of research-policy relations that are produced in the actual social practices of actors, and the framing of immigrant integration that is also produced in these social practices. Based on the analysis of these structures of research-policy relations and framing processes, this research tries to create insights about the larger unit of analysis, which concerns immigrant integration as an intractable topic in immigrant integration research and policy.

A strength of the single-case study design is that it allows for an in-depth study of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing with full appreciation of the situational setting in which this nexus is constructed and in which problem framing takes place. An empirical epistemology requires that boundary work and problem framing be studied within their 'real-life context' (Yin, 1994: 14). Many variables will result, and the requirement of gathering as much data as possible on as few variables as possible (King, Keohane, & Verba, 1994) cannot be met. Beforehand, the research-policy nexus and problem framing cannot be defined in a

way that will create clear 'boundaries between phenomenon and context', as from the perspectives of framing and boundary work the construction of what passes as context is considered an endogenous facet of these social practices (Yin, 1994: 14). According to Yin, this is one situation in which research would best be served by adopting a case study design (ibid). Therefore, a single in-depth case study is best fit for gathering sufficient data (for instance for triangulation) within the scope of this research to be able to say anything meaningful about boundary work in research-policy relations and its relation to problem framing.

An important challenge in this embedded case study design is returning from the embedded units of analysis (research-policy relations, framing) to the larger unit of analysis (immigrant integration as intractable controversy in research and policy). In the end, this research aims to draw conclusions about the role of the research-policy nexus in the intractability of this issue in research and policy. Thereby, it attempts to generate insights on how different structures of the research-policy nexus may create or inhibit opportunities for critical frame reflection and the resolution of immigrant integration as an intractable controversy in research and policy.

3.2.3   Building a valid and reliable chain of evidence

Another issue of research design is the construction of a valid and reliable chain of evidence concerning the central theoretical concepts and central theoretical relations. This involves construct validity, or how empirical findings are ordered as indicators of specific theoretical constructs, as well as internal validity, or how empirical findings are considered indicators of specific theoretical relations (Yin, 1994: 33). It also involves reliability in terms of the use of reliable research methods as well as the reliability and openness of the sources. These issues can be elaborated for all five research questions, which constitute the various steps that need to be taken for constructing a valid and reliable chain of evidence.

Frame-shifts in immigrant integration research and policy

The first step in the chain of evidence, addressing the first research question, is to find out to what extent immigrant integration was an intractable topic in research and policy. This means looking for changes in problem framing in research and policy. The occurrence of shifts in problem framings is taken as an indication of the intractability of an issue, as it illustrates the uncertainty about the nature of a problem and its normative interpretation. As such, frame-shifts and the intractability of immigrant integration were taken as a starting-point for this research and an argument for a more specific analysis of the research-policy nexus in this domain. Beyond the assumption (based on secondary literature) that immigrant integration has been an intractable topic in research and policy, it is also important to examine what frame-shifts took place and when. In this way, the periods on which this research should focus can be selected in more detail.

Identifying frame-shifts means looking for changes in problem framing in research and policy. In order to ensure construct validity, the frame concept was operationalised into four attributes that can be studied empirically: terminology, social classification, causal theories and normative perspectives. By looking for the empirical values of these attributes, the framing of immigrant integration can be established. This means looking for specific definitions of integration and of involved target groups, which provide indicators of what terminology is used and how involved groups and categories are classified. As framing is more than just problem definition, we must also look beyond these mere matters of definition. By studying the stories that are told about immigrant integration and by analysing the measures that are proposed to promote integration by policy-makers and researchers, the causal theory of a policy frame can be reconstructed. Furthermore, we must search for broader references to why immigrant integration is a problem and what would be the consequences of failing integration, for instance in reference to broader social values and norms, as indicators of the normative perspective within problem frames. Changes in one or several of these empirical attributes of problem frames can thus be interpreted as frame-shifts.

The search for such indicators of frame-shifts involves an analysis of policy documents and secondary literature on immigrant integration research and policy developments in the Netherlands over the past decades. For the policy field, policy memoranda constituted a valid and reliable source of problem framing. Changes in policy contours are mostly the reason why a new policy memorandum is issued in the first place. Such central texts are not available for the scientific research field. Because within the scope of this research it was not possible (nor necessary because these frames are not the object of analysis) to make a reconstruction of all the literature in this field, I studied the abundant secondary literature about changing perspectives on immigrant integration (Bovenkerk, 1984; Bovenkerk, Miles, & Verbunt, 1991; Choenni, 1987; Entzinger, 1981; Essed & Nimako, 2006; Penninx, 1988a, 1988b, 2005; Prins, 1997, 2000; Rath, 1991, 2001; Van Amersfoort, 1984, 1991; Van Praag, 1987; Werdmölder, 1992, 2002). Based on this literature, I reconstructed the various frames that were developed in this domain. Although may analysis of frame-shifts coincides with most analyses of paradigm-shifts found in the literature, I made a reconstruction from this literature of changes in terminology, in social classification, in causal theories and in normative perspectives, so as to ensure the validity of the use of the frame-concept in this respect.

Actors and context
The second step in building a chain of evidence is to zoom in on the objects of analysis, the actors involved in the research-policy nexus. The goal of this step is to analyse actor involvement and the contextual setting of problem framing and boundary work. Based on the analysis of frame-shifts in the first step of the chain of evidence, I will reconstruct the context for each period in which the frame-shifts

took place. I will identify what actors were involved in research-policy relations in the periods that the frame-shifts took place. This allows for different sets of actors to be distinguished for different periods. By analysing the setting of actors behind the frame-shifts in research and policy, this second step involves an advancement beyond the claim that immigrant integration has been an intractable controversy, to an empirical analysis of exactly what sort of intractable controversy occurred.

The reconstruction of the context in which the frame-shifts took place will be based on literature study. The purpose is not to develop an empirical analysis of these frame-shifts in general, but to identify the main research and policy actors that were involved in these frame-shifts, and who will be the objects of the empirical analysis in the following steps of the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame-shifts. Indicators of relevant research and policy actors (experts, research institutes, advisory bodies, policy departments, political institutes) are references in this literature to actors that have played an important role in either research or policy developments, or both.

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, there is a mutual relation between actor involvement and the contextual setting of problem framing and the structural positions of actors in research and policy fields. Developments in the problem situation can have an important role in problem framing, although the framing perspective implies that frames are not directly determined by problem developments. Actors with different frames will select and interpret contextual developments differently, as problem framing and the framing of context are mutually reinforcing processes. Nonetheless, this does mean that a contextual setting of problem framing exists that has to be considered when analysing actor frames.

This research analyses the frames of the identified actors, and their reconstructions of the contextual setting of problem framing. The frames will be studied by looking at the texts or documents they produced (research reports, advisory reports, government documents). The same indicators of problem framing will be used as in the first step of the chain of evidence. In these texts or documents, I will look for reconstructions of problem developments that were considered relevant based on actors' frames. Indicators of such reconstructions are data concerning problem developments (for instance, social-economic participation, unemployment, norms and values) or references to events or occurrences with a specific meaning for integration. This can involve so-called 'focus-events' (Birkland, 1998; Cobb & Elder, 1983; Kingdon, 1995), or events that are attributed with a specific meaning from specific frames (for instance the terrorist attacks in the United States on 9/11 was a focus event in many domains such as foreign policy).

Furthermore, the contextual setting can affect actor settings though changing actor positions within field structures. Macro-institutional developments, for instance in the structure and culture of policy-making and scientific research, can also affect the fields of immigrant integration research and policy and the positions

of actors therein. Such contextual developments are mediated through the prevailing structures of these fields. These structures will generally have a tendency to isolate themselves from contextual developments by forming what has been described as structure-induced equilibria. They contain a specific distribution of positions, (or the 'construction of membership', Lauman & Knoke, 1987: 12), and specific rules of the game that, once institutionalised, will have a tendency to resist change. However, as these fields cannot be entirely separated from their context, as contextual developments can trigger changes within field structures. For example, new actors may emerge, thereby changing the construction of membership, or the relations between actors may be disturbed, for instance by changing the distribution of capital.

These contextual developments were analysed by a background study of the positions of the actors that have been defined as relevant in the actor setting of frame-shifts. I reconstructed their positions within the research or policy fields by looking for background knowledge of their positions (their formal positions and roles, their resources and their informal relations and networks) and the rules of the game within both fields (social norms of doing science or making policies, methodological paradigms, etc). Furthermore, I put these developments in the perspective of macro-institutional developments in scientific research and policy-making. This involves a study of secondary literature about research and policy-making in the Netherlands and about immigrant integration research and policy in particular, as well as the analysis of primary documents concerning the role of specific actors (such as annual reports or evaluations of organisations).

Boundary work and field structures

The *third* step concerns the same objects of analysis – actors involved in research-policy relations - but focuses not on their frames but on their social practices and positions within the broader fields of research and policy. I will analyse the boundary work of these actors by studying the 'literary, social and material technologies' (Shapin & Schaffer, 1985), or the 'boundary discourse', ' boundary relations' and 'boundary objects' as Halffman described them (Halffman, 2003: 63), in the social practices of these actors. This involves, firstly, boundary discourse, or how actors think and talk about the demarcation and coordination of research-policy relations. For instance, Gusfield has referred to the 'the literary rhetoric of science', which involves 'language [that] is deliberate, non-evocative, meticulous and [with] limited imagery [in which] the agent is minimised and the drama of the paper is presented as flowing form the unfolding of the procedures of method, not from the interests, biases or language of the author' (Gusfield, 1976: 21). Other examples of boundary discourse involve actors' ideas about whether science should produce policy-relevant knowledge, whether it should instead provide more fundamental theoretical knowledge, provide instrumental expertise or address fundamental conceptual issues.

Boundary relations or 'social technologies' of boundary work refer to actual social relations among actors from both fields. Such relations may consist of attempts to delineate membership of a field in certain ways, refusing access to particular actors whilst including others. In addition, boundary acts can involve 'social conventions' or norms or regularities about 'how knowledge is to be produced, about what may be questioned and what may not, about what is normally expected and what counts as an anomaly, [and] about what is to be regarded as evidence and proof' (Shapin & Schaffer, 1985: 225; cit in Halffman 2003: 59).

Boundary objects refer to objectified entities that somehow play a role in demarcating and coordinating research-policy relations. Such objectified entities need not be material but are 'plastic enough to adopt to local needs and the constraints of several parties employing them' (Star & Griesemer, 1989). For instance, models and specific concepts or metaphors, such as economic models for calculating inflation or concepts as inflation itself, maintain a similar shape across various fields, allowing for communication and negotiation amongst these fields, whilst at the same time showing the varied meaning of such concepts across these fields. Similarly, formal regulations concerning research-policy relations (for instance concerning the formal position of boundary organisations, or government advisory requests to research institutes) can constitute such objectified boundary entities.

As both the boundary work of actors and their positions within field structures are considered to be connected to the habitus of these actors, the empirical analysis should focus on actors themselves. Interviewing therefore constitutes the primary method and the actors are thus the primary sources for this step in the chain of evidence. This method corresponds with the empirical epistemology of this research, uncovering how actors make sense of problems and research-policy relations. These interviews (see appendix A for the interview approach and appendix B the list of interviewees) were semi-structured, following a list of topics that was deduced from the central research questions.

Interviewing raises various concerns of reliability. Bias can emerge due to the formulation of the interview questions, difficulties of the interviewee to recollect past events, social incentives to the interviewee to give specific responses, and so forth. Especially because of the long time-period that is covered in this research, reliability of the data has been a major concern. Triangulation was used as a methodological strategy for enhancing reliability, involving data triangulation (using multiple sources of data) as well as methodological triangulation (using multiple research methods) (Yin, 1994: 90). Interviewing was combined with the analysis of primary documents and secondary sources (see appendix A for the method of document study and appendix C for the list of document sources). Primary documents involved amongst others minutes, records and notes that were kept by involved actors themselves, such as by the Scientific Council for

Government Policy and the Home Affairs Department. Such records contain strongly reliable and valid accounts of boundary work practices of these actors, as they are undistorted by time and as they contain records of the actual social practices of these actors. Also, extensive use was made of primary records that were kept of parliamentary hearings. Secondary sources included amongst others media records that give accounts of specific episodes, although the reliability of such sources will be less. Furthermore, scientific literature was extensively used as a secondary source for this step of the chain of evidence. The reliability and valiability of these scientific sources is very strong, especially when literature is involved that was produced by involved actors themselves. In fact, in such cases secondary literature can be considered to be of similar value as primary sources.

Boundary configurations

The fourth step in building a chain of evidence shifts attention from the actors to the structural setting of research-policy relations. It searches for structural patterns of boundary work in the fields of research and policy that produced specific structural configurations of research-policy relations. These structural settings, or 'boundary configurations', involve different ways of configuring mutual relations (relative primacy) and different ways of configuring the roles of both fields (convergence or divergence).

Indicators of these boundary configurations can be found in the patterns of interaction between research and policy actors. Indicators of how relative primacy was configured can be found in instances where either the research actors determined policy developments or policy actors determined research developments. When the boundary work of actors in both fields combined in a way that allowed researchers to determine the development of new policies, this is an indication of scientific primacy, and vice versa for policy primacy or political primacy. Indicators of convergence or divergence can be found in the extent to which research and policy interacted either directly (close mutual relations) or more indirectly (at a distance). When the boundary work of actors in both fields combine in a way that establishes a close personal or institutional relationship between specific actors, this can be seen as an indication of convergence, whereas more distance relations can be seen as an indication of divergence. These indicators will be studied with the same methods and sources used for the analysis of boundary work practices (step 3).

Frame-shifts, problem framing and frame reflection

The fifth step of this research design connects the evidence of the structural setting of research-policy relations to the structural setting in which the frame-shifts took place in research and policy. It first analyses the role of boundary configurations in frame-shifts. Therefore, it studies the relation between boundary configurations and the ongoing dynamics within both fields in the various periods. The objective is to determine whether the boundary configuration reinforced either negative or

positive feedback by studying how the interaction between research and policy has affected the position of specific actors within the field structures. This requires an examination of how the research-policy nexus strengthened the position (in terms of legitimacy, authority, resources, or in general 'capital') of specific research and policy actors that advocated either change or stability in terms of problem framing. Indications of such effects can be found in references to how the research-policy nexus provided capital to specific actors, both within the interviews with these actors as well as within secondary literature about frame-shifts. This involves the same sources and methods as in preceding steps in the chain of evidence, but a different method of analysis. They will not be coded for references to boundary discourse or boundary relations, but rather for changes in the distribution of capital within the field structures of research and policy.

Furthermore, it analyses how boundary configurations may have played a role in the rise or fall of specific problem frames. This involves not so much their role in creating the conditions for frame-shifts, but rather in creating the conditions for problem framing itself. An indication of such influence would be the exclusion of actors with specific frames from the field structures. This means that we have to examine not only how the positions of actors are altered, but also how these changes affected actors with different frames. Empirical evidence for such influence can be gathered from the same sources (interviews, secondary literature), but needs to be systematically combined with the analysis from the second step in which the frames of specific actors were analysed.

Finally, this step involves an analysis of the role of boundary configurations in frame-reflection. This means that the data that was gathered for the role of boundary configurations in frame-shifts and framing is discussed in relation to the various attributes of frame-reflection – openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust. An indicator of openness is the number of actors that are involved in research-policy relations, and also the absence of systematic exclusion of actors. An indicator of empathy is the presence and articulation of alternative frames. The presence of one dominant frame that is 'taken for granted' serves as an indication of the absence of empathy. Critical reflection means that the various attributes of problem frames are made explicit and critically debated by the actors involved. Pragmatism can be indicated by the willingness of actors to adapt (elements of) their frames, without interfering normative factors that could inhibit such pragmatism. Finally, trust refers to the extent to which actors seem to rely on each other in critical debates, without questioning each other's credibility or legitimacy. The scores on these attributes of frame-reflection are determined by a meta-evaluation of the scores on the other central variables.

By taking these steps, a valid and reliable chain of evidence is constructed for answering the central research question (see Table 1). It starts from the frame-shifts in research and policy, then the actors and contextual settings of these frame-shifts, the boundary work of these actors and the more structural boundary configurations

that were thus produced, and finally the role of these structural boundary configurations in the frame-shifts, reframing and critical frame-reflection. Therefore, this research design will provide an empirical answer to what the role has been of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts in immigrant integration research and policy. Furthermore, it will provide insights on the extent, how and why research-policy relations in this domain contributed to critical frame-reflection. This will allow us to draw empirically informed lessons about how the research-policy nexus could be structured in such a way that its role in the situated resolution of the intractable controversies over immigrant integration may be enhanced.

3.2.4   Issues of generalisation

Although this research contains a single case study of the research-policy nexus in the framing of immigrant integration in the Netherlands, it provides general insights about the relation between the research-policy nexus and problem framing that can be of interest to other studies as well. Single-case studies are often criticised for problems of external validity or generalisation of the findings compared to other cases. Critics have argued that single-case studies do not allow for any conclusions in terms of causality, but at most only allow for generating hypotheses. This research, however, does try to achieve analytical generalisation and build explanations by using techniques for developing so-called grounded theory.

Analytical generalisation concerns generalisation to theoretical propositions. In this research, this concerns in particular analytical generalisation to the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing. It will provide insights about how and why the structure of the research-policy nexus can play a role in frame-shifts, problem framing and frame-reflection. Thereby it aims to generate more general insights in the role of the research-policy nexus in the resolution of intractable controversies. The selection of the case of immigrant integration was certainly not random in this respect. It constitutes a 'show case' or 'revelatory case study' (Yin, 1994: 40), as the framing of immigrant integration as well as the structure of research-policy relations in this domain have become fiercely contested in the Netherlands over the past decades. Therefore it provides a strategic window for the study of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing. This research-strategy of studying controversies is more common within science studies, where controversies are considered 'sparks into the black box' that can provide crucial insights in the usually tacit structures of science-policy relations (Halffman, 2003: 18). The single-case of immigrant integration controversies in the Netherlands could thus reveal insights to the researcher that are usually more hidden in case studies of other domains that are less struck by intractable controversies.

Table 1: Summary of research design

Research questions	Steps in the chain of evidence	Variables (and attributes)	Indicators	Methods and Sources
1. Research and policy frames	Analysis of frames and identification of frame-shifts in research and policy	- Problem frames (terminology, integration and involved groups or categories, stories about how to achieve integration and references to broader values and norms	- Use of specific terminology or definitions of immigrant integration research and policy	- Analysis of secondary literature about immigrant integration research and policy - Analysis of policy documents
2. Actors and context	Analysis of involvement of research and policy actors and contextual setting of frame-shifts	- Context of frame-shifts - Actors - Actors' frames (as in Step 1) - Actors' positions	- Problem developments / focus-events / macro-institutional developments - Persons or organisations that were involved in research-policy relations - Indicators of frames as in Step 1 - Structural positions in fields	- Secondary literature about immigrant integration research and policy in the Netherlands and about research and policy-making in general - Analysis of documents produced by actors and documents about these actors
3. Boundary work and field structures	Analysis of boundary work of ctors in relation to their positions within the field structures of research and policy	- Demarcation - Coordination	- Boundary discourse, boundary relations and boundary objects that distinguish the roles of research and policy (demarcation) and specify specific ways of interaction between research and policy (coordination)	- Interviews with policy and research actors (identified in Step 2); see Appendix X - Analysis of primary documents of social practices of actors (minutes/notes) - Media records/parliamentary hearings - Secondary literature (primary source?)
4. Boundary configure-tions	Analysis of the structural configuration research-policy relations	- Relative Primacy (scientific primacy, policy primacy) - Convergence/Divergence of field structures	- Influence of research actors on policy developments (scientific primacy) and/or vice versa (policy primacy) - Direct or indirect relations between research and policy actors (convergence/divergence)	- Interviews with policy and research actors - Analysis of primary documents of social practices of actors (minutes/notes) - Secondary literature
5. Frame-shifts problem framing and frame-reflection	Analysis of the role of boundary configurations in frame-shifts, problem framing and frame reflection.	- Relation to field dynamics (Negative/ positive feedback) - Effect on field structures - Frame reflection (openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism, trust)	- Influence on the structural positions of actors within fields - Selective inclusion or exclusion of actors within specific frames - Number of actors, alternative frames, articulation of frames, adaptation of frames, confidence to enter dialogues)	- Interviews with policy and research actors (identified in Step 2) - Media records/parliamentary hearings - Secondary literature

Furthermore, this research does try to reach conclusions about causality in terms of the structuring of research-policy relations and the framing of immigrant integration by a technique of 'explanation building' (Yin, 1994: 110) or 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This involves an iterative process of changing one's thinking back and forth between empirical research and theoretical propositions. Rather than starting with fully developed theoretical propositions about the role of research-policy relations in problem framing, such theoretical propositions are developed throughout this research. This means that the five steps in the chain of evidence were not taken in a linear manner, but rather in an iterative manner. For instance, the semi-structured interviews about the boundary work of actors were regularly adapted to findings about theoretical relations between boundary configurations and frame-shifts, which required specific insights as to how and why actors constructed the research-policy nexus in a specific way. The analysis of these interviews was also a recurrent process between the coding of these interviews, sorting of data, and integration of the findings in accounts on the theoretical accounts about relationships, which regularly required changes in interview coding, and so forth. In this way, explanations are built in the course of doing the actual research, allowing this research to reach beyond the mere creation of a hypotheses (Yin, 1994: 111). This way, findings about the theoretical relations among key concepts can be generalised to other structuralist-constructivist studies of the research-policy nexus and problem framing.

3.3 Frames of immigrant integration

Although the research design is aimed at analytical generalisation in terms of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing, it involves a single-case study of immigrant integration. Some background knowledge of the theoretical literature on immigrant integration can therefore be helpful in the analysis of problem frames. For the empirical analysis of the attributes of frames of immigrant integration (terminology, social classification, causal theories, normative perspective), a theoretical framework will be used from different frames that are found the literature. This framework is based on studies from Castles and Miller, who make distinctions among differentialist, assimilationist and multiculturalist models, and Koopmans and Statham, who added a universalist model to this framework (Castles & Miller, 1993; Koopmans & Statham, 2000). Furthermore, in a recent publication, Castles and Miller also distinguish trans- and postnationalist models, which reach beyond the scope of the nation-state. This framework of five theoretical 'frames' of immigrant integration will be used for the empirical analysis of problem framing and frame reflection.

Assimilationism

Assimilationism, together with multiculturalism, is one of the most written about models of immigrant integration. It has its roots classical sociology, especially in

Park's Chicago School of Sociology and his Race Relations Cycle that distinguishes between several 'stages' of assimilation (Park, 1928).

Assimilationism 'names' and 'frames' immigrant integration mainly in cultural terms, focusing on how migrants adopt the culture of native society (Gans, 1997; Park & Burgess, 1921). It phrases the problem situation mostly in terms of 'social-cultural adaptation' of immigrants and the preservation of 'social cohesion'. The classification of the groups or categories involved is an inherent dilemma in assimilationism. On the one hand, it tends to name groups in culturalist terms or ethno-cultural terms, for instance the German definition of the national 'Volksstaat' (Brubaker, 1992). On the other hand, the identification of culturally deviant groups may lead to reification of cultural differences instead of the bridging of these differences. Therefore, immigrants are most likely to be defined as a social category (for instance, as newcomers) rather than as groups, so as to avoid such reification of cultural differences. Conversely, in public discourse there is likely to be a stress on ethno-cultural groups. In causal terms, immigrant integration is framed as a process in which social-cultural adaptation is a condition for preserving national social cohesion as well as for the amelioration of the social position of migrants in their new societies. Therefore, migrants should be willing to adopt national norms and values, and national institutions should be effective in terms of including migrants. Finally, concerning its normative perspective, assimilationism frames immigrant integration in relation to the viability of the national community in terms of its (national) identity as well as (national) social cohesion.

Multiculturalism

Multiculturalism is generally posited as the opposite of assimilationism, as it stresses cultural pluralism and a more culturally neutral and open form of citizenship (Koopmans & Statham, 2000). However, an important point of convergence between assimilationism and multiculturalism lies in their focus on the nation-state. In multiculturalist theory, the nation-state is redefined in terms of the recognition of being a multiculturalist state (Vertovec, 2001), as for example the British form of 'multiculturalism-on-one-island' (Joppke, 1999).

Multiculturalism names immigrant integration in terms of cultural diversity and the need for emancipation of groups with different cultural backgrounds. Whereas adaptation involves a search for commonalities between individuals in society, multiculturalism instead searches for compatibilities between groups and for tolerance to those facets of social life that groups do not have in common. Groups are socially constructed based on their cultural, or for example ethnic, religious or racial traits. Political theorists Kymlicka (1995) and Parekh (2000) have argued that accommodation of cultural differences between groups may even require diversification of social and political rights for different groups. The causal theory underlying most multiculturalist thinking is that the only way to accommodate cultural pluralism is to recognize cultural diversity and to differentiate policies for

specific cultural groups (Taylor, 1992). As an example, group specific policies have to be developed in various spheres, including general policy spheres as education and labour. Finally, multiculturalism contains a normative perspective that cultural diversity is a value in itself, that is a facet of the ongoing process of modernisation and that government interference with cultures should be limited (tolerance) as it will determine the identities of members of cultural groups.

Differentialism

Third, differentialism, or also 'ethnic segregationism' (Castles & Miller, 1993), involves the institutionalisation of differences, or in a way, 'living apart together'. Cultural diversity is institutionalised in the form of parallel societies, similar to the South African Apartheids regime, the Indian caste-structure or the Dutch history of pillarisation (Lijphart, 1968). Apart from these radical variants of differentialism, it has been applied in many countries in more subtle forms, as in the accommodation of temporary foreign labourers in many Western European countries.

In this model, immigrant integration is named primarily in terms of accommodating differences between groups that are to be as much as possible autonomous or 'sovereign within the own community'. In fact, the term integration is unlikely to be used in this model, as integration is to be achieved only in those domains where coordination between groups is necessary. Migrants will be classified in ways that stress their status as distinct national, ethnic, cultural or religious groups. For instance, in Germany migrants have long been labelled 'Ausländer', defined on national origin, so as to stress their non-German status. The causal story that underlies differentialism stresses either the absence of a need for integration, for instance because migration is considered temporary, or the unfeasibility of integration, for instance because of essential differences between migrants and natives. In the latter respect, France has had strong discourses on the 'unassimilabitily' of Muslim migrants especially, advocating differentialist policies in France as in Germany. Finally, the values and norms of the differentialist model are not unlike those of assimilationism. Both value the idea of organic communities and stress bonding with the community; in the assimilationist model this occurs in the national community and with differentialism bonding occurs within the separate community.

Universalism

Fourth, Koopmans and Statham distinguish a 'universalist', or also Civic-Republican, model that contains a more liberal egalitarian view on immigrant integration (Koopmans & Statham, 2000). It differs from both multiculturalism and assimilationism (especially in its meaning of acculturation) in that it is not culturalist in focusing on either commonalities or compatibilities between groups in cultural pluralist societies. In fact, it is adverse to the institutionalisation of majority as well as minority cultures. Civic republicanism is more oriented at the individual, and its membership as a citizen of a (culturally neutral) society.

Immigrant integration is, in this model, named in colour-blind and individualist terms, such as 'citizenship' or 'participation'. Also, universalism focuses primarily on the social-economic and political-legal spheres of integration rather than the social-cultural spheres. Culture and religion are considered issues that belong to the private realm. In the public realm, stress is put on individual participation in spheres as labour, education, housing, health and other colour-blind sectors. Migrants are defined as categories of individuals, for instance immigrés in France or allochtonen in the Netherlands, thereby shifting the cultural status of these groups to the background. The causal theory underlying universalism stresses the need for migrants to be able to stand on their own feet as citizens of society, especially in terms of social-economic participation. In this respect, combating discrimination and the effectiveness of institutions as education and labour to include migrants are important issues in universalism. In normative terms, universalism contains a liberal egalitarian perspective on society, in which good citizenship and equality are core values.

Trans- and Postnationalism

In contrast to the preceding models, trans- and postnationalism do not focus primarily on the nation-state. Nontheless, these models can be used by actors to 'frame' how migrants are to be incorporated into society. Transnationalism links migration and integration to the process of internationalisation, studying, for instance, the formation of transnational migration 'bridges' and the formation of transnational migrant communities (Faist, 2000; Kivisto, 2001). This transnationalisation is manifested, among other areas, in the common European migration policy that has been formulated over the past decades. Postnationalism represents a more cosmopolitan school of thought, linking migration and integration to globalisation, including discussions of the transformative effects on nation-states (Jacobson, 1996; Sassen, 1998; Soysal, 1994).

These models often name and frame integration in non-national terms, such as transnational or postnational citizenship, and often stresses transnational developments such as links between countries of origin and destination and the development of a universal human rights discourse. Migrants are defined in terms of groups that reach beyond the scope of one national state, such as transnational communities that 'keep their feet in two worlds', or as universal categories, such as universal personhood. The types of causal theories that are developed in these models are that migration is posing a challenge to the nation-state, and that new (non-national) modes of integration are being invented. Through these perspectives, immigrant integration generally also involves adaptation of national society and its central institutions to the emergent realities of cultural diversity and migration. It challenges, for instance, dominant ideas about national citizenship, questioning the issue of exclusive loyalty to one nation. Finally, the normative perspective of transnationalism and postnationalism contains an orientation to internationalisation

and globalisation as facets of the normative process of modernisation of societies. Concerns about migration and integration are manifestations of this normative process.

The five 'frames' that were distinguished, are summarized in table 2.

Table 2: Theoretical frames of immigrant integration with the main attributes

	Assimilation-ism	Multi-culturalism	Differential-ism	Universalism	Postnationalism/ Transnational-ism
Terminology	Social-cultural adaptation, national social cohesion	The nation is defined as a multicultural nation, social-cultural emancipation	Autonomy of groups, stress on autonomy, no mention of integration	Participation, citizenship, equality	Transnational ties, migration bridges, double identities, universal human rights discourse
Social classification	Dilemma between (ethno-) culturalist focus on groups and avoiding reification of cultural differences	Recognition of cultural minorities based on ethno-cultural, religious or race criteria	Migrants are defined as groups in a way that stresses their separate status (nationality, race, culture)	Migrants are individual citizens, categorisation is colour blind	Transnational communities, postnational membership/ citizenship, universal personhood
Causal stories	Social-cultural adaptation as means for preserving national social cohesion and improving the social position of migrants	Diversity should be accommodated through a politics of recognition, call for group specific policies	No need for immigrant integration because migration is temporary or because migrants are considered 'unassimilable'	Integration means that migrants are able to stand on their own feet	Challenge to the nation-state, new modes of integration, also involving adaptation of the host society
Normative perspective	Preserving national identity and social cohesion	Cultural diversity is in itself a value and a facet of the social process of modernisation, tolerance	Value of organic communities; bonding within the own community	Liberal egalitarian perspective, equality and good citizenship are core values	Trans-nationalisation and post-nationalisation as manifestations of modernisation of societies in terms of internatio-nalisation and globalisation

3.4   Conclusion

This research takes an empiricist methodological approach to the central question: What was the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts in immigrant integration in research and policy in the Netherlands over the past decades, how can this role be explained, and to what extent did the research-policy nexus contribute to critical frame reflection? This approach is founded on an empirical epistemology that studies the research-policy nexus and problem frames by looking at how actors do boundary work and frame problems and in actual social practices. Rather than doing boundary work, it studies boundary work; and rather than doing problem framing, it studies problem framing.

The central question was elaborated into five research questions, concerning the frame-shifts in policy and research, the actors' setting and context of these frame-shifts, the boundary work of these actors, the construction of structural boundary configurations and, finally, the role of these boundary configurations in frame-shifts, framing and frame reflection. To answer these questions, a single in-depth case study design was elaborated. The case was defined as immigrant integration as an intractable controversy in the Netherlands over the past three to four decades, the units of analysis were defined as boundary configurations (the structure of the research-policy nexus) and problem frames, and the objects of analysis were defined as the research and policy actors involved in mutual relations in the periods that frame-shifts have taken place. In order to address issues as (constructional-, internal-) validity and reliability, I elaborated the research questions, using various steps in the construction of a chain of evidence, each step with its own theoretical concepts and relations, its own indicators and its own methods and sources.

In spite of this research being a single-case study, it does try to achieve analytical generalisation in terms of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing in intractable controversies. It tries to generate theoretical propositions concerning this relation by an iterative building of explanations between empirical research and analytical generalisation during the research. In this way, it aims to provide theoretical insights of how the research-policy nexus can be structured in such ways that it promotes critical frame reflection for the situated resolution of intractable controversies.

Finally, I have distinguished various theoretical 'frames' of immigrant integration, which are deduced from (international) literature on immigrant integration. These theoretical frames are used as methodological tools for the empirical analysis of problem framing and frame reflection. They provide possible values of the indicators of problem frames and the attributes of these frames, for instance by distinguishing various concepts whose use can be seen as an indicator of specific frames.

The research design developed in this chapter, and as based on the theoretical discussion in the previous chapter, will be applied to the chapters that follow. The first and most general research question, concerning frames and frame-shifts in

research and policy, will be addressed in Chapter 4. The frame-shifts that are identified in Chapter 4 will be analysed each in separate chapters (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). In each chapter, all four remaining steps from the chain of evidence will be used. First, the actor setting and contextual setting is drawn; second, the boundary work of actors is examined within the setting of their field structures; third, I search for the more structural boundary configurations produced by these boundary work practices; and fourth, I analyse the role of these boundary configurations in structural changes in both fields, in providing structural conditions for specific frames, and in promoting critical frame reflection. Finally, this research will be concluded in Chapter 8, where I attempt to achieve analytical generalisation based on the findings from this case study.

PART II

THE CASE OF
DUTCH IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION
RESEARCH AND POLICY

4

FRAMES AND FRAME-SHIFTS IN IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION POLICY AND RESEARCH

The first research question concerns which frames have emerged and what frame-shifts can be identified in immigrant integration research in the Netherlands over the past three to four decades. In this chapter, I will reconstruct the problem frames that have emerged in research and policy and identify frame-shifts by looking at scientific literature and policy documents and by looking for changes in the different attributes and indicators of problem framing – terminology, social classification, causal stories and normative perspectives. To describe the frames in research and policy, I will use the various theoretical frames of immigrant integration that were distinguished in Chapter 3 – assimilationism, multiculturalism, universalism, differentialism, and trans/postnationalism.

This involves the first step in the construction of a chain of evidence toward understanding the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing in this issue domain. Here, the periods are identified in which the framing of immigrant integration changed in policy and research. The following steps in the chain of evidence involve more in-depth analyses of the role of the research-policy nexus in these periods. The following chapters will each hone in on a different period in which frame-shifts would have taken place in research and policy, as will be uncovered in this chapter.

Furthermore, this first step is important for the research design as a whole because it will paint a picture of the intractability of immigrant integration. This alleged intractability is the main reason for selecting this case study to analyse the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing. Such intractability would turn immigrant integration into a 'show case' or 'revelatory case study' for studying boundary work and problem framing. The empirical analysis in this chapter will make clear whether immigrant integration indeed has been an intractable controversy, as perceived from the frame perspective, and more specifically in what respects it has been an intractable controversy.

4.1 The rise and fall of policy frames

Immigrant integration policy seems to have been marked by episodes of stability as well as periods of dramatic change (Entzinger, 2005; Scholten & Timmermans, 2004). It seems that over the past decades, various types of policies have come and gone. In fact, the integration policy seems to have changed dramatically about once every decade . This makes it difficult to speak of one immigrant integration *policy*. Rater, it seems that there have been at least several immigrant integration *policies*

over the past decades. An analysis of policy documents shows that at least four policy episodes can be distinguished, each characterised by a specific dominant policy frame and separated by frame-shifts; no immigrant integration policy until about 1978, then a Minorities Policy until the early 1990s, an Integration Policy until the turn of the millennium, and more recently the Integration Policy New Style. This distinction of different periods in the development of immigrant integration policy seems to fit the distinctions made in several other studies (Blok, 2004a; Entzinger, 2005; Koopmans, Statham, Giugni, & Passy, 2005; Penninx, Garces-Mascarenas, & Scholten, 2005).

4.1.1   No immigrant integration policy

Until the 1970s, no immigrant integration policy existed in the Netherlands. It was considered unnecessary to have such an integration policy, as immigrants were expected to eventually go back to their home countries. For instance, the Moluccans, would eventually return to either an independent Moluccan republic or to Indonesia itself, and foreign workers were seen as temporary 'guest-workers' that would return to their home countries as soon as there was no longer a demand for supplementary labour in the Dutch economy. Another major immigrant group from the (former) Dutch colonies, the Surinamese and the Antilleans, were not considered permanent immigrants either, because they were seen as fellow citizens of the Dutch kingdom who could enter and leave the Netherlands at any time. There was also no common framework for the policies toward the various immigrant groups. Foreign workers fell under the policy responsibility of the Department of Social Affairs, asylum migration was coordinated by the Foreign Affairs Department, and policies toward the Surinamese and the Moluccans were coordinated by the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work.

The policies that were developed for these migrant groups seem to correspond mostly to the differentialist model. In fact, so-called 'two-tracks' policies (Choenni, 2000) were developed in this period implied that although migrants were to be activated in the social-economic sphere, in other respects they were differentiated from Dutch society. This differentialist frame is, first of all, manifest in policy and political discourse, under the slogan 'integration with retention of identity.' Initially, this slogan did not have the permanent connotation that it would acquire later, but rather referred to the social and economic integration of migrants during their stay in the Netherlands. This meant that the social and economic well-being of migrants had to be assured for the length of their stay. This also had an economic purpose of maximising economic participation of migrants. Policy toward foreign workers was 'aimed at, given the existing and expected needs of our economy to deploy foreign labour, balancing as much as possible the number of foreigners coming to the Netherlands with the demands of the labour market, given the available or to become available facilities for housing, reception and training.'[7]

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[7] Foreign Workers Memorandum, Parliamentary Document TK II, 1969-1970, 10504, nr.1 :13.

Moreover, the categorization of migrant groups also reflected differentialism. Migrant groups were not 'named and framed' as one category, but based on their foreign origins – Surinamese, Antilleans, Moluccans, foreign workers – stressing the fact that they were not from the Netherlands. This was also reflected in the fragmentation of policy responsibilities for these groups over various departments, and the fact that policy memoranda issued until the late 1970s always concerned one specific group.[8] This categorisation of migrant groups maintained the link with the countries of origin, and also stressed the different migration backgrounds of migrant groups (colonial migration, labour migration, family migration, asylum migration). It illustrated that there was not yet a common framework for formulating a general immigrant integration policy.

The causal story underlying the policies for the separate groups involved was based on the idea that policies aimed too much at permanent integration could hamper eventual return to the home countries. Although it became clear early in the 1970s that the presence of foreign workers would be permanent, it was still believed that foreign workers would not become permanent minorities. 'The phenomenon of foreign workers in the Netherlands has been recognised to be permanent (...) but the change amongst them is significant (...) as most of them return to their home countries after a short or a longer time'.[9] The presence of temporary migrants was framed as a product of post-war economic reconstruction and decolonisation. To facilitate return migration, migrants would have to be able to preserve as best as possible their cultural identities and internal group structures. Whereas integration was pursued in social-economic domains such as labour and income, in the social-cultural domain, migrant groups were stimulated to keep themselves apart from Dutch society. For instance, differentiated housing facilities were created (such as the Moluccan camps and quarters, and guest-worker barracks) and education facilities were set up in migrant's own languages and cultures (so-called Immigrant Minority Language and Culture Classes). In a memorandum on Foreign Workers the focus on retention of identity was phrased as follows:

> 'More than on promoting their integration as such, policy needs to be directed at providing the group the chance to retain its own identity. This means that the group is stimulated to develop self activities. A group-focused approach is essential to this aim. (...) For foreign workers, who will generally remain in our country for only a short time, the emphasis will be mainly on retention of identity. Re-integration after return to the home country will than be the least problematic.' [10]

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[8] Ibid; Position of migrants from Surinam in the Netherlands and policy on the mid-long term, Parliamentary Document TK 1976-1977, 14398; The problematic of the Moluccan minority in the Netherlands, Parliamentary Document TK 1977-1978, 14915, nr2.

[9] Foreign Workers Memorandum Parliamentary Document TK 1969-1970, 10504, nr.1 :12.

[10] Ibid: 10.

Finally, policies toward migrants were framed in the context of powerful values and norms that prescribed that the Netherlands 'was not and should not be a country of immigration'.[11] An important argument that was raised in this context was that the demographic situation of the Netherlands, described in terms of 'overpopulation', would make it undesirable that the Netherlands would receive permanent immigration.[12] The migration that had taken place in the 1960s and 1970s was seen as an inadvertent consequence of economical and political developments. This norm of not being a country of immigration provided an argument for not developing a policy for immigrant integration as well, as the integration of migrants could be interpreted as a positive appraisal of the idea of being a country of immigration.

4.1.2   The Minorities Policy

The first official immigrant integration policy in the Netherlands was developed in the early 1980s, first as a draft Minorities Memorandum in 1981 and finally in an official Minorities Memorandum in 1983. Then, for the first time, the presence of specific immigrant groups was recognised to be permanent. 'The new policy is based on the assumption that ethnic minorities will remain permanently in the Netherlands (...) thereby distancing itself from the idea that their presence would have been of temporary order'. [13] Migrants were also 'named and framed' as permanent settlers. Once temporary 'guest-workers' or colonial migrants, they had become permanent 'cultural' or 'ethnic minorities' within Dutch society. Stressing their permanent position in Dutch society, immigrants were described as 'cultural' or 'ethnic' minorities. However, immigration as such was still not seen as a permanent phenomenon, and the Netherlands was still not considered a country of immigration, since the immigration of these specific target groups was framed as a historically unique event.

Assimilationism and differentialism were explicitly rejected.[14] Assimilationism would be at odds with the freedom of minorities to experience their own cultures, and differentialism would have served too long as an excuse for government not to create a policy on integration. The frame underlying the Minorities Policy had characteristics of a multiculturalist as well as a universalist frame. On one hand, policy discourse stressed 'mutual adaptation' in the context of the Netherlands as a 'multi-ethnic' or 'multicultural society'.[15] On the other hand, this mutual adaptation not only involved social-cultural emancipation of minorities and combating discrimination, but also enhanced the social-economic participation of members of

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[11] Foreign Workers Memorandum, Memorandum of Understanding, Parliamentary Document 1973-1974, TK 10504, nr.9.

[12] ibid.

[13] Minorities Memorandum, Parliamentary Document, TK 1982-1983, 16102, nr. 21: 10.

[14] Reply Memorandum to WRR report Ethnic Minorities (1979), Parliamentary Document, TK 1980-19181, 16102: nr.6.

[15] Minorities Memorandum, Parliamentary Document, TK 1982-1983, 16102, nr. 21: 107.

minorities.[16] The combination of multiculturalist and universalist elements is also manifest in the combination of a group and individualistic focus in the official policy aim; 'to achieve a society in which the members of minority groups that reside in the Netherlands can, *each individually as well as group-wise*, enjoy an equal position and full opportunities for development'.[17]

The strong focus on the social category of 'ethnic minorities' in all policy documents since 1979 represents a more multiculturalist trait of the Minorities Policy. Migrant groups were no longer categorised based on foreign origin, but as a permanent population within Dutch society. The notion of ethnic minorities also introduced one common frame of reference for the migrant groups that had thus far been treated separately. Government, however, did not provide a definition of 'ethnic minorities', but it selected a number of 'minorities' that would form the target groups of the Minorities Policy; Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans, Foreign Workers, Gypsies, Caravan Dwellers and Refugees.[18] These included the main groups that emerged from labour, family and asylum migration up to that period. It legitimised this selection based on the argument that government was responsible for these minorities because 'their arrival and settlement in the Netherlands has been so much entwined with the history and economic functioning of Dutch society'.[19] Some migrant groups in Dutch society were excluded, such as Chinese and Pakistani.

In terms of the causal theory underlying the Minorities Policy, an important premise was that social-cultural emancipation of minority groups would also favour social-economic participation of individual members of these groups. This also reflects the combination of multiculturalist and universalist thinking in the Minorities Policy. Multiculturalism clearly prevailed in the orientation on specific target groups. Although the slogan 'general when possible, specific when necessary' was introduced to refer to when the position of minorities would be best ameliorated by means of general policies or by means of target group specific (categorical) measures, the Minorities Policy was mainly directed at specific minority groups.[20] For instance, it was believed that by maintaining group-specific facilities for Immigrant Minority Language and Culture classes, the social cultural emancipation of these groups could be furthered, which would also eventually benefit individual social economic participation.[21] Also, it was believed that the democratic voice of migrants would have to be supported by developing an

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[16] Ibid: 10

[17] Ibid: 12. Cursive PS.

[18] Ibid: 11. Caravan dwellers had been added to this list for pragmatic reasons.

[19] Ibid: 12.

[20] Ibid: 10. This goes at least for how the Minorities Policy was framed on paper. It seems that in practice, little specific policies were eventually and successfully implemented (Molleman, 2003).

[21] For instance, it was believed that mother-tongue apprehension would support identity-development amongst minorities and would as such contribute to the multicultural society.

advisory and consultation structure between national government and immigrant self-organisations.

However, universalism prevailed in the emphasis on accessibility of societal institutions and on proportionality in terms of social-economic participation. This meant that 'regulations for all inhabitants (...) are not just formally open to inhabitants from minority groups, but that they also effectively benefit minorities', which would have to be established by examining to what extent members of minority groups make proportional use of these regulations.'[22] Together with combating discrimination, enhancing the accessibility of institutions would constitute a means for enhancing social-economic participation.

Finally, the Minorities Policy was framed in the perspective of the positive value given to being a multi-ethnic or multicultural society.[23] Immigration was not framed as a permanent phenomenon, but the presence of ethnic minorities was considered permanent. However, this multiculturalist value-orientation did not involve a strong cultural relativism. The slogan 'integration with retention of identity' was now abandoned, at least in official policy discourse, in favour of a more dynamic conception of immigrant cultures. This was also manifest in the stress on mutual adaptation. Because of the asymmetrical relationship between minorities and the majority, the integration of minorities would inevitably require some degree of adaptation to Dutch society. 'When values and norms of minorities from their original culture clash with those of the established norms of our pluriform society and when these are considered as fundamental for Dutch society'.[24]

4.1.3 The Integration Policy

The assumptions of the Minorities Policy remained relatively stable throughout the 1980s. Forced by economic depression and rising unemployment levels amongst minorities, an incremental shift in prioritisation did occur in the direction of social-economic participation. The attempts to increase accessibility and proportionality of minorities' representation in state regulations were especially stepped up in this respect. A large scale project to enhance the number of minority members in government service (the so-called EMO plan) and a project to identify and eliminate instances in which the legal position of minorities was inferior to those of natives (Beune & Hessels, 1983), are illustrations of this stress on accessibility and proportionality.

Government started to raise doubts by the end of the 1980s about whether the current approach of the Minorities Policy should be continued, as especially in material domains (housing, education, labour) the results proved disappointing.[25]

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[22] Ibid: 17.

[23] Ibid: 12.

[24] Ibid: 107.

[25] Action Programme 1988, Parliamentary Document, TK 1987-88, 20260, nr. 2.

Although there does not seem to have been a radical break in many concrete policy programmes, significant change did take place in the early 1990s in the discourse, categories, causal stories and values concerning immigrant integration. [26] An important shift took place in a Reply Memorandum to a report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy, offering recognition that immigration as such would form a permanent phenomenon in Dutch society.[27] Although government still firmly held on to some other elements of the Minorities Policy, such as the norm that the Netherlands should not be a country of immigration and that specific minorities for whom government had a special responsibility would be the targets of the Minorities Policy, this reframing of the nature of immigration would have significant consequences. For instance, it raised the question of how policy could accommodate a constant influx of new migrants, beyond the minority groups that were considered the targets of policy. Moreover, the rising doubts about policy effectiveness in material areas led to a shift in prioritisation from the social-cultural to the social-economic domain of integration. As an example, new plans were initiated in the domains of education and labour, including plans for an Employment Equity Act and plans for educational trajectories for newcomers as a first step toward integration.[28]

During the debates on the Annual Report of the Minorities Policy in 1993[29], a parliamentary motion was adopted that asked for a formal recalibration of government policies.[30] It was argued that the notion of Minorities Policy no longer covered the revised policy ideas from previous years(Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 100).[31] This put in motion a process that would lead to a more universalist type of policy framing. In response to a parliamentary motion, government issued a 'Contours Memorandum on the Integration of Ethnic Minorities'[32] in 1994, which, several years later, would be succeeded by the memorandum 'Providing Opportunities, Seizing Opportunities' (1998).[33] An important change in discourse involved the change from the 'Minorities Policy' to 'Integration Policy', and the emergence of the 'citizenship' concept. The focus on integration instead of emancipation (Fermin, 1997: 211) put immigrant integration more in the perspective of participation in central societal institutions (education, labour, welfare state,

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[26] In policy practice, there seems to have been a strong tendency to 'path-dependence' (Snel & Scholten, 2005). This meant, a.o., that many programs were simply continued and were only legitimised in different ways.

[27] Government Position on the WRR report 'Immigrant Policy' (1989), Parliamentary Document, TK 1989-1990, 21472, nr 3.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Annual Report Minorities Policy 1994, Parliamentary Document TK 1993-1994, 23409, nr.2.

[30] The so-called Motion Apostolou, Parliamentary Document, 1993-1994, 23409, nr.9.

[31] Parliamentary Document, TK 1993-1994, 23 409, nr 9.

[32] Parliamentary Document, TK 1994-1995, 23901, nr. 3.

[33] Parliamentary Document, TK 1998-1999, 26333, nr. 2, nr. 4.

politics). Instead of groupwise emancipation, individual immigrants would have to become the unit of integration into Dutch society.

> 'The Cabinet chooses for citizenship and thereby stresses the integration of members of minority groups into Dutch society. Hence, we will no longer speak of 'Minorities Policy', but instead of 'Integration Policy' of minorities. For some, the past years have given the impression that policy would be only directed at the recognized policy target groups. Society as a whole as a target group would have remained too much out of the picture, at least in their perception. This is not beneficial for Dutch society. The term integration policy stresses better that the social integration of minority groups and persons belonging to these groups is a mutual process of acceptance.' [34]

The universalist character of the Integration Policy is perhaps illustrated best by the social categorisation of migrants as 'citizens'. The depiction of migrants as citizens signals the more individualistic way of problem framing of the Integration Policy. The 'primary goal' was formulated as 'realising active citizenship of persons from ethnic minorities'. [35] Especially in the 1998 memorandum, citizenship is consistently referred to as 'active citizenship'. This means that rights as well as duties of members of minorities became more central as they were reframed as citizens. 'On all members of ethnic minorities that stay permanently in the Netherlands (...) lies the individual obligation to participate in education and labour market and also the obligation to make efforts to learn the Dutch language and to acquire basic knowledge of Dutch society'. [36] The delimitation of policy target groups to a limited number of minority groups was not yet officially abandoned, as the targets now became individual members of minority groups. It was indicated that from time to time the selection of target groups would be reconsidered, because of 'the differentiation within and between the target groups' and the 'significant progress' in the position of specific groups, such as the foreign workers of Southern-European origin. [37] However, the 1994 Contours Memorandum announced the development of elaborate civic integration programs for newcomers, because immigration was now considered a permanent phenomenon. This meant that the target population of this part of the Integration Policy already was no longer restricted to the selected minority groups.

However, the shift in prioritisation from the social-cultural to the social-economic dimension of integration reveals a more significant change in the underlying causal policy theory. Firstly, integration problems were no longer primarily perceived in terms of accessibility of societal institutions, but also in terms of individual rights and duties of migrants as citizens. Hence the following slogan

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[34] Contours memorandum, Parliamentary Document, 1994-1995, 23901, nr. 3: 8.
[35] Ibid: 24.
[36] Ibid: 25.
[37] Ibid: 22-23.

was introduced: 'Providing Opportunities, Seizing Opportunities'. Secondly, the theory that social-cultural emancipation would eventually also benefit social-economic participation was reversed. Social-economic participation was now considered an important condition for social-cultural emancipation. For instance, Immigrant Minority Language classes were now legitimised with the argument that mastering one's own mother tongue would facilitate the apprehension of a second language. Thirdly, the Integration Policy was framed more and more as an intensification of general policy in specific domains, rather than a specific policy for specific groups. Specific policies would only be conducted temporarily in specific domains, such as the Employment Equity Law to promote proportional labour participation of migrants. For the most part, however, the integration would have to be an intensification of general social affairs, labour, education, housing and health care policies. In particular, Integration Policy was considered to be related to the policy of Social Renewal, which involved a strongly decentralised approach to a variety of urban social problems. As the policy of social renewal shifted to the background in the late 1990s, the Integration Policy became more and more related to Urban Policy.

Finally, the value of the Netherlands as a multi-ethnic or multicultural society shifted to the background somewhat in policy documents in the 1990s. Although government still recognised the de-facto multicultural status of Dutch society, it did no longer consider the active promotion of such a society a facet of government policy. This is put in the perspective of 'the changing role of the government', and recognition that 'more parties than just government are responsible for the dilemmas of the multicultural society'.[38] Rather, government policy was to be restricted to the sphere of social-economic participation, also because of rising concerns about the viability of the welfare state in relation to immigration. 'A deteriorated economic climate and the permanent immigration of new immigrants and too little attention for the problems of native citizens in a position of social-economic deprivation has made mutual adaptation and the support for an integration policy less obvious'.[39] This must also be put in the context of rising concerns about public support for multiculturalism.

4.1.4   The Integration Policy New Style

The universalism of the Integration Policy would allow for a more assimilationist type of policy framing after the turn of the millennium. Once again, a significant change took place in the discourse, categories, theories and values used for depicting the issue of immigrant integration. In the memorandum 'Integration in the Perspective of Immigration' government indicated that the Integration Policy would have to be recalibrated in the context of recent events (such as 9/11 terrorist attacks and the Scheffer debate on the multicultural tragedy) that had created more

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[38] Ibid: 4.
[39] Ibid: 21.

and more concerns about public support for the Integration Policy.[40] As a first step to policy reframing, this memorandum established a more systematic connection between immigration and integration policy; the level of immigration would have to be adjusted to the extent to which immigrants would be effectively integrated in Dutch society, with civic integration courses as a crucial link between immigration and integration. However, due to political developments immediately following the publication of this memorandum in 2001, the memorandum had little impact on the policy changes to come.

A memorandum in response to a report from the Social and Cultural Planning Office in 2003 would mark a more significant frame-shift.[41] In this memorandum, the minister of Immigration and Integration described the contours of a so-called 'Integration Policy New Style', which involved a turn from universalism toward assimilationism. The philosophy of this new policy would be elaborated further in a Reply Memorandum to an advisory report from a Temporary Parliamentary Research Committee on the Integration Policy.[42] Whereas the Integration Policy had focused primarily on social-economic participation, the focus now shifted toward social and cultural distance between migrants and Dutch society.[43] In particular, it complicates issues because 'when groups are put up against each other, as societal institutions are not sufficiently effective for ethnic groups and as large parts of the minority population do not actively participate in the economy, the continuity of society is at stake'.[44] In order to support 'the continuity of society', the focus has to be put on the bridging of differences rather than on 'the cultivation of the own cultural identities'.

> 'The Integration Policy has always put great stress on the acceptation of differences between minorities and the native population. There is nothing wrong with that, but it has often be interpreted as if the presence of allochthonous minority groups in itself would have been valuable, an enrichment tout court. One disregards that not everything that is different is also valuable. With the cultivation of the own cultural identities it is not possible to bridge differences. The unity of our society must be found in what the members have in common. That is (...) that they are citizens of one society. Common citizenship for allochthonous and autochthonous residents is the goal of the Integration Policy. (...) Common citizenship involves that people speak Dutch, and that one abides to basic Dutch norms.'[45]

In terms of social classification, categorisation of a limited number of minorities was now abandoned. All newcomers as well as long-term resident migrants, so-

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[40] Parliamentary Document, TK 2001-2002, 28198, nr. 2.

[41] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 29203, nr. 1.

[42] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 17.

[43] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 29203, nr. 1.: 7.

[44] Ibid: 8.

[45] Ibid: 8.

called 'oldcomers', were to be target groups of the integration policy, regardless of ethnic or cultural origin. All newcomers were obliged to follow 'civic integration programs' after their arrival in the Netherlands. The tone with regard to immigrants had however become increasingly negative, for instance in the statement that 'not everything that is different is also valuable' (see quote above). In other words, the social construction of migrants as target groups became more and more negative. Citizenship remained the primary means for categorizing minorities, but the focus shifted from 'active citizenship', with a strong universalist implication, to 'common' or 'shared citizenship', with a more assimilationist meaning. Common citizenship involves a sort of citizenship based on common values and norms; it involves 'speaking Dutch and complying with basic Dutch norms, [such as] doing your best to provide for your own life-support and observing laws and regulations'. It brings with it a willingness for 'taking care of the social environment, respecting physical integrity of others, also within marriage, accepting the right of anyone to express one's opinion, accepting the sexual preferences of others and equality of man and woman'. [46] Also, it maintains some of its universalist traits, that citizens are individually responsible for their participation in society.

Rather than social-cultural emancipation being a condition for social-economic participation (as in the Minorities Policy) or social-economic participation being a condition for social-cultural emancipation (as in the Integration Policy), the new causal story stated that social-cultural differences could form an obstacle to social-economic participation. Diminishing the social and cultural distance between migrants and natives would support the participation of migrants in society and would eliminate problems such as criminality and rising social tensions in neighbourhoods with high concentrations of immigrants. Just as the Integration Policy, the individual migrant remained the main unit of analysis. 'A lot would depend on the own efforts' made by the immigrants.[47] What was to be avoided was that immigrants would become a 'welfare-category'

> 'Integration Policy carries the risk of treating minorities as a population category that is more or less in need of help, as a welfare-category. That can happen when the emphasis is too much on providing facilities and offering regulations and arrangements. The cabinet is determined to make important changes on this point. A new division of responsibilities has be made between national government, local government, civil society and individual native and allochthonous citizens'. [48]

No mention is made anymore of the perspective of the Netherlands as a multicultural society. Instead of interpreting growing cultural diversity as a sign of a multicultural society, cultural differences are now framed as problematic cultural

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[46] Ibid: 8-9.

[47] Ibid: 10.

[48] Ibid: 9.

distances.[49] It is argued that 'a too large proportion of minority groups live at too great a distance from Dutch society'. In this context, the goal is to 'diminish the distance between minorities and the native population in social, cultural as well as economic respect'. [50] Immigrant integration was now not merely put in the perspective of ameliorating the position of migrants within society, but also in the perspective of the consequences of migration and integration for 'the continuity of society'. In other words, the normative perspective underlying the Integration Policy New Style had more to do with concerns about national social cohesion and national identity than earlier policies.

The various policy frames that have been identified over the past decades are summarised in table 3.

Table 3: Policy frames in Dutch immigrant integration policy since the 1970s

	No immigrant integration policy < 1978	Minorities Policy 1978-1994	Integration Policy 1994-2003	Integration Policy New Style 2003-2004
Terminology	Integration with retention of identity	Mutual adaptation in a multicultural society	Integration, Active citizenship	Adaptation; 'Common citizenship'
Social Classification	Immigrant groups defined by national origin, dependent on welfare protection during their stay in the Netherlands	Ethnic minorities defined by ethnic and cultural origin, characterised by social-economic and social-cultural problems, for whom government has a special historical responsibility	'Citizens' or 'Allochthonous', individual members of specific minority groups with rights and obligations for their participation	Immigrants of various ethnic and cultural origin, including newcomers and oldcomers, defined as policy targets because of migratory background and social-cultural differences
Causal Stories	Social-economic participation during their temporary stay, social-cultural differentiation so as not to hamper return migration	Social-cultural emancipation as a condition for social-economic participation	Social-economic participation as a condition for social-cultural emancipation	Social-cultural differences as obstacles to social-economic participation and social-cultural adaptation
Normative perspective	The Netherlands should not be a country of immigration	The Netherlands as an open, multi-ethnic or multi-cultural society	Civic participation in a de-facto multicultural society	Social-cultural adaptation in Dutch society, preservation of national identity and social cohesion

[49] Ibid: 7.

[50] Ibid: 8.

4.2   Frames in immigrant integration research

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, immigrant integration research can also be examined in terms of its 'problem framing'. This draws attention not so much to the 'accuracy' of research, but rather to the inherently selective and normative ways in which it has framed immigrant integration. In this respect, just as with policy, immigrant integration research seems to have gone through considerable changes over the past decades. These changes involved a growing fragmentation between more and more frames rather than a succession of different frames as in immigrant integration policy. Therefore, we cannot so much speak of the rise and fall of research frames, but rather of the evolution of different frames. Based on a review of secondary literature on immigrant integration research and the analysis of a number of scientific documents, at least several periods can be distinguished in which new frames emerged in this research field. First, until about the early 1970s, little attention was paid to the position of immigrants and the gradual development of a research field. Secondly came the establishment of a dominant 'Minorities Paradigm' in the1980s, and following was the rise of rival paradigms such as the 'citizenship' or ' integration' paradigm in the 1990s. Finally frames emerged that challenged the role of the nation-state (trans/postnationalism) around the turn of the millennium.

4.2.1   The rise of immigrant integration research

Until about the 1960s, the presence of immigrants attracted little attention from researchers (Penninx, 1988b: 255; Rath, 1991: 274). Researchers, as did policy-makers, framed the presence of immigrants as temporary. Immigrants were 'named' and 'framed' as temporary migrants. Lucassen and Köbben, two pioneering researchers in this field, would later observe how this showed that 'policy makers as well as researchers are part of the same society and are both subject to the same general if not ideologically influenced ideas' (Lucassen & Köbben, 1992: 84). For instance, in a study of foreign workers, Wentholt depicted migrants as 'international commuters' (1967). Or, in a study commissioned by the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work on migrant groups in the Netherlands, the term 'immigrant' was avoided and deleted from the study's working title to avoid giving the perception that these migrants would be permanent (Van Amersfoort, 1984: 148). Instead, the concept 'allochthonous', or 'not from here', was used in this study (Verwey-Jonker, 1971), a concept that later would acquire a somewhat different meaning.

   Not just the naming and categorisation, but also the causal story about the position of migrants in the Netherlands initially reflected the idea of temporary residence. For instance, one of the largest government projects in which many researchers were involved was aimed at examining the possibilities for linking return migration to the development of the countries of origin; the so-called REMPLOD project, or Re-integration of Emigrant Manpower and Promotion of

Local Opportunities and Development. Many researchers that would play a major role in the later development of the immigrant integration research field were initially involved in this project (including Penninx and Bovenkerk). Another example concerns a study of the economic effects of labour migration by the Dutch Statistics Foundation (Statistiek, 1971), which did not calculate the economic effects of permanent immigrant settlement, leading to positive recommendations about the economic effects of labour migration (Tinnemans, 1994: 104). Also, studies of the position of migrants during their stay in the Netherlands often stressed the psychological and social difficulties they experienced when arriving in the Netherlands from a very different social-cultural context, calling for forms of social assistance to help migrants 'acclimatise' to the Netherlands (Van der Velden, 1962: 13; cit. in Rath, 1991: 152).

Finally, an important characteristic of the value orientation of researchers involved in the first development of this research field was the strong sense of engagement with the position of minorities. For instance, researchers such as Köbben and Penninx, who would later become key figures in immigration policy, had been strongly engaged in organisations that aimed to alleviate and ameliorate the position of minorities, such as Action Groups for Foreign Workers (Penninx) and a committee led by Mantouw and Köbben that discussed the position of Moluccan migrants in the late 1970s.[51] Another prominent researcher, Bovenkerk, had done much work on revealing patterns of discrimination in Dutch society (Bovenkerk, 1978).

4.2.2   The Minorities Paradigm

Especially in the 1970s, immigrant integration generated more and more attention of researchers from a variety of disciplines, such as anthropology, sociology and social-geography. A landmark study that would be very influential on the development of this research domain was published in 1974 by Van Amersfoort; 'Immigration and Minority Formation' (Van Amersfoort, 1974). It was this study that for the first time defined immigrants as ethnic or cultural 'minorities', which was similar to American sociological literature on minorities. Van Amersfoort defined ethnic minorities as social groups or 'collectivities' with strong internal bondings, problems of political participation and weak social positions. In this respect, Van Amersfoort calls for government intervention so as to prevent what he dubs 'minority formation'. The result is that specific policies would be needed for specific collectivities to prevent this process of minority-formation. This definition of minorities and of the issue of minority formation would provide the basis for research on minorities in the 1970s. Van Amersfoort defined minorities as follows:

> '1. A minority forms a continuous collective within society. The continuity of a
> minority has two aspects: (a) the minority encompasses multiple generations, (b)

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[51] Interviews with Penninx and Köbben

belonging to a minority has priority over other social bondings. 2. The numerical position of a minority hampers effective participation in political decision-making. 3. The minority takes in an objectively low social position' (Ibid: 37).

In the mid-seventies, more studies and articles emerged that raised doubts about the differentialist frame that had prevailed thus far, calling for a different frame and approach to immigrants. This involved, in addition to Van Amersfoort's study on minority-formation, an article by Entzinger on the tension between norms and facts of being an immigration country, and a study of Bovenkerk that raised doubts about the feasibility of return migration (Bovenkerk, 1974a; Entzinger, 1975; Van Amersfoort, 1974). Köbben observes that the concept 'minorities' became the common denominator for the various minority groups since the second half of the 1970s (1986: 157). Van Amersfoort's study thus provided the fundamentals for a 'Minorities Paradigm' (Penninx, 1988a: 23; Rath, 1991: 173), that was elaborated on, in particular, by researchers with an anthropological or sociological background, such as Penninx, Bovenkerk, Köbben and Entzinger. Rival paradigms, such as nationalist and Marxist perspective on immigrant integration, had become marginal by the end of the 1970s (Bovenkerk, 1984; Rath, 1991). The establishment of a government-associated Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM), which united most of the researchers in the then still relatively small research field, would play an important role in research coordination and distribution of research funding (Penninx, 1988a; Rath, 1991; Van Putten, 1990).

The naming and framing of ethnic minorities was closely related to an underlying causal theory of minority-formation. Elaborating on Van Amersfoort's pioneering work, Penninx defines minority formation as a process involving 'position attribution' by structural factors in society and 'position acquisition' by migrants (Penninx, 1988a: 55). Position attribution involves issues as discrimination and accessibility of institutions, whereas position acquisition involves, amongst others, educational and labour market qualifications and cultural orientations of migrants. The central explanation for minority formation in this model is that the social and cultural 'otherness' of minority groups can negatively impact position acquisition and attribution for minorities. For instance, Veenman observes in one of his studies that the weak social position of Moluccans tends to be reproduced by weak educational achievements (Veenman, 2001). Or, the cultural 'otherness' of foreign workers would trigger systemic discrimination that would lead to negative position attribution. A central characteristic of the Minorities Paradigm is that position acquisition and attribution are examined primarily on the level of migrant groups; the social-economic and social-cultural characteristics of minorities are considered to determine the position of members of minority groups.

Finally, similar to the rise of the immigration research field, research in this period generally carried a value-orientation involving a close engagement with the position of minorities. For instance, in the late 1970s, researchers played a leading role in calling for a Minorities Policy that would recognise the permanent status of

minorities and ameliorate their social position as minorities in Dutch society (Entzinger, 1975; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1979). In fact, the very notion of 'minorities' stressed that migrant groups had a permanent position in Dutch society, instead of being commuters or guest workers. Also, researchers generally accepted, with little debate, that the Netherlands has become a 'de-facto multicultural' or 'multi-ethnic society'. The aim of researchers was to promote the cultural emancipation of minorities within this multicultural society, by describing and analysing the process of minority formation and drawing attention to the relation between group characteristics and processes of position acquisition and attribution (Rath, 1991: 36).

4.2.3   The Integration Paradigm

Although the Minorities Paradigm did not disappear, it was challenged by rival paradigms in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Its dominant position was undermined by, amongst others, the discontinuation of the ACOM in 1992, which had a central role in the field structure. The most significant rival paradigm has been described as the 'citizenship' or 'integration paradigm' (Favell, 2005: 46). This paradigm 'named' and 'framed' immigrant integration in terms of the integration of migrants as 'citizens' in the context of societal institutions as education and the labour market. To some extent, this line of research had already been present for a considerable time (Entzinger, 1981), but quantitatively, had remained minor to the more cultural-anthropological line of research (Choenni, 1987).

It eventually became more prominent, the first time in a report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy, 'Allochtonenbeleid' (1989). This report suggested replacing the concept of 'minorities' with 'allochthonous' so as to avoid putting to much stress on the group-dimension of integration. Also, the report called for a more activating approach toward social-economic participation of immigrants to prevent them from becoming welfare-categories. Migrants would have to be able to stand on their own feet instead of being dependent upon government facilities (ibid: 17). Although in this report the notion of 'citizenship' was not yet used, it would become the central concept in later studies from a similar perspective (Engbersen & Gabriëls, 1995b; Van der Zwan & Entzinger, 1994). In the early 1990s, the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) also attributed more systematic attention to the social-economic position of migrants. In this period, the SCP measured the social-economic position of migrants with use of generic data and also determined the proportionality of participation of migrants in direct comparison with data about social-economic participation in society at large. In this respect, it differed from the research of the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISEO), which gathered specific data about migrants with the use of specific methods, from which the SCP would later also make use.[52]

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[52] Interviews with director of ISEO and with a researcher of the SCP.

The focus on citizenship and social-economic participation also revealed a changing underlying causal story. Not being able to stand on one's own feet was now considered the main explanation for integration problems, and the welfare character of the Minorities Policy, amongst others, was blamed for creating this relation of dependency. This can be interpreted as a shift away from the group level to the individual level, as well as a shift from how structural factors in society affect the position of migrants to individual qualities of migrants (from position attribution to position acquisition). In the literature, this new paradigm has been described as a form of 'new realism', because of its realist tone toward issues of integration (Prins, 1997). Included is a perspective in which issues of immigrant integration are addressed 'head on', and immigrants are called on to live up to their civic responsibilities.

> 'The call for new realism in the Netherlands can be seen as a response to, on the one hand, a Dutch governmental policy of 'care', motivated and initiated since the 1970s by Christian and social-democratic governments, and, on the other hand, the demands for political correct representations of social reality from the radical left. The advocates of new realism think these standpoints are often too soft on members of ethnic minority groups, and that they put an unjustified taboo on critically questioning their different habits, cultures and beliefs' (1997: 118).

This new realism also points to an important normative element of the citizenship paradigms. It calls for full and equal citizenship of migrants, without treating migrants too much as 'dependents' and without taboos that would complicate the study of immigrant integration. Prins (1997: 117-142) lists several characteristics of new realism, including the assertion that immigrant integration should be treated with courage instead of care. This new realism claims to represent the voice of the common people that would have thus far been left out. It claims that by engaging in serious debates about integration and cultures the immigrants are taken more seriously, and further, it has a distinct masculine bias. As such, this perspective sought to eradicate alleged taboos surrounding the debate on social-economic participation of minorities and on the role of their social-cultural backgrounds.

4.2.4   Transnational versus national frames

The immigrant integration research field became more and more fragmented around the turn of the millennium. Alternative frames emerged that breached the 'academic provincialism' (Rath, 1991; Van Amersfoort, 1984) that would have characterised research thus far, by bringing the state 'back in' and stretching the perspective beyond the borders of the nation-state. More and more, research in the Netherlands, as well as in many other countries, acquired a stronger European dimension (Geddes, 2005). A criticism to the integration (and minorities) paradigm was that it was confined to the context of the nation-state without questioning the

nation-state; research had focused primarily on the integration of immigrants as citizens within nation-states (Favell, 2005). In this respect, national research paradigms often were associated to nation-building legacies (Lavenex, 2005).

By the end of the 1990s, this national dimension was questioned more and more in a growing body of literature that adopted transnationalist or postnationalist frames (Council for Public Government (ROB), 2001; Council for Social Development (RMO), 2005; Entzinger, 2002; Entzinger & Van der Meer, 2004; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001b; Snel & Engbersen, 2002; Van Amersfoort, 2001). For instance, the Scientific Council for Government Policy adopted a transnationalist frame by naming Dutch society as an 'immigration society'. It drew attention to the formation of transnational communities and causally linked migration and diversity to the transformation of society. Furthermore, the Council adopted a normative perspective that migration and diversity were inescapable facets of the ongoing process of modernisation that should benefit the receiving countries (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001b). Entzinger also drew attention to the formation of these transnational communities and to the emerging reality of dual identities amongst migrants (2002). Snel and Engbersen describe transnational citizenship as a new form of citizenship that bonds migrants to their countries of origin as well as destination. Finally, Entzinger and Van der Meer draw attention to how immigrant integration involves adaptation of the host society, for instance adaptation of welfare state arrangements (2004). In this literature, we can clearly observe a transnationalist problem framing, stressing the formation of transnational ties (migration links, dual nationalities, dual identities), defining migrants as transnational citizens, explaining immigrant integration in terms of participation but also the transformation of national institutions in response to migration and, finally, linking immigrant integration to normative processes of internationalisation and globalisation.

Also around the turn of the millennium, there seems to have been a rise of studies with a more assimilationist problem framing. This included studies from the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) that gradually shifted from universalism to assimilationism. For instance, around the turn of the millennium, the SCP pointed at the progress that would have been made in the social-economic domain, but also drew more and more attention to the lack of progress in the domain of what it described as 'social-cultural integration' (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2003). Moreover, it rejected the claim that the Netherlands would have become a multicultural society, and started to look at more social-cultural explanations for immigrant integration, such as criminality, equality of sex, residential segregation, social contacts and language proficiency (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 1998, 2002). Along with the SCP, other researchers such as Koopmans (Koopmans, forthcoming 2007; Koopmans et al., 2005) also took odds with the emerging transnationalist perspectives. According to Koopmans, immigrant integration still remained primarily a national process, as there was little evidence of transnational

claims making by migrants themselves. Also, Koopmans believed that the absence of effort to achieve social-cultural integration, for instance because of resilient pillarist tendencies to accommodate cultural differences, would form one of the explanations for stagnating integration. In contrast to the transnationalist literature, these studies 'name' and 'frame' immigrant integration in terms of social-cultural integration and social cultural issues, they define migrants as transnational citizens, they focus on social-cultural adaptation of migrants instead of the adaptation of national institutions and, finally, they put integration in the normative perspective of preserving national social cohesion and national identity in an era of globalisation and internationalisation.

Table 4: Frames in Dutch immigrant integration research since the 1970s

	Lack of attention < 1970s	**Minorities Paradigm 1980s**	**Integration Paradigm 1990s**	**Transnational versus national frames >2000**
Terminology	Immigration as temporary phenomenon, 'guest workers', 'international commuters'	Emancipation of minorities within the multicultural society - Social-economic participation	Integration, citizenship, participation	Transnational communities *versus* social-cultural integration (criminality, social contacts, language)
Social Classification	Groups are defined based on national origin	Ethnic or cultural minorities	Immigrants as 'citizens', or 'allochthonous'	Transnational citizens *versus* national citizens
Causal Stories	Temporary migration as correlate of Dutch post-war history of decolonisation and demand for foreign labour	Minority formation the product of the interaction between position acquisition and position attribution; emphasis on cultural issues such as discrimination and racism	Immigrant integration involves primarily position acquisition, integration involves primarily social-economic participation (welfare state integration)	Transformation of institutions in response to migration and diversity *versus* social-cultural adaptation of migrants as means for achieving integration
Normative perspective	Optimisation of economic benefit of labour migrants, humane treatment of migrants	Social-economic and social-cultural equality, achieving a (harmonious) multicultural society	Migrants should become full citizens that are able to stand on their own feet, preservation of societal institutions as the welfare state	Internationalisation and globalisation *versus* social cohesion within the nation-state

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how immigrant integration evolved into an intractable controversy in research and policy over the past decades. Both immigrant integration research and policy were increasingly marked by uncertainty in terms of

problem framing. In immigrant integration policy, the problem framing changed about every once in every decade, from a differentialist frame until the 1970s, to a multiculturalist frame with universalist traits in the 1980s, a universalist frame in the 1990s and finally a more assimilationist frame after the turn of the millennium. This illustrates the inconsistency of policy in this domain. Furthermore, the policy frames often differed and even conflicted in various ways. For instance, the differentialist policies of the 1970s were clearly at odds with the more integration-oriented policies of later periods. Or, the policy directed at emancipation of ethnic minorities was at odds with the more universalist approach of the 1990s as well as with the assimilationist approach from after the turn of the millennium.

In immigrant integration research there has been a growing fragmentation in problem framing. Although scarce research on this topic until the 1960s regularly followed a differentialist frame, in the 1970s a dominant Minorities Paradigm was established that contained a multiculturalist problem framing with some traits of universalism. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, a rival perspective emerged (integration or citizenship paradigm) that contained a more universalist problem framing. Finally, in the late 1990s and after the turn of the millennium, trans- and postnationalist frames further added to the fragmentation in problem framing in the research field. At the beginning of the 21st century, no dominant research frame of immigrant integration existed, strengthening the observation that also in the research field, immigrant integration had become an intractable controversy.

Furthermore, the frame-shifts in research and policy seem to have taken place in similar periods. In both research and policy, a multiculturalist problem framing became dominant in the period from the late 1970s to the early 1980s. This period would have been especially marked by the Minorities Memorandum (1983) and by reports from the ACOM and the WRR. Later, more universalist frames emerged in both policy and research in the same period, between the end of the 1980s and the early 1990s. In policy, a new memorandum marked this shift in 1994, and in research this period involved various reports, including a second report from the WRR in 1989. Finally, the rise of transnationalist and assimilationist frames in research and the rise of assimilationism in policy also seem to have been more or less parallel developments, primarily taking place around the turn of the millennium and in the time immediately following. In this period, two government memorandums on the Integration Policy New Style, a report from a parliamentary investigative committee, several reports from the SCP and a third report from the WRR seem to have played important roles.

In the following chapters I will zoom in on each of these periods in which frame-shifts took place and new frames emerged in immigrant integration research and policy. In these chapters, I will analyse empirically how and why these frame-shifts occurred in research and policy, and in particular what the role of the research-policy nexus was in these frame-shifts and how this role can be explained.

5

TECHNOCRACY AND THE RISE OF MULTICULTURALISM

(1978-1983)

The first period in which an empirical analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in frame-shifts is made, takes place between 1978 and 1983. The previous chapter has shown that in this period, a new frame emerged in research and in policy. In both fields, a frame-shift from differentialism to multiculturalism took place. Immigrant integration in this period was 'named' and 'framed' as an issue of emancipation of ethnic or cultural minorities who were indications of the transformation of society into a multicultural society, and whose unique position would require a specific approach.

After identifying this period, the next steps in the construction of a chain of evidence involve an empirical analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts for this timeframe. Following the research design from Chapter 3, first the involvment of actors and the contextual setting of this period will be reconstructed, then the boundary work practices of the involved actors will be examined in more detail. Thirdly, the more structural configuration of research-policy relations will be examined and finally I will discuss the role of these 'boundary configurations' in the frame-shifts, in framing and in frame reflection.

The aim is to analyse if, how and why the research-policy nexus did or did not contribute to critical frame reflection. Various research and policy actors in this period were involved in shaping the research-policy nexus and in reframing the issue of immigrant integration in their fields. The literature indicates a growing quantity of research and also a prominent role of research in policy developments (Penninx, 1988b; Rath, 1991). The fact that research and policy seem to have co-evolved in terms of problem framing also suggests that mutual relations must have been strong in this period. But how were the relations between research and policy configured, and why and to what extent did this promote critical reflection on how to frame immigrant integration?

5.1   Actors and context

The first question to be addressed is how this shift from differentialism to multiculturalism took place, what research and policy actors were involved, and what were these actors' positions and frames? This means that a reconstruction has to be made of the context in which these frame-shifts in research and policy took place (1978-1983). Based on this reconstruction, the research and policy actors will be identified who will be the objects of analysis for the empirical analysis of the

research-policy nexus in the following steps in the chain of evidence. Furthermore, in order to understand the role of these actors in the research-policy nexus, we must analyse the structural positions of these actors within the fields of either research or policy, and determine how these actors framed immigrant integration. These positions and frames may provide explanations for the boundary work practices of actors analysed in the following steps.

5.1.1 Context: from differentialism to multiculturalism

Until well into the 1970s there was a belief in policy as well as research that there was no need for an immigrant integration policy as (most) immigrants would return to their home countries. Until the mid 1970s, researchers showed little interest for immigrant integration (Penninx, 1988b: 18-20). Policy departments that were responsible for specific groups of 'temporary' migrants, such as the Departments of Social Affairs (Guest-labourers), Culture, Recreation and Social Work (Surinamese, Moluccans) and Foreign Affairs (asylum applicants) stated clearly in memoranda from the early 1970s that the Netherlands was not and should not be a country of immigration. Instead of integration, a differentialist approach was advocated that would integrate migrants into the social-economic sphere but differentiate them in social-cultural respects ('integration with retention of identity') to facilitate return migration.

A series of developments took place in the 1970s that would, for some actors, question this differentialism. First of all, after the active recruitment of foreign labour had been halted following the oil crisis of 1973, immigration continued. This oil crisis marked the beginning of an economic reconstruction that would significantly affect labour intensive industries (textiles, mining) in which many immigrants were employed (De Beer, 1998: 242). However, many foreign labourers did not return to their home countries, and instead had their families come over to the Netherlands. Especially between 1977 and 1981 this family migration led to a sharp growth of specific migrant groups, such as Turcs and Moroccans (Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 26). In addition to family migration, the independence of Suriname brought two further waves of immigration, one in 1975 surrounding its formal independence and one in 1980 when Surinamese had the last possibility to qualify for Dutch nationality. As such, the end of the 1970s marked a period with unprecedented immigration levels.

Secondly, the growing presence of migrants in Dutch society contributed to a series of events that would bring attention to the issue of immigrant integration. For the first time since the ethnic riots in the Dutch region of Twente (Groenendijk, 1990b) in the 1960s, new ethnic riots occurred in 1972 and 1976 in the cities of Rotterdam and Schiedam (Donselaar & Wolff, 1996). Simultaneously, the emergence of several anti-immigrant, or extreme-right parties, in the early 1970s caused much public arousal. For instance, a National People's Union party was established, which ran for the municipal elections in The Hague in 1982. Another extreme-right

party, the Centre Party, caused much arousal by gaining much support in the middle-class city Almere, beyond the neighbourhoods primarily populated by labourers in the major cities in which extreme-right parties used to gain most of their support.

Furthermore, a series of terrorist acts was committed during the 1970s by Moluccan migrants. The Moluccans had then been 'temporary' in the Netherlands for over a quarter of a century. However, they had no clear prospect for either return or integration. Since the 1950s, their position had deteriorated from stagnation, to marginalisation and radicalisation (Smeets & Veenman, 2000). The terrorist acts involved two train hijackings and several kidnappings of Indonesian diplomats and the hostage taking of a school class at a primary school that received broad attention and caused much public and political debate (Bootsma, 2000). In response to these events, government decided to review its policy regarding Moluccans (Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 12). In a memorandum, government put more stress on the Moluccans' integration.[53] These terrorist events brought more general attention to the position of various immigrant minorities in Dutch society (Lucassen & Köbben, 1992: 84-85). In addition to negative effects, such as decline of tolerance in society and declining support for the political aims of Moluccans, the Moluccan terrorist acts also had a series of positive effects, such as increasing the awareness of the deplorable position of minorities and of the multi-ethnic character of Dutch society and the demonstrative effect the new approach for Moluccans would have for other minority groups (Köbben, 1979). According to Köbben, without the Moluccan terrorist acts, there would not have been a directorate for the coordination of a general Minorities Policy by the end of the 1970s.

In response to these events, various actors claimed a growing 'tension between norm and fact' of either or not being a country of immigration (Entzinger, 1975). Researchers started to attribute more systematic attention to minorities in Dutch society. In 1978, an Advisory Committee on Minorities Research was established to advise on research programming and coordinate research to minorities. In the late 1970s and during the 1980s, the ACOM provided an important stimulus to development of research in this domain (Entzinger, 1981; Penninx, 1988b; Van Putten, 1990). This ACOM was associated to the Department of CRM, which was one of the first departments that advocated a changed perspective on immigrant integration, in spite of reluctance by other departments. Welfare or migrant organisations also played an important role in the late 1970s as representatives of the involved minority groups. These organisations too called for more systematic attention to minorities, although they put less emphasis on the commonalities in the social positions of various migrant groups. Also in politics, the events and developments of the 1970s had put immigrant integration on the agenda. In 1978, a parliamentary motion was issued that called for a general policy for the integration of ethnic minorities. In response to this motion, government established a

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[53] Parliamentary Document, TK 1977-1978, 14915, nr. 2.

directorate for the coordination of a Minorities Policy at the Department of Home Affairs, led by director Henk Molleman.

A report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy, *Ethnic Minorities*, provided a direct stimulus to the development of a Minorities Policy by this directorate of Molleman (1979). The contours of the Minorities Policy were for the first time elaborated in the Reply Memorandum (1980) to this report, which was subsequently elaborated into a Draft Minorities Memorandum (1981) and, after consultation of the welfare/migrant organisations, the final Minorities Memorandum in 1983. These memoranda developed a multiculturalist perspective on immigrant integration in contrast to the differentialist approach of the 1970s. At the same time in the field of research, the ACOM and the WRR marked a shift toward a more multiculturalist approach as well.

This brief description of the frame-shifts in research and policy indicates that at least several research and policy actors were involved in this period. Firstly, in the field of research, an Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) and the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) seem to have played an important role. Both published reports (Advies Commissie Onderzoek Minderheden, 1979; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1979) that are often referred to as turning points in this domain (Entzinger, 1984: 95; Penninx, 1988b: 22). Secondly, in the field of policy-making, there were various policy departments that were involved in this issue, including the Departments of Social Affairs, Culture Recreation and Social Work, Foreign Affairs and Home Affairs (Entzinger, 1984: 107). Also, welfare organisations can be distinguished as a separate group of actors that were involved in policy-making. Subsequently, before turning attention to the boundary work of these actors, I will first analyse the positions of these actors within their fields and their problem frames of immigrant integration.

5.1.2   The Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM)

The Advisory Committee on Minorities Research[54] was formally established in 1978 to advise government on research coordination and funding. It was a product of government efforts in the 1970s and 1980s to strengthen its role in research programming, which was also manifest in other domains (Van Hoesel, 1984). The ACOM consisted primarily of 'independent experts', this in contrast to other research committees that often had a 'tripartite' character, with researchers as well as representatives of involved groups and representatives from government departments (Entzinger, 1981). The ACOM had a full-time secretary, whose position was financed by the Department of CRM that had established the ACOM. Also, a civil servant from the Department of CRM acted as an observer in the ACOM and

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[54] Initially, it was named 'Advisory Committee on *Cultural* Minorities Research'. The adjective 'cultural' was dropped several years later, as minorities were then mostly referred to as 'ethnic' instead of 'cultural' minorities. The ACOM believed that the use of the term 'ethnic minorities' would be more 'exclusive and therefore more clear' (ACOM, 1979: 2).

was to be present during ACOM meetings and to function as a 'trait-d'-union' to this department. The ACOM mainly had the character of a 'technical-scientific committee' (Penninx, 1988b: 22). Its role was to advise the Department of CRM on research programming, on the scientific quality of research proposals, to coordinate research relations between research projects, to monitor the progress of these projects and to provide policy advice based on research (Entzinger, 1981: 108).

The ACOM had a rather exclusive position within the research field, as it brought together almost all researchers involved in the immigration domain. It then consisted of nine experts from different disciplines. Furthermore, the fact that the authoritative expert Köbben played a central role in the establishment of the ACOM and became chair of the ACOM, seems to have added to the authority of the ACOM (Van Putten, 1990). Köbben enjoyed authority amongst policy-makers as well as researchers, amongst others because of his prior involvement in a special commission that was set up in the 1970s to discuss the position of the Moluccan immigrant group in the Netherlands, the so-called Köbben-Mantouw commission, and because of his pioneering work in migration research.

In its first report, *Minorities Research Advice* (1979), the ACOM not only provided advice on government research programming, but also provided more general policy advice (Entzinger, 1984; Penninx, 1988b). The report parted from the prevailing differentialist problem framing of government policy. It named the Netherlands as 'de-facto country of immigration' and a 'multi-ethnic society', and adopted the social-classification of immigrants as 'cultural' or 'ethnic minorities', a classification that had been developed by Van Amersfoort several years before (Van Amersfoort, 1974). A causal theory was developed in this document that if government would take no specific measures to promote the emancipation and social-economic participation of cultural minorities, then the minority formation or even the development of an ethnic underclass would be inevitable. From a normative perspective, the leading principle should be that each individual and every group should have equal opportunities for participation within the context of the law and the correct application of existing (and if necessary new) rules (ibid: 7).

The ACOM developed this frame in the context what it saw as a growing tension between norm and fact concerning the status of immigrant settlement. In contrast to the norm that immigration should be temporary, it saw as fact that migrants were settling permanently. Whereas from a differentialist perspective the growing presence of migrants was seen as a temporary phenomenon, for instance guest labourers, from a multiculturalist perspective these migrants were framed as permanent ethnic or cultural minorities within society. Entzinger, then secretary of the ACOM and one of the authors of the 1978 report, had already called attention to this 'growing tension between norm and fact' in an influential article several years before, when he was still an administrator at the Department of CRM. In this article, he claimed that 'the Netherlands, partly due to government intervention, has become a country of immigration, whilst that very same government believes it

should not be {presumably out of] fear of overpopulation and fear of minority problems on a scale as in some European states and the U.S.' (Entzinger, 1975: 327).

5.1.3 Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR)

Another actor that would play an important role in this period was the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR). The WRR was established in 1972, with the ambitious task of designing 'a future-vision for society for long-term policy development, (…) identify problem areas (...) that necessitate prioritisation [and] coordinate government scientific institutes (...) so as to avoid overlap and lacunae' (Van Veen: 57-58, cit. in Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 13).[55] The WRR was to provide scientific advice on a variety of policy topics, from a multidisciplinary perspective and with a long-term timeframe. Initially, the WRR was established on a temporary basis, but in 1976 it was formally established by a Law on the WRR.

The central position of the WRR in between scientific research and policy was a reflection of more general cultural and structural developments within the Dutch social sciences and Dutch politics in the 1960s and early 1970s. On the one hand, there was a certain attunement of Dutch social sciences to the needs of policy-making and to the political culture of the Netherlands (see also Blume et al., 1991; Gastelaars, 1985). There was a concerted effort amongst social scientists to 'get closer involved in government policy', in a way in which it would not only provide scientific information but would also be involved in addressing fundamental policy questions (Adriaansens, 1997: 23-26). For instance, the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences was strongly involved in the institutionalisation of the social sciences in policy formulation.

On the other hand, on the demand side of social scientific expertise, there were structural and cultural factors in favour of scientific involvement in policy-making. In structural terms, the fragile coalition character of Dutch politics and its structural imperative of consensus-seeking contributed to the role of scientific research in policy-making as an impartial and objective source of expertise (Den Hoed, 1995). For instance, this structure of consensus-seeking did not allow for the establishment of a WRR that would be too closely associated to a particular department as this would contribute to asymmetry among various political leaders, but it did allow for the establishment of an independent and 'scientific' WRR more distanced from government as an external source of expertise that could support consensus-seeking. This way of using social science for consensus-seeking has often been related to the history of pillarism, in which scientific expertise was regularly used for de-politicization of issues that could threaten interpillar stability (Lijphart, 1968). In cultural terms, there was a strong belief in the policy relevance of social sciences. This was for instance illustrated by the 'committee on the preparation of research for the future structure of society' (also, the De Wolff Committee) who, in 1970,

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[55] This was the 'Committee on Interdepartmental Division of Tasks and Coordination' (also, the 'Van Veen Committee').

advised establishing a Planning Council, the future WRR, for 'the scientific preparation of policies aimed at the establishment of systematic and consistent policies', which would 'contribute to the rationalisation of the debate about policy problems' (De Wolff: 6, cit. in Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 10-12).

By the time the WRR decided to take up the issue of 'Ethnic Minorities' for a report to the government, its role and task was somewhat modified in response to parliament's criticism on the alleged impure and technocratic character of its role in Dutch politics (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 140). The WRR would no longer provide 'advice' but only 'scientifically sound information on developments that affect society on the long term'.[56] It was considered 'the task of the cabinet to prepare a consistent policy (…), not a task of the WRR'.[57] The WRR would, however, provide information 'to the aid of government policy', opening up possibilities for relations with parliament (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 168; Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1977: 14). Finally, a regulation was passed that required government to respond to WRR studies within at most three months, so as to enhance the transparency of the policy utilisation of these reports and increase the possibilities for parliamentary control on government utilisation of WRR reports (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 177).[58] As research has shown, the WRR adopted a rather moderate role in the 1970s. It generally accepted and followed the general contours of policy and providing scientific information within these contours (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979).

As a boundary organisation, the WRR's delicate relation to broader developments in research and policy was also reflected in its internal organisation (Adriaansens, 1997: 39). For instance, the Council members were selected based on disciplinary background as well as political affinity, so that the council would be a reflection of the spectre of political parties and of various scientific disciplines. The appointment of the chairman of the Council is not only based on scientific authority, but also known to be a political appointment.[59] The alteration of the entire Council once in every five years also contains an element of proximity as well as distance to politics and science. It creates a discord with the four-year political cycle of Dutch politics and allows members to maintain proximity to the scientific field, but also for the regular renewal of the Council to adapt to the changing social and political environment. Furthermore, whereas the research agenda of the WRR is formally decided upon by the Council itself, it is in practice discussed with the Prime Minister. Research topics are selected based on scientific and political criteria, such as whether an issue lends itself to political intervention (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1988: 5-6). Government can also issue advisory requests to the

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[56] Parliamentary Treaties 12668, nr. 3: 4.

[57] Prime Minister Den Uyl in the 1st chamber of Parliament, during debates on the Law on the Establishment of the WRR (1976). Source: Adriaansens, 1997; 20-21.

[58] Parliamentary Treates 14100 III, nr. 8.

[59] Recently the appointment of a new Chairman of the WRR Council led to questions in parliament (Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, Question nr. 1921).

WRR, although the WRR is not obliged to accept such requests. Moreover, there are internal structures for resolving disagreements and conflicts that could threaten the unanimity of support for a report in the council. Council members can choose to take a minority position, which can also be a means for putting pressure on the council for adopting specific changes, there is a hierarchical relationship between the Council and the staff of the WRR and, finally, the chairmen and secretaries of specific projects often have an important role in organising meetings ensuring that an agreement is reached.

The WRR decided in 1978, just after the establishment of the Second Council of the then still relatively young organisation, to take up the issue of immigrant integration. Just as the ACOM, the WRR reframed immigrant integration in multiculturalist terms in its report *Ethnic Minorities* that was published in 1979. This report stated that migrants had become permanent minorities, and the Netherlands had become an 'open, multi-ethnic society' (Ibid: XX). It argued that 'the assumption that minorities would remain only temporarily in our country has proven to be wrong (...) [and] policy should reckon with the possibility of permanent residence in the Netherlands, (...) accepting the fact that in Dutch society ethnic and racial diversity have increased permanently' (Ibid: XXXIX). Just as the ACOM, the WRR would play an important role in the social construction of minorities and in the advocacy for a general Minorities Policy. It stressed the 'common and shared nature' of the problems that ethnic minorities faced, especially problems of 'social deprivation, maintaining their own cultural identity and contact with a different kind of society' (ibid: VIII). A specific policy for minorities would be required as 'the distinctive nature of (their) problems lies in the fact that many persons belonging to ethnic minorities experience them cumulatively: such an accumulation does not apply in the case of members of other economically weak groups in society' (ibid: VIII). In contrast to the ACOM, the WRR did not elaborate a definition of 'ethnic minorities'. It followed a more pragmatic approach, in which it focused only on those immigrant groups that had already been object of government care (ibid: 7). This included the Moluccans, Surinamese, Antilleans and Arubans and Foreign Workers.

The policy slogan 'integration with retention of cultural identity' was explicitly denounced by the WRR. It would divert attention away from the integration of immigrants in society. The goal would instead be to achieve 'cultural equality' in such a multi-ethnic society (ibid: XX). Staying abound of cultural relativism, the WRR adopted a more dynamic or interactionist view of immigrants cultural identities, stressing the need for mutual adaptation. 'The question of separate identity needs to be considered in the light of a plural society, in which the majority and minorities are receptive towards one another's views and take account of the essential cultural values of each other's cultures, while at the same time acknowledging that active participation in society by minorities will require a change in attitudes on both sides' (Ibid: XXXVI). In this context, it also posits clear

boundaries to its multiculturalist perspective. Immigrants would have to respect the rule of law and in case of cultural confrontations where no compromise seems possible, the Council sees no option other than to protect 'the achievements of our culture' (ibid: XXII).

In addition to mutual adaptation in terms of identity development, the WRR emphasised the importance of social-economic participation as a condition for the emancipation of members from minority groups. It elaborated a causal theory that stressed that 'the positive enjoyment and development of a separate culture in freedom would only become possible if a number of basic living requirements are adequately met' (ibid: XXVI-XIX). Priority should therefore be given to combating social-economic deprivation. 'An active policy to combat social deprivation should (...) be seen as a necessary condition both for the minorities desire to preserve their own culture in an atmosphere of freedom, and for the majority's idea of equality in a multicultural society' (ibid: XX). An amelioration of the social position of minorities would contribute to 'tolerance of minority cultures by the cultural majority, as the image formed by the majority of a minority and its culture proves to be related to the social status of the bearers of that culture' (ibid: XX).

5.1.4   Government Departments

Various government departments were involved in the domain of immigrant integration in this period. They did, however, not frame immigrant integration in a similar way. First of all, various departments were still involved in the differentialist policies, targeted at specific migrant groups. This involved the Department of Social Affairs that was responsible for foreign labour, the department of Foreign Affairs that was responsible for asylum applicants and the Department of Culture, which carried responsibility for the Moluccans, Surinamese and Antilleans.

This institutional fragmentation reflected the differentialist problem framing that these departments carried until well into the 1970s. It stressed the specificity of the problems experienced by the various groups instead of the existence of a common denominator among the positions within these groups. In accordance with the differentialist perspective, there was no general immigrant integration policy until this period. The groups were also not named as a general category (for instance 'minorities'), but rather as specific groups defined based on their national origin (Turks, Moroccans, Surinamese, Antilleans). The theory that underlies the approach of these departments was that the purpose of each of these groups was specific and different, and that therefore a group-specific approach was required, whose concrete elaboration depended on the specific situation and characteristic the groups itself. Therefore, foreign labourers fell under responsibility of the department that coordinated labour affairs (the Department of Social Affairs), Surinamese and Antilleans fell under the responsibility of the department that coordinated the organisation of welfare to cultural groups (the Department of

CRM), and refugees were covered by the department that coordinated international affairs (the Foreign Affairs Department).

The normative premises of this differentialist frame seems to have been especially pronounced. This involved a norm that the Netherlands was not and should not be a country of immigration. This was sustained by economic arguments (migrants as temporary labour reservoir), concerns about international division of labour (brain drain from migrants' countries of origin) and by demographic arguments (the Netherlands as an overpopulated country).[60] The Foreign Workers Memorandum from 1970, developed by the Departments of Social Affairs and CRM, stated clearly that:

> 'It must not be forgotten that the demographic situation in the Netherlands is not such that there would be any reason for promoting immigration (...) The Netherlands is definitely not a country of immigration. With all understanding for its human aspects, one cannot conclude otherwise than that our country needs labour power from other countries and not new families from other countries' [61]

These actors framed the problem of immigrant integration in a way that stressed the allegedly temporary character of migration and immigrant settlement. Although the term 'integration' was used in this period in the policy slogan 'integration with retention of identity', it did not mean permanent integration in Dutch society but rather social-economic integration as one facet of the so-called 'two-tracks policies' in this period. The other 'track' involved preservation of group structures and cultural identities to help facilitate return migration. Rather than interpreting prolonged immigrant residence as an indication of settlement of 'minorities', it was interpreted as an indication of the need to step up efforts to stimulate return-migration. In fact, there were fierce political debates in the 1970s about bonuses for return migrants, which became cynically labelled as 'get-lost-bonuses' (Entzinger, 1984: 89). Also, projects were developed, with the Department of Development Aid, to stimulate return migration in relation to the development of migrants' countries of origin; the so-called REMPLOD project (Re-integration of Emigrant Manpower and Promotion of Local Opportunities and Development).

However, not all government departments supported this problem framing in the second half of the 1970s. First of all, the Department of CRM seems to have adopted a somewhat different frame in the second half of the 1970s that put the presence of migrants in the perspective of their social position in Dutch society. Previously, in the late 1960s, this department began paying more attention to foreign workers as a permanent phenomenon in Dutch society, amongst others in response to riots between foreign workers and Dutch natives in the region of Twente in the 1960s (Groenendijk, 1990a: 48; Lucassen & Köbben, 1992). However,

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[60] Parliamentary Documents, TK 1969-1970, 10504, nr.1.: 9.

[61] Ibid.

this involved primarily a recognition of the permanent nature of the phenomenon of temporary labour migration rather than the permanent status of migrants themselves. This seems to have changed in the second half of the 1970s, as indicated by its renaming and upgrading of its department on 'Migrant Groups' into a higher level directorate on 'Cultural Minorities' (Penninx, 1988a: 20). Not only did the upgrading to a directorate suggest that more importance was put on this issue, its renaming into 'Cultural Minorities' also defined their presence as permanent in contrast to prior forms of social classification that stressed the foreign or temporary status of migrants (for instance, Surinamese as guest-workers).

Furthermore, the terrorist acts by Moluccan migrants in the 1970s triggered a change of the institutional embedding of policies towards this group. In 1976, the coordination of policies toward Moluccans shifted to the Department of Justice. Thereby it acquired a higher political status, as the Minister of Justice was also Deputy Prime Minister. However, it also suggested a 'law-and-order' perspective in the approach to Moluccans (Entzinger, 1984: 107). In 1977, policy coordination shifted towards the Department of Home Affairs, as this Minister became Deputy Prime Minister in a new government coalition. This signalled the rise of a governance perspective in the approach to Moluccans, which would provide the basis for a more extensive change of government policies towards minorities.

5.1.5   A political entrepreneur

In the field of policy-making, a political entrepreneur, Molleman, would play a central role in this period. Political parties only began to formulate their positions on an immigrant integration policy in the early 1980s (Fermin, 1997: 77). The Liberal Party and the Christian Democrat Party did not attribute attention to 'minorities' until their election manifestoes of 1981 (Ibid: 84, 121). Only the Social Democrat party, one of the three largest parties in Dutch politics, paid attention to 'cultural minorities' in a special Committee on Cultural Minorities (ibid: 101), which was established in 1977. This committee was led by Molleman, a young parliamentarian who became spokesperson on cultural minorities.

Already in 1977, during parliamentary debates on the latest instances of Moluccan terrorism, Molleman had called for a more general approach to cultural minorities (Molleman, 1978; Van Kuik, 1986). An interdepartmental committee that had been formed for the revision of the Moluccans policy advised to the Minister responsible for Moluccans (then the Minister of Home Affairs) that the measures that were now taken for this specific group at various departments should also apply to other minority groups (Van Kuik, 1986: 118). The Minister however declined, as he believed that his administrative capacity would be too limited for this aim. In 1978, parliament discussed a new government memorandum that revised government policies toward Moluccans [62], and Molleman issued a

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[62] 'De Problematiek van de Molukse Minderheid', Parliamentary Document, TK 1977-1978, 14915, nr.2.

parliamentary motion in which he called for a revision of government policy toward all 'ethnic minorities'. [63] He called for a 'coherent set of measures concerning education, housing, employment, health and social-cultural welfare, not just for Moluccans, but for all ethnic and cultural minorities'(Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 14). Although Molleman decided to withdraw his motion, because of formal objections from his Social Democrat Party, the motion was nonetheless taken over by the Minister who had then become responsible for the coordination of policy for the Moluccans, the Deputy Prime Minister (then the Minister of Home Affairs). He was, subsequently, invited by this Minister to take charge of the development of a directorate for the coordination of the Minorities Policy Directorate within the Home Affairs Department.[64]

An article by Molleman provides important indications of how he framed immigrant integration (Molleman, 1978). [65] He parts with the policy slogan 'integration with retention of identity', as it would contain a too static image of cultures and would avoid the dilemmas that were sometimes associated with retaining one's identity, especially if migrants would prove to be permanent settlers (Molleman, 1978: 33). Rather, he names the Netherlands as a 'multi-ethnic society' and adopts an 'interactionist' perspective on immigrant integration, which involves a 'process of ongoing interaction in a network of (…) social relations between groups in a receiving country' (ibid: 334). He defines migrants as cultural groups, or 'cultural minorities'. This added an important argument to the extension of the new approach toward the Moluccan group towards other (cultural) minority groups, such as Surinamese, Antilleans and Foreign Workers.[66]

Furthermore, Molleman argues that, in addition to general measures that would affect minorities, a specific approach to minority groups was required. In this respect, Molleman refers to policy measures to ameliorate the position of these specific groups, but also to the need to promote 'emancipation' from these groups. Also in the parliamentary motion, he called for a structure of representation and consultation with migrant groups themselves.

Finally, in terms of his normative perspective, Molleman, being a Social Democrat, attributes the most importance to social-economic deprivation of migrants (ibid: 328) and takes a normative position on the transformation of Dutch society into a multi-ethnic society; 'We must learn to share our historical claims to living on our territory with groups whose cultures deviate sharply from ours (…)

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[63] Parliamentary Document, TK 1977-1978, 14915, nr.13.

[64] Interview Molleman

[65] This article was published in a journal, 'Socialisme & Democratie', that is closely associated to the Social Democrat Party.

[66] Interesting is that nationality was not an argument in this definition of cultural minorities. Moluccan, Surinamese and Antillean migrants mostly had Dutch nationality. The cultural perspective on minorities was in this period an important fact in the development of a general approach toward cultural minorities: as soon as policy towards one cultural group had changed (Moluccans), others could not be left out. Interview Entzinger.

We must learn to accept them, as they are, as people with their own cultures' (ibid: 335).

This focus on cultural minorities, call for group specific measures and normative perspective on a multi-ethnic society indicate that Molleman adopted a multiculturalist frame. However, his focus on the interaction between groups and his prioritisation of an amelioration of the position of minorities in social-economic domains reveals that his frame also contained some universalist traits. This frame was further developed in the Reply Memorandum to the 1979 WRR report (1980), the Draft Minorities Memorandum (1981) and the final Minorities Memorandum (1983) that were developed under his directorship of the Minorities Policy Directorate. The Reply Memorandum stated that the Netherlands had become a 'multi-ethnic and multicultural society.'[67] Assimilationism as well as segregationism (or differentialism) were explicitly discarded as models for a minorities policy; 'The acceptance of ethnic minorities as equals excludes the possibility that they are forced to adopt Dutch culture (...) [O]n the other side, if the term society is to have any meaning, being separated from each other (segregationism) must also be denounced.'[68] Instead, the policy goal was formulated as 'mutual adaptation in a multicultural society with equal opportunities for autochthonous [natives] and allochthonous'.[69] Also, as the WRR had done, the Reply Memorandum stressed the need to ameliorate the social position of minorities as the primary condition for integration.[70] A cultural relativist position is avoided by acknowledging that in some cases 'minorities will not escape adaptation to Dutch society', especially in cases were the position of individuals is involved.[71]

These contours would remain largely intact in the Draft Minorities Memorandum (1981) and the final Minorities Memorandum (1983), in spite of elaborate and lengthy consultations with various organisations involved in this issue domain (Urbanus, 1983). The aim of this Minorities Policy was to 'achieve a society in which the members of minority groups that reside in the Netherlands can, each individually as well as group-wise, enjoy an equal position and full opportunities for development' (ibid: 12) (see 4.1.2). A shift of attention did occur in the Draft Minorities Memorandum to a more group-specific approach, thus moving from universalism toward multiculturalism. It was now stressed, more than in the Reply Memorandum, that group identities and structures can help migrants to acquire a position in Dutch society. 'It must be positively valued that a migrant in a situation that is both new and uncertain will be committed to maintaining his norms, values and certainties and will search support primarily from companions'.[72]

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[67] Parliamentary Document, TK 1980-1981, 16102, nr. 6: 5.

[68] Ibid: 5-6.

[69] Ibid: 6.

[70] Ibid: 9.

[71] Ibid: 5-6, 10.

[72] Daft Minorities Memorandum, 1981, p. 20: cit. in Entzinger, 1984: 122.

However, in the final Minorities Memorandum, government seems to have come back from this more multiculturalist turn in the draft memorandum (Entzinger, 1984: 133). This final memorandum warned against group specific measures that 'failed to represent minorities in general policies on an equal footing with all other inhabitants.'[73]

5.1.6 Welfare/Migrant organisations

Finally, a group of actors to which attention must be paid involve various migrant or welfare organisations that were set up to represent the interests of minority groups. Mostly, these organisations did not involve representatives from minority groups but were rather led by natives that acted on behalf of migrants, the so-called fiduciaries or 'zaakwaarnemers' (Köbben, 1983; Tinnemans, 1994). This concerned for instance, the National Foreigners Center (NCB), the Foundation of Surinamese Welfare Organisations (LISW) and the Consultation Body for Welfare of Moluccans (IWM). Only the latter organisation also involved a significant representation from the Moluccan group itself. Furthermore, the interests of migrants were often represented by general organisations from civil society that showed a special concern for immigrants, such as church foundations. These organisations and their staff also involved primarily fiduciaries. Often they were supported by the Department of Culture, which had established funding facilities.

In spite of the differences between the various welfare organisations that were established for different groups, they often framed immigrant integration in similar terms. Fermin has shown in an elaborate analysis of documents of these welfare organisations from the early 1980s, that these organisations often framed immigrant integration as a collective emancipation process that was to take place from within the various groups (Fermin, 1997: 168). In this respect, their framing was distinctly multiculturalist, as they named immigrant integration in terms of collective emancipation of migrant groups defined as cultural minorities. In causal terms, the theory underlying their frame was that social-cultural emancipation is a condition for integration also, for example, in the social-economic sphere. In this theory, group structures (including group organisations) and group identities would fulfil a central role in the integration process. In some respects, this multiculturalist framing also contained some differentialist traits. Their collective emancipation strategy in some respects stressed autonomy within a group's own community, by reinforcing in the first place the unique cultural community and cultural identity (ibid: 171). Also, they often resisted paternalistic government interference in the cultural sphere (ibid: 175), arguing instead for a more prominent role of group organisations and rejecting the idea of 'integration' in particular, as it would mean 'mutual adaptation' between migrant groups and native society (Urbanus, 1983: 13). Most organisations held on to the idea of retention of the own cultural identity, and some would even

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[73] Parliamentary Document, TK 1982-1983, 16102, nr. 21.

held on to the prospect of return migration, which, in this period, was still very vivid amongst migrants (ibid).

These welfare organisations selected and interpreted 'evidence' from the problem context somewhat differently than some of the other actors. For instance, they did not interpret the Moluccan terrorist acts as evidence that a general immigrant integration was needed to prevent these migrants to commit these acts, but rather as indications that migrants and their representatives had not been taken seriously. More in general, these organisations did not interpret evidence of ongoing immigration and immigrant settlement as indications that government should develop an immigrant integration policy, but rather that the Netherlands was becoming a nation of communities that should give these communities and their organisations a say in various domains of government.

In sum, various research and policy actors were involved in research-policy relations in the late 1970s and early 1980s, carrying varying problem frames. In the research field, the ACOM and the WRR were involved on the research-policy nexus during this period. In the field of policy-making, various government departments (Social Affairs, CRM) were involved, as was Molleman, the political entrepreneur (and the Social Democrat Party) and finally, welfare organisations. Some of these actors, including the Department of Social Affairs, most political parties until the early 1980s and to some extent also the welfare organisations, framed immigrant integration in a differentialist way. This meant that there should be no integration policy, and that differences between (cultural) groups were to be institutionalised and, according to some, that return migration had to be facilitated. Other actors, including the Department of CRM in the second half of the 1970s, the ACOM, the WRR, the entrepreneur Molleman and, also to some extent, welfare organisations adopted a more multiculturalist frame. This meant that immigrants were defined as 'ethnic' or 'cultural minorities', whose integration had to be achieved by a combination of general and specific measures for certain groups to promote social-cultural emancipation and social-economic participation, and that integration was put in the normative perspective of the transformation of Dutch society into a multi-ethnic or multicultural society.

These frames also involved different ways of selecting and interpreting evidence about the problem context. From a multiculturalist frame, ongoing immigration and absence of return migration on any significant scale were interpreted as evidence that migrants had become permanent minorities. Furthermore, the Moluccan terrorist acts became, from this frame, focus-events for the deplorable social position of minorities and arguments for the development of a general immigrant integration policy to prevent these events from recurring. From a differentialist frame, evidence was instead selected in the sphere of demographic and economic arguments and in ideas about international relations (brain drain).

Signs of immigrant settlement and ongoing immigration were interpreted as indications that efforts to stimulate return migration had to be stepped up.

5.2 Boundary work and a technocratic research-policy nexus

The next two steps in the chain of evidence concerning the role of the research-policy nexus in frame-shifts involve the empirical analysis of boundary work and boundary configurations. This first question regards how and why actors constructed research-policy relations in specific ways, and second, what structural boundary configurations were produced and reproduced by the social practices of these actors? First of all, an empirical analysis will be made of the boundary work practices of the actors by studying their boundary discourse, relations and objects. This means looking at their social practices - at what they say, do and use - in the relations between both fields. And it means looking for how they demarcated and coordinated the structures of and the relations between research and policy. From a social-constructivist perspective, boundary work practices are considered inherently entwined with actor positions within field structures, so I will therefore discuss the boundary work of these actors in the context of their respective research (ACOM and WRR) or policy-making (government departments, political entrepreneur, welfare organisations) fields.

Secondly, an analysis will be made of the structural configuration of the research-policy nexus that was produced and reproduced by these boundary work practices. This shifts attention from the actors to the more structural setting of research-policy relations. It involves an analysis of how and why the boundary work practices within both fields have combined in ways that produced more structural boundary configurations. This means that, based on the same empirical analysis as in the first step, I will look for how relative primacy was configured in the relations between both fields, and for rules of the game concerning the convergence or divergence of the roles of both fields in their mutual relations.

5.2.1 The field of scientific research

For the field of scientific research, the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) and the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) were identified as actors involved in research-policy relations in this period. The ACOM occupied a central position in the field of immigrant integration research, and, as we will see, also played a central role in the relations between research and policy. The WRR was not involved as an institution in immigrant integration research as such, but would, just as the ACOM, play a central role in this period in establishing relations between immigrant integration research and policy. By interviewing these actors (or the persons behind these 'organisational' actors) and by studying primary documents as well as secondary sources and literature, I will try to reconstruct the boundary work practices of these actors. Furthermore, by looking at the positions of these actors in the field of scientific research, I will try to explain why they engaged in specific boundary work practices.

Boundary work and the 'Holy Fire' of the ACOM

The ACOM consisted of a number of researchers that represented almost the entire immigrant integration research domain in this period.[74] Although attention for immigrant integration had been rapidly increasing in the 1970s, also due to increased research funding by the Department of CRM (Penninx, 1988b: 21), the number of researchers involved in this field was still limited. Because of its exclusivity, the ACOM could play a central role in the demarcation of the structure of this evolving field while obtaining a central position in the relations with policy and at first in particular the Department of CRM, to which it was associated.

In terms of demarcation, several (leading) members of the ACOM had distinct ideas about what was considered proper 'minorities research'. This demarcation involved a choice for specific research methodologies and, related, also a specific ethos. There was a preference for methods of field research, inspired by cultural anthropology, in which the researcher became closely involved with immigrants as its research objects to uncover their inner world.[75] According to Bovenkerk, a member of the ACOM, this involved a choice for specific 'methods and techniques for gathering first-hand information, and to the effects of these methods on relations between the researcher and the people who are part of the processes, situations and events being studied' (Bovenkerk & Brunt, 1983: 67). Standard techniques of sociological research would be inadequate since 'one is confronted with groups of people and social issues and phenomena that cannot be studied with any degree of verisimilitude by means of standardised questionnaires, official documents and reports or by controlled laboratory experiments' (ibid). He argues that researchers should choose methods in which they 'spend a long period of time with a group of people in everyday situations' [although this is] often not the path of least resistance' (ibid). This approach is revealed amongst others in studies by Bovenkerk, who tried to retrieve patterns of discrimination by actually putting himself in the shoes of immigrants (1978). Van den Berg-Eldering (1978) who studied Moroccan families by actually working with these families, learning their language, staying with them and actually travelling to Morocco. Penninx has a somewhat similar background in fieldwork in Turkey and North Africa, for which he also learnt Turkish and Arabic.[76]

Köbben, one of the time's leading anthropologists, has referred to this as the 'holy fire' that researchers should possess to be able to unravel the living world of immigrants even in spite of possible resistance from the involved groups or from government institutes (Köbben, 1980). He contrasted this holy fire with research that was conducted 'in haste (…) from a desk [and] with a preference for numbers and tables, (...) the research tradition of a broad group of sociologists' (Ibid: 10). This way, researchers could perform their societal function of unravelling the world of

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[74] Interviews with chairman and secretary of the ACOM.
[75] Interview with researcher involved in the ACOM in this period.
[76] Interview Penninx.

immigrants and communicate the results to a broader public. This involved drawing attention to processes of 'minority formation', for instance due to discrimination.

This methodological preference was related to a research ethos that required the researchers to identify themselves with immigrants, often defined as being the 'underdog'.[77] For instance, a researcher's ethic would have to be to uncover patterns of racism or discrimination as they are in reality, regardless of opposition from involved parties or criticism from other researchers.[78] This is manifested amongst others in the strong anti-racist and anti-discrimination norm in scientific research in this period.[79] In fact, many studies were oriented at uncovering patterns of racism. A consequence of this focus on anti-racism, however, was that research in this domain tended to be 'fixated' on cultural differences.[80]

This demarcation of immigrant integration research was related to the prominent role of anthropologists in this field (Entzinger, 1981: 106). Anthropologists as Köbben, Bovenkerk and Penninx were amongst the first to engage in research in this domain, and later obtained central positions in organisations as the ACOM. Previously involved with the study of cultures abroad, such as in the former Dutch East-Indies, anthropologists now turned their attention to immigrant minority cultures in the Netherlands (Bovenkerk & Brunt, 1983: 67). This explains that some of their methods (field research) and ethos (engaging in 'alien' cultures) inspired minorities research in this early period, and according to some, that there was such a strong fixation on the cultural factor of immigrant integration (Choenni, 1987).

In terms of coordination, some of these leading experts in the ACOM advocated a strong engagement of researchers with ongoing policy developments. Penninx, one of the researchers to be closely involved in the development of the Minorities Policy, had a background in social activism, including involvement in the Action Group Foreign Workers, which then still advocated a critical, Marxist perspective on immigration.[81] He was part of a group of researchers that found that scientific research should have a societal function. Anthropology, they believed, had to be useful for the transformation of society.[82] Their activism concentrated on the housing of foreign workers and on language courses. According to Penninx, this type of activism was typical for the social sciences in the 1970s (Penninx in De Hart & Prins, 2005: 183). Another anthropologist, Köbben, also revealed such a social engagement. He participated in government commissions on the status of the Dutch Antilles and Aruba and on the position of Moluccans in the Netherlands. In this

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[77] Interview with one of the members of the ACOM.

[78] Interview chairman of the ACOM.

[79] Interview Penninx.

[80] Interview with member of the ACOM with a migrant background.

[81] Interview Penninx (see also Tinnemans, 1994: 99).

[82] Interview Penninx

context, Köbben also reflected upon the difficulties of such political engagement, as politicians would have often been unwilling to accept unwelcome messages (Bovenkerk, Buijs, & Tromp, 1990; Köbben & Tromp, 1999).

This policy engagement was also manifest in how the ACOM interpreted its formal role as an advisory body on research programming and policy development for the Department of CRM. Already in the 1979 Minorities Research Advice, the ACOM clearly stretched its advisory role into the CRM's domain. The ACOM believed that, 'in anticipation of developments in the direction of a more integral approach', it should draw in 'many other policy areas where specific mechanisms currently affect the position of [minorities]' (ACOM, 1979: 3). In this period, the ACOM openly assumed an advocacy role for the development of a general minorities policy. Furthermore, it established criteria for research priorities that had to assure that the supported research would provide relevant insights to the policy development. The ACOM tried to assure policy relevance by establishing criteria for research prioritization in its 1979 Minorities Research Advice. These criteria included that research should be of 'social relevance', which meant that researchers had to concentrate on the most important questions concerning the position of minorities that were on the agenda' (ACOM, 1979: 70-72). Also, research should be 'practically feasible' preferring 'large numbers of small studies that do not take relatively long periods of time, rather than a limited number of long research projects'. Finally, research should not concentrate on issues on which research had already been done, but focus on those themes that have received only little attention thus far.

The boundary work of the ACOM thus seems to have involved a certain habitus of engagement. This engagement was twofold, in terms of social engagement with the position of minorities (guided by anthropological methods and ethos) and engagement with ongoing policy developments.

Between advising or informing: The boundary work of the WRR

Although the WRR is not devoted to the field of immigrant integration as such, it did play a role in the relations between research and policy in this period. Its first report on immigrant integration in 1979 would mark the beginning of a 'tradition of involvement' in this domain (Meurs & Broeders, 2001) that would provide it with an institutional position in this research field especially in terms of the authority that it would accumulate.

The boundary work of the WRR in this period was closely related to that of the ACOM. The WRR coordinated the development of its report with the ACOM in various ways. It consulted the ACOM already in the stage of discussing whether or not to take up immigrant integration for a report to the government. [83] Subsequently, it began its project by commissioning a preparatory study on the 'state-of-the-art' in immigrant integration literature, which was also closely related

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[83] Minutes of Tenth meeting of the Council, 23 May 1978 (A-78/10).

to the ACOM. [84] For this study, it consulted Köbben and Van Amersfoort, prominent members of the ACOM, on who was to do this research.[85] They recommended Penninx, who had also been a member of the ACOM since its establishment. Penninx based his research primarily on studies from and interviews with researchers who were involved with the ACOM (Penninx, 1979: 8). Furthermore, members of the ACOM were invited on several occasions to attend meetings of the Council to discuss draft texts of the WRR report.[86] These contacts also served to avoid overlap or between the ACOM and the WRR, under the agreement that the ACOM would concentrate on the coordination of research on the position of minorities, whereas the WRR would concentrate on the relations between minorities and Dutch society at large in the context of the development of the Minorities Policy.[87] In the final WRR report it is also stated that 'close contact was maintained with the Advisory Committee in the preparation of this report'. With reference to the advisory report from the ACOM that came out in the same week as the WRR report[88], the WRR stated 'it is reasonable to expect that the orientation of this report and the research programme will dovetail with one another' (Ibid: VIII).

This way, the WRR incorporated the demarcation of proper minorities research from the ACOM, including its habitus of engagement. Moreover, two staff-members of the WRR, who had an important role in this WRR initiative, had been engaged in this issue domain earlier. Both had been involved with immigrant groups in their prior careers as civil servants. [89] One of them had been Head of a Directorate for Foreign Workers at the Social Affairs Department. The fact that this person would now work on a report that would provide the foundation for a general Minorities Policy, which had been much opposed by the Social Affairs Department, stresses the frame-shift that had taken place in the WRR. Both staff members had maintained an interest in this issue and believed that the events that had taken place in the late 1970s signalled a breakthrough to which the WRR might be of relevance.[90]

In terms of coordination of science-policy relations, the WRR exhibited a policy engagement similar to that of the ACOM. Although it stressed its independence and scientific authority, it also attempted to stay 'near' to the administration so as to be relevant to the ongoing policy developments; it followed a strategy of keeping

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[84] Internal memorandum of project group; 'Some notes about ethnic minorities in preparation of a memorandum to the Council', 14-08-1978; also: minutes of second meeting of the Council, 13 feb. 1979 (A-79/3) Also: Contract between the WRR and Mr. Penninx, April 3rd 1978, WRR archive A-78/10.3.

[85] Interview Penninx

[86] Internal memorandum to the Advisory Council (B-Council) from the Chairman of the WRR, 17 April 1979, B-79/1. Also; Minutes of sixth meeting of the WRR Council, 24 April 1979 (A-79/6.2)

[87] Minutes of Tenth meeting of the Council, 23 May 1978 (A-78/10).

[88] In fact, the WRR consciously presented its report before that of the ACOM, that was originally scheduled to be presented before the WRR report. Interview Entzinger.

[89] Interviews with both staff-members who took the initiative for this WRR study (one of whom was project secretary), and with the project chairman.

[90] Ibid.

administration near, but out. In fact, the ACOM stimulated the WRR to take up this issue in an effort to reinforce the claims for a general Minorities Policy. The scientific and political capital of the WRR, or 'it's central position and expertise', would make the argument for a Minorities Policy more convincing toward government. [91] Although the WRR Council did indeed decide to take up this issue for a report to government[92], some Council members did hesitate about the need for a frame-shift that was advocated by the ACOM.

> Chairman of the ACOM: '(...) [I]t is very necessary that in addition to the ACOM, another institute engages itself wit the minorities issue. The departmental research organisations are less fit to this aim. The WRR could be the proper institute for this, because of its integrative and long-term task. In addition, the WRR is centrally located and enjoys a certain prestige.'[93]
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> The Secretary of the ACOM 'refers in this respect to the poor coordination on the part of the government'.
>
> WRR Council member: '[I] am still not convinced that in Dutch government policy a framework would have to be developed for a Minorities Policy'.
>
> Chairman of the ACOM: '[I] consider this necessary, although I could make comments to the feasibility of this problem.' Penninx: 'thinks that a policy must be developed for all ethnic minorities, so as to guarantee that all groups are offered equal opportunities'. [94]

The engagement of the WRR with the development of a Minorities Policy was also manifested in the timing of the report with ongoing policy developments. The WRR had taken up this issue at a time when government had already recognised the need for a Minorities Policy and had set in motion the process of developing such a policy by establishing a Minorities Policy Directorate with Molleman as director. In an effort to be of relevance to these ongoing developments, the WRR tried to advice on a relatively short term, in just over one year. Also, it maintained contacts with Molleman, who received a draft text of the report before it was published. [95] In fact, the WRR explicitly oriented itself on these ongoing policy developments already in an early stage of developing the report, indicating that its goal was to reflect on policy aims in the context of ongoing changes in the perception of the position of minorities.

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[91] Minutes of the tenth meeting of the Council of the WRR, 23 May 1978 (A-78/10); in this meeting, the director and the secretary of the ACOM were present as well as the author of the preparatory study for the WRR.

[92] This report was initiated by the WRR itself, without a formal (or informal) advisory request from government (interview with project chairman).

[93] Minutes of the tenth meeting of the Council of the WRR, 23 May 1978 (A-78/10).

[94] Ibid.

[95] Interview Molleman.

'By many the desirability of a general policy for ethnic minorities has already been recognised. (…) Also in policy, a – modest – shift in focus toward an integration aim can be discerned. This new realisation demands reflection on the official aims of policy (…) in the context of permanent residence in our society'. [96]

Furthermore, the coordination of relations with policy on the part of the WRR was characterised by a strong belief that by providing policy-relevant knowledge and expertise, it could contribute to the rational resolution of this social problem.[97] There was a belief within the WRR that this social problem of immigrant integration could be effectively resolved if government, informed by its advice, would bring immigration to a halt and adopt a variety of social measures for promoting social-economic participation and social-cultural emancipation. This positivist belief in the feasibility of this social problem was also manifest in WRR reports on other social issues from this period. According to one of the staff members involved in this WRR project:

'This report [Ethnic Minorities, WRR, 1979] fits very well in its epoch. (…) There was still the idea that in terms of social positions and social deprivation, a lot could be done. That optimism of the WRR can be found in many reports from this epoch. (…) We had the feeling that it was a very clever report; stopping immigration and step-by-step integrating minorities in Dutch society. And then, their social position would ameliorate, and the problem would be resolved'.[98]

This boundary work of engagement with ongoing policy developments was related to concerns about the positioning of the WRR. The WRR was then still a relatively young organisation (the Law on the WRR had been passed only recently in 1976) and the second Council had been inaugurated in 1978. This Council would be especially ambitious in terms of establishing the position of the WRR.[99] In this context, it wanted to grasp this issue to show that it could really 'matter' as an institute that could deal with complex social issues and provide useful policy advice to government.[100]

A boundary struggle emerged within the WRR in the context of the making of its 1979 report on ethnic minorities, which provided clear indications of this repositioning boundary work. This boundary struggle concerning whether the role of the WRR was to provide 'scientifically sound information' or 'scientific policy advice.'[101] Formally, the WRR's role had been restricted in the 1970s to providing

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[96] Internal Memorandum, containing 'several notes on ethnic minorities in preparation of a memorandum to the council on a possible WRR project'. 14 August 1978.

[97] Interview with involved staff-member

[98] Ibid.

[99] Interview Chairman of WRR (also project chairman).

[100] Ibid.

[101] Minutes of Third meeting of the Council, 13 Feb. 1979 (A-79/3: pp.3-4).

'scientifically sound information' only, due to fears of an overly technocratic WRR (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979: 22). This brought up the question of whether or not the WRR should add its own analysis to the preparatory study of Penninx. This preparatory study was considered of such 'quality' and 'significance' that it decided to publish this study together with the report to the government of the WRR (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1979: VII). This was already an exceptional formula that had been used only once.

On the one hand, there were proponents of providing an advisory report to government, in which the Council would formulate its own position based on Penninx' preparatory study and formulate specific policy recommendations. In this respect, arguments were raised saying 'it is the task of the WRR to provide advice, to deliver publications that are of use for policy organisations', 'it is important that the Council tests its own competencies' and 'a problem-exploration would risk running into the same water as the ACOM'.[102] On the other hand, there were proponents of a more explorative 'problem-exploration', in which the WRR would only publish the preparatory study of Penninx or add only a small informative WRR report. This was supported by arguments that providing advice would be 'too risky and suggestive (...), as it is no longer entirely based on available information [that] the WRR has an informative role and that its advisory task is still contested', and that the publication of the preparatory study 'is perhaps of not too much use for government, but it can be of significant importance for society, which also is a task of the WRR.'[103]

This boundary struggle was decided in favour of the advisory alternative that exhibited a strong policy engagement. The WRR wanted to show that it could really matter by exploring the limits of its advisory role and 'testing [its] working methods, and [its] abilities to advise on the short term'.[104] Also, the Council considered itself obliged to add its own position to the preparatory study 'because of the nature of the study – a policy description and – evaluation' (WRR, 1989: VII). The expectation was that most people would actually read the WRR paper and than selectively - á la carte-style - read parts of the preparatory study.[105] This choice for the advisory alternative was also given in hopes that the WRR could use the policy window of opportunity that had opened in this period, with policy in a deadlock after having conceded that a minorities policy was needed in 1978 following the motion Molleman:

> 'It seems possible to develop a proper advice within a reasonable short period. The first variant (...) will be taken as a point of departure for this advice. It is however still possible that the WRR hereby triggers irritation from the policy departments. We are however faced with a situation where policy is currently

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Minutes of staff meeting, 19 April 1979, pp.2.

in a deadlock. As a result of the public debate that will follow our study (...), there is a possibility that policy priorities can be changed'.[106]

The project on Ethnic Minorities marked a broader change in the role of the WRR. Whereas in the 1970s, the WRR accorded to a model of 'moderate decisionism' where it provided scientific information as input to political decision-making (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979), the project on minorities appears to have been a precursor for a change in the role of the WRR to provide more normative policy advice.[107] In this context, the approach of the WRR shifted from 'a "broad" approach in which many different topics of government policy for the long-term were dealt with (...) toward an "in-depth" approach in which only several, essential aspects of government policy are examined (...)' (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1992: 140).

In sum, the ACOM and the WRR demarcated and coordinated research-policy relations in rather similar ways. The demarcation minorities research as adopted by many researchers involved in the ACOM, which has been described in terms of its methods and ethos in terms of 'holy fire', was adopted by the WRR. This involved a habitus of engagement with minorities as ethnic or cultural groups that experienced specific problems, and to some extent a certain cultural fixation. This way of demarcating minorities research was influenced by the prominent role of anthropologists in the evolution of this research field, who now held central positions within the research field in general as well as in the ACOM in particular, and carried distinct preferences in terms of research methods and ethos. Furthermore, because of the central and exclusive position of the ACOM in this research field, the WRR had no other opportunities for acquiring the knowledge and expertise that it needed than by going through the ACOM.

The coordination of relations with policy also involved a habitus of engagement in both the ACOM and the WRR. Both were strongly oriented at ongoing developments concerning government plans for a Minorities Policy, and also coordinated their efforts to influence these developments. This policy engagement had, however, different structural origins for the ACOM and the WRR. For the ACOM, this way of coordinating policy relations was related to its way of demarcating minorities research in terms of engagement with cultural minorities. This engagement with minorities also incited minorities researchers to be engaged with ongoing policy developments that would affect this position. For the WRR, it was rather related to its positioning in the broader context of research and politics in the Netherlands. In fact, the making of the 1979 report was part of a repositioning of the WRR toward a more policy-oriented advisory role, beyond its formal role of merely providing scientifically sound information.

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[106] Ibid.

[107] Interview with staff-member of the WRR.

5.2.2   The field of policy-making

In the field of policy-making, various actors were identified that were somehow involved in research-policy relations in this period. This involved government departments, such as Social Affairs and CRM, who carried somewhat different problem frames as we saw before. Furthermore, within Dutch politics, especially the political entrepreneur, Molleman, seems to have played a central role in this period. Finally, welfare and migrant organisations seem to have been involved in policy-making in this period and also, to some extent, in research-policy relations. By studying the boundary discourse, relations and objects of these actors, I will try to reconstruct how these actors were involved in research-policy relations. Furthermore, I will try to explain these boundary work practices against the background of the positions of these actors in the field of policy-making.

The boundary work of no immigrant integration research: Government departments and welfare organisations until the 1970s

The relatively late development of immigrant integration research was, as Penninx observes, not only due to the absence of interest for this issue on the part of researchers, but also to the lack of government demand and funding for such research (Penninx, 1988b). Although the Department of Social Affairs carried responsibility for foreign workers as one of the largest category of migrants, it was little involved in stimulating research to the position of these groups. This absence of interest for research was related to its position as a department with a labour market perspective on immigration. From this position, it framed immigrant integration in differentialist terms, focusing on the buffer function of foreign workers as a labour reserve in times of labour shortages. This voided the need for systematic research to the social position of migrants in Dutch society, as these migrants were expected eventually to return to their home countries. In fact, one of the few research projects in which it was involved, concerned the REMPLOD project (together with several other departments) in which the prospects were explored of engaging migrants in the development of their home countries.

Most research funding in the late 1960s and 1970s came from the Department of CRM, which carried the responsibility of providing facilities to migrants during their residence in the Netherlands, in the spheres of housing and welfare, for example (Penninx, 1988b: 19). Although this department did not engage in systematic research programming at that time, it did finance various studies on the social position of migrants (ibid: 18). For instance, it commissioned a study by Hilda Verwey-Jonker, joined by a group of researchers including Van Amersfoort and Van Praag, on the position of migrant groups (Verwey-Jonker, 1971).

Furthermore, welfare and migrant organisations have been known to have prevented research on their groups. This involved, for instance, the Commissioner's Office for Welfare of Moluccans (CAZ), which would have averted research amongst Moluccans for a considerable time (Penninx, 1988b: 17). This discouraging

attitude toward research would have been related to the perceived threat that research would pose to the structural position of the organisations. In particular, research on minorities would form an alternative means for formulating government measures to these groups, without involvement of organisations from the groups themselves (ibid: 47). In this respect, the relation between welfare/migrant organisations and research bodies such as the ACOM was, at times, somewhat tense.

This absence of systematic interest for research on the position of migrants must also be considered a consequence of a distinct sort of boundary work in this period. This involved a way of demarcating research and policy in such a way that research is ignored or even actively discouraged concerning themes that are not on the policy agenda. In this case, absence of a common understanding of the relevance of the social position of migrant groups for government policy was involved. Based on its structural position and its differentialist framing, the Department of Social Affairs had no interest in researching minorities, but rather wanted research concerning return migration. Welfare and migrant organisations also had no interest in research to their positions, because it could interfere with their structural positions as representatives (or 'fiduciaries') of migrant groups in relations with government.

This way of demarcating research and policy was related to the coordination of mutual relations. Indications of this coordination boundary work are provided by the few occasions where these actors were confronted with research on the social positions of immigrants. When the Department of CRM commissioned a research by Hilda Verwey-Jonker and a group of researchers on the position of various migrant groups, controversy emerged about the use of the term 'immigrant' in the text and title of the report. The use of this term would suggest that these groups did include permanent immigrants, whereas government had stated clearly in its 1970 memorandum on Foreign Workers that the Netherlands was not a country of immigration. Therefore, the term 'immigrants' and the title 'Immigrants in the Netherlands' had to be abandoned in favour of the term 'allochthonous' and the title 'Allochthonous in the Netherlands'. According to Van Amersfoort, one of the authors involved in this publication:

> '(...) CRM [The Department of Culture] had given an assignment for making the book 'Allochthonous in the Netherlands'. The suggested title 'Immigrants in the Netherlands' faced however invincible objections. (...) Government had just (1970) declared in its Foreign Workers Memorandum that the Netherlands was not a country of immigration. (...) The Netherlands had many things…. but not immigrants, so it was 'allochthonous' (Van Amersfoort, 1984: 138).

Furthermore, when Entzinger published an article in a special issue of the journal Beleid & Maatschappij on the tension between 'norm' and 'fact' of not being a country of immigration, he also met with criticism from the Department of CRM

(Entzinger, 1975). Although he wrote this article on his own, he was then still a civil servant at the Research and Planning directorate of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, which at that time still held on to the assumption of temporary migration.[108] This shows how the boundary work of these actors aimed at ignoring or preventing research to minorities was clearly related to the position of these departments in the prevailing two-tracks policies and government reluctance to concede to being a country of immigration, or, in the case of migrant organisations, to their positions as representatives for these migrant groups.

Missionary boundary work; The Department of CRM

As argued above (5.1.4) the position of the Department of CRM changed during the 1970s due in part to developments in the groups that fell under its responsibility; the Moluccans and the Surinamese.[109] Furthermore, it was this department that was confronted with the tension between norm and fact of not being a country of immigration, as it was responsible for providing welfare facilities to the growing number of temporary migrants (Penninx, 1988b: 20). This triggered a change not only in how this department framed the issue of immigrant integration, but also in its boundary work practices in relation to the emerging field of immigrant integration research.

The Department of CRM altered its discourse on and relations with immigrant integration research during the 1970s. Already in the early 1970s, the Department had formed a Research and Planning Group that would spend significant attention to issues of immigrant integration. This group was to be main source of research to immigrants in this period. It also provided a cradle for researchers that would play an essential role in this research domain in the decades to come (such as Van Praag and Entzinger). Furthermore, since 1976 it was advised on an informal basis by a group of minorities researchers (Rath, 1991: 172). This not only involved a change in mutual relations, but also in the demarcation of research and policy. For the first time this department showed systematic interest in research on cultural minorities. In 1978, this informal network was formalised with the establishment of the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research. With the establishment of this boundary organisation, the Department of CRM created a boundary object that, on the one hand, demarcated its specific interest for research to minorities within Dutch society, and on the other hand, coordinated the relation between research and policy in terms of the acquisition of more systematic knowledge for the development of government policies toward these minorities.

In terms of demarcation, the Department of CRM now showed a systematic interest specifically for knowledge and expertise on cultural minorities. This involved a change from its prior way of demarcating a demand for research in which the idea that migrants would be permanent minorities was carefully avoided.

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[108] Interview with Entzinger
[109] Interview civil servant of the CRM department

Furthermore, it involved a demand for policy-relevant knowledge for the development of policies for these groups. The ACOM was to promote 'coherence and accumulation of knowledge for policy formulation and implementation' (Penninx, 1988b: 21). It was not the aim that the ACOM would stimulate fundamental research. The Minister of CRM stated during the installation of the ACOM, that 'pure scientific research must be considered a luxury that we can hardly afford' (cit. in Van Putten, 1990: 359). Instead, research should provide instrumental insights for policy developments. 'Knowledge on the position of the various categories of cultural minorities' would in itself be 'insufficient'. There was specific need for 'studies and reports of high quality that must direct, stimulate, support or – when necessary – correct government policy' (ibid).

This way of demarcating a specific demand for research that provides policy-relevant insights on the position of minorities was closely related to how the ACOM wanted to coordinate the relation between research and ongoing policy developments. This boundary work of the Department of CRM involved a 'political manoeuvre' to gain legitimacy for its new policy ideas.[110] CRM was a relatively weak department that had little means or power to convince other departments that a minorities policy would be needed. Consequently, CRM had to shop for alternative venues to propagate its new frame and to overcome the negative feedback from the persisting iron triangles. Stimulating scientific research about minorities by founding the ACOM in 1978, was therefore a sort of 'missionary project' of this department, as described by Entzinger, the first secretary of the ACOM, former civil-servant of the CRM department and future key figure in this research field (1981: 111). Research provided a way for CRM to 'convince other ministries of the necessity for a policy on 'cultural minorities'' (ibid).[111] This also explains why the ACOM could extend its role beyond that of an advisory committee on research programming by the Department of CRM. The idea that the ACOM could support the idea for a general Minorities Policy stimulated its role extension to other relevant policy domains, such as labour, housing, health-care and education (1981: 109). The ACOM would not constrain itself to advising on research programming, but clearly also advised on policy issues (Penninx, 1988b: 21-22).

The change in boundary work practices of this department was certainly related to the changes in its position within the field of policy-making in this time. Faced with specific problem developments in the groups that fell under its responsibility and at the same time faced with reluctance of other departments to respond to these developments, the Department of CRM developed a specific interest for policy-relevant research to cultural minorities (demarcation) for convincing the other departments of the need for a more systematic approach towards these groups (coordination). This shows that there was a clear connection

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[110] Interview Penninx.

[111] Various authors that are referred to in this section were involved in the ACOM in this period. Therefore, their written sources are treated as primary sources for this research.

between the boundary work of this department and the more structural aims of this department.

Politics: Positivist boundary work

Finally the Moluccan terrorist acts and the growth of ethnic tensions had created a sense of urgency in Dutch politics about immigrant integration. However, the boundary work practices of political actors in this period reveal that immigrant integration was not defined as a political issue. Rather, the roles of research and policy were demarcated in a way that research obtained a primary role in policy formulation.

This demarcation involved a demand for policy-relevant knowledge and expertise for the development of an immigrant integration policy. In spite of the sense of urgency that now emerged, there was a structural deficiency in terms of knowledge and expertise on how to conduct a policy aimed at immigrant integration.[112] Government now realised that it had to develop a Minorities Policy, but lacked the relevant knowledge and expertise for doing so. There were few prior experiences with immigrant integration that were considered relevant for this period. For instance, the assimilation approach that had been adopted toward the repatriates from the former Dutch East Indies, although often qualified as a 'silent success' (Surie, 1971), was considered unfit for the new minority groups who were of non-Dutch origin. Assimilationism for these new groups was considered inappropriate, whereas for repatriates it was considered appropriate since they were defined as returning fellow countrymen. There was also little opportunity for learning from other countries, as the Netherlands was among the first countries to develop a general Minorities Policy and the first to do so coordinated at the level of national government (Penninx, Schoorl, & Van Praag, 1993). As a result of this sense urgency in combination with lack of relevant knowledge and expertise, meant that government became verys susceptible to research findings that could contribute to policy development.[113]

The boundary work that defined immigrant integration as a non-political issue was related to specific structural traits of political involvement in policy-making in its time. The positions of the various political parties on immigrant integration were, apart from those of the Social Democrat Party and from extreme-right parties, were not well articulated until the early 1980s. In his analysis of the positions of political parties, Fermin has shown that although political parties often differed in how they defined immigrant integration, these differences led to minimal open political conflict or disagreements (Fermin, 1997: 243). This was underlined by the fact that Molleman, initially a parliamentarian for the Social Democrat Party, was asked to become director for the development of a Minorities Policy by the Minister of Home Affairs, Hans Wiegel, who was a member of the Liberal Party. This political

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[112] Interview Molleman
[113] Interview Entzinger (then secretary of ACOM)

consensus has been defined as an adverse effect of the rise of extreme-right parties in the late 1970s (Penninx, 1988a: 168). Rather than successfully putting immigrant integration on the political agenda, the rise of these anti-immigrant parties seemed to have reinforced the political consensus between the main political parties. In order to not benefit parties that would play the race card, a 'cordon sanitaire' or 'culture of avoidance' was created amongst the main parties of the political establishment (De Beus, 1998; Penninx, 2005). What is important is that this culture of avoidance emerged in a period when there was still a powerful public mood that was very sensitive about alleged discrimination or racism (Tinnemans, 1994).

The demarcation of immigrant integration as a 'non-political' issue was closely related to how involved political actors wanted to be in coordinating the relations between research and policy. There was a general positivism and belief in the feasibility of social problems as immigrant integration, which was characteristic for this period.[114] It was believed that by developing a rational approach toward immigrant integration, bringing further migration to a halt (immigration was then still seen as a historically unique event) and adopting rational measures in various domains such as education, labour, housing and welfare, the integration of present groups could be effectively achieved. Therefore an immigrant integration policy would constitute a historically unique effort.[115] Molleman, the director of the Minorities Policy Directorate, argued that immigrant integration should be kept a non-political issue. He believed that, based on knowledge and expertise, a rational approach should be developed that should receive broad political support for a consistent policy approach that can be maintained for sufficiently long to achieve the desired effects and that should not be obstructed by political conflicts or disagreements. Molleman:

> 'It was then still no party-political issue, and I have always attempted to gain the widest possible support from parliament. (…) My opinion has always been that this is no party-political issue. (...) With political arguments you will not be able to achieve broad support for policy in this area. This is a policy that has to be developed and that has to remain for years. And therefore it must not be associated with a particular party so that other parties can later on dissolve it once again. Than a yo-yo effect would be created, that in some cases can be good, but not with this type of policy'.[116]

This positivist belief in the role of research in the development of a rational policy approach was also reflected in the stress of government on 'research as an instrument for the development of a coordinated Minorities Policy.'[117] Of importance was that government called not only for research within the various

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[114] Interview staff-member of the WRR
[115] Interview Molleman
[116] Ibid.
[117] Reply Memorandum to WRR report, Home Affairs Department 1980: 20.

policy domains and funded by various departments, but also for research of an interdepartmental character. [118] A budget was made available for such interdepartmental research. Furthermore, this positivist boundary work was manifest in the stress government put in its discourse on the independent and objective status of the 1979 WRR report. In a letter from the director of the minorities policy directorate, Molleman, that accompanied issues of the Reply Memorandum to the WRR report that were sent to various actors, put great stress on the independent status of the WRR, unrelated to both government and minorities organisations :

> 'The WRR is an independent organization. (...) The government (...) takes great pleasure in that the Council has issued an advice on this complex issue. Especially since attempts were made to develop a better coordinated policy on this issue, such a report was very welcome at this moment. Neither government and parliament nor minorities and minority organizations have been involved in the development and formulation of this WRR report. Also in that perspective this is an independent report. This makes it possible for minorities as well as a for government and other involved parties to give their judgments on this report in all liberty.'[119]

According to Van Amersfoort, one of the pioneers of research in this field, this way of coordinating relations between research and policy reflected the pillarist tradition of taming controversial topics with instrumental research. In a pillarised society, state-policies were to be religiously and socially neutral so as to be acceptable to all pillars. Technocracy was therefore essential for the functioning of the state; 'the task of politicians was to construct structures in which the religious compromise is established, so as to leave actual policy formulation to experts' and the task of experts was 'to reach technocratic compromise for practical policy problems, which are presented as much as possible as objective, technical solutions' (Van Amersfoort, 1984: 122). Although Dutch society had been de-pillarizing since the 1960s, it seems to have reverted to this 'traditional ploy' of technocratic compromise in the case of the Minorities Policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s (Hoppe, 1993; Rath, 2001). Immigrant integration was considered 'too hot to handle' for the Dutch political establishment, fearing that it could outbalance the fragile coalition system and could possibly play into the hands of extremist parties that could play the race card.

> 'It was common practice not to make a hot issue of something; sensitive subjects were usually resolved by a technocratic compromise. In that process, experts had acquired a dominant if instrumental, role. Hence a type of social science research had arisen with strong politically-directed traits, and a type of researcher who saw their task primarily as one of 'service to the community'.

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[118] Minorities Memorandum, 1980: Kamerstukken II, 1982-1983, 16102, nr. 20: 166.
[119] Letter from the Home Affairs Minister, March 12, 1980; Archives of the Home Affairs Department.

(...) Particularly in the late 1970s and 1980s, the time when the ethnic policy was still under construction, the communis opinio among leading politicians was that immigration and the incorporation of immigrants was too sensitive to make a 'hot issue' of it. So, they reverted to the traditional ploy; resolving the issue by developing a technocratic compromise, in the process of which social scientific researchers acquired a dominant role' (Rath, 2001: 150-151).

In fact, this boundary work of political actors involved a coordination of close relations between researchers and policy-makers rather than between research and politics. The Ministers of Home Affairs, who was responsible for the development of the Minorities Memorandum between 1981 and 1983, even remarked that there had been very little substantial political debate on this Memorandum, for instance within the Council of Ministers;

'Issues concerning minorities were always dealt with in the margin of the Council of Ministers during my period as a Minister. (...) It was always in the sphere of procedures and competencies. I cannot recollect substantive debate about the minorities policy within the Cabinet or the staff of Ministers. It may be that, in this, I do injustice to all those civil servants that were already very substantively involved in these issues' (Van Thijn, 1985): 5.

So, there were important differences in the boundary work of actors in field of policy-making. Specific departments as the Social Affairs Department and welfare or migrant organisations demarcated and coordinated research-policy relations in a way that either showed little interest for, or even obstructed research about ethnic minorities. The boundary work of these actors was related to their structural positions as actors who respectively had a structural labour market focus on migration or that perceived research as a threat to its position as representatives of migrant groups in relation to government. In contrast, the Department of CRM defined research-policy boundaries in terms of the active acquisition of policy-relevant knowledge and expertise on minorities that would provide support to the development of a Minorities Policy. In this respect, CRM seems to have engaged in missionary boundary work by establishing the ACOM and promoting research as an instrument for convincing other departments of the need for a Minorities Policy. Finally, political actors in this period demarcated immigrant integration as a non-political issue and coordinated research-policy relations in a way that expressed a positivist belief in the contribution of research to the development of rational policies and in a way that would avoid political conflicts over this sensitive topic. Thus, this analysis not only revealed important differences in boundary work practices, but also how these differences were related to the different structural positions of these actors in the field of policy-making.

5.2.3   A technocratic boundary configuration

Following this analysis of boundary work of research and policy actors, the next step is to focus on the structural setting of research-policy relations. These 'boundary configurations' involve specific combinations of boundary work practices from both fields in a way that establishes particular patterns of interaction. By studying these actual interactions, we can reconstruct what structural boundary configurations were produced and reproduced by the boundary work of actors from both fields. This involves looking at how the demarcations of research and policy by actors from both fields have combined in ways that established either direct (convergence) or indirect (divergence) relations between both fields. Furthermore, it involves looking for how the coordination of research-policy relations created a specific primacy in the relations between both fields, in the form of either political control over research developments (political primacy) or vice versa (scientific primacy). Based on the 'scores' on these two attributes, we can then determine whether the research-policy nexus in this period resembled the technocratic, engineering, enlightenment, or bureaucratic type, or a combination of these.

The convergence of research and policy-making

There was a very direct relation between the reports of the ACOM and the WRR from 1979 and the development of the Minorities Policy in the period between 1980 and 1983. First of all, an indication of this direct relationship involves the strong mutual orientation between the documents of these actors. Both the ACOM and the WRR were explicitly oriented at influencing policy and advocating a Minorities Policy. Although the ACOM observed that 'it is not the task of the ACOM to develop a policy vision concerning minorities' (Advies Commissie Onderzoek Minderheden, 1979: 3), nonetheless, it clearly went further than advising only on research programming in its Minorities Research Advice. Several of its reports were 'veiled policy advices.'[120] Its *Minorities Research Advice* report (1979) included extensive passages on the position of ethnic minorities in the Netherlands (Chapter 2), 'government policy in the past, present and future' (Chapter 3) and the relevance of the 'cultural orientation of minorities' (Chapter 4). The WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* was also strongly policy-oriented. In addition to several chapters containing problem analysis, it contains three chapters on 'the general contours of a minorities policy' (chapter 4), on 'the contents of a minorities policy in headlines' (chapter 5) and on migration policy (chapter 6). Six out of its seven major conclusions directly concern government policy. Moreover, the WRR commented on newly taken policy measures. For instance, that it 'positive values the decision to attribute this function [coordinating minister for the Minorities Policy] to the

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[120] Interview with one of the members of the ACOM.

Department of Home Affairs, as it expresses that this not only concern social-cultural issues but also other sorts of policy issues' (WRR, 1979: XXV).

Molleman and his minorities policy directorate made direct use of these documents for the development of a Minorities Memorandum. The reports were well timed with the policy developments since the parliamentary debates in 1977, and the motion of Molleman that led to the establishment of a minorities policy directorate in 1979.[121] They were taken as a direct starting-point for formulating a Minorities Policy. An interdepartmental committee for the coordination of a minorities policy was established for writing the Reply Memorandum to the WRR report. The Council of Ministers established this committee, including the secretary-generals and general directors of various departments, after having received the WRR report.[122] In writing the Reply Memorandum, the committee followed the structure of the WRR report, discussing the various conclusions of the report in a series of meetings.[123] Consequently, the structure of the WRR report was also reflected in the Reply Memorandum, and eventually also in the Minorities Memorandum. For instance, the chapters of the Reply Memorandum (1. Immigration and its meaning, 2. The situation of minorities, 3. Policy assumptions, 4. Amelioration of the situation of minorities, 5. Means for realising policy, and 6. Restrictive migration policy) reflected those of the WRR report (1. Introduction, 2. Short sketch of the issue, 3. Expected developments, 4. Policy assumptions, 5. Contents of a minorities policy on headlines, 6. Future migration policy, and 7. Conclusions).

Also in terms of personal relations, there was a direct relationship between these research and policy actors. Not only was there a close network of personal relations, there also seems to have been a regular exchange of actors between the fields. An important indication of the combination of actor role in both fields forms the various roles Penninx fulfilled in relation to the ACOM and WRR as well as to the development of the Minorities Memorandum. Penninx, who was amongst the first members of the ACOM, wrote the influential preparatory study for the WRR and was also involved as a civil servant at the Department of CRM during the development of the Draft Minorities Memorandum, upon the request of the director of the minorities policy directorate, Molleman. In addition, Penninx remained advisory member to the ACOM on behalf of CRM during the 1980s (Rath, 1991 172). Penninx took office at the Department of CRM immediately after completing his study for the WRR.

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[121] Interviews with director of Minorities Policy Directorate and with one of the civil servants of this directorate.

[122] Interview with the secretary of this Interdepartmental Committee for the preparation of a Reply Memorandum to the WRR report.

[123] Minutes of meetings of the Interdepartmental Committee for the Preparation of a Minorities Policy: National Archives, General Affairs Department, Prime Ministers Cabinet, 7584-7592.

'On the same day as I had concluded my preparatory study for the WRR, on October the first of 1978, I took office at the Department of [CRM]. So, at the moment the WRR report itself was published, I had become a civil servant. After the Reply Memorandum was published in 1980, a department was established at the Home Affairs Ministry for the coordination of the Minorities Policy. The Director of this Minorities Department then asked me (...) to write the Minorities Memorandum. In this context, I was hired from the Department of [Culture], to the Department of Home Affairs. (...) In this respect, I switched hats from researcher to civil servant. Of course, my name is not above these policy documents. However, [the director of the Minorities Department] wanted to really move ahead now his new department was established and wanted to develop very quickly a draft Memorandum, and the quickest way to do so was to hire the civil servant that already knew everything of the issue.'[124]

Furthermore, there are indications that Penninx's personal relationship with government were not atypical for research-policy relations in this period. For instance, another pioneer of immigrant integration research, Entzinger, was not only the first secretary of the ACOM, but also a former civil servant of the Department of CRM. Also, several other members of the ACOM had already conducted research that had been assigned by the Department of Culture (Verwey-Jonker, Van Amersfoort, Köbben). This shows that in terms of structural relations, the boundaries between the fields of research and policy were very permeable.

Primacy of scientific research

In terms of relative primacy, interactions between research and policy contain indications that the field of research enjoyed primacy in the mutual relations between these fields. Developments in policy-making were strongly influenced by the reports from the ACOM and even more so, from the WRR. In fact, the extent to which the WRR's 1979 report was 'silently' and 'directly' taken over in government policy was rather exceptional in comparison to the influence of other reports from the WRR (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1987b: 44).

This strong influence on policy developments not only involved the WRR, but also the ACOM, with whom this report had been coordinated and the field of immigrant integration research more in general in which this ACOM occupied a central position. Molleman indicated that he was strongly influenced in his ideas about a general Minorities Policy by the articles and studies from Entzinger (1975), Van Amersfoort (1974) and various works from Köbben. Their research convinced Molleman that migrants had become permanent ethnic or cultural minorities, and that a different policy approach was needed.[125] Furthermore, the researcher Penninx admits that he 'has never been so influential as in that period between 1978 and

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[124] Interview with Penninx
[125] Interview Molleman.

1981'[126], when he was not only involved in the ACOM and played an important role in the 1979 WRR report, but also in the development of a Minorities Memorandum in response to this report. He adds that it is no surprise that, in particular, the Draft Minorities Memorandum reflected his own preparatory study from 1979 in many ways. 'It is difficult to expect from me that when you ask me to write a draft memorandum, that it would be very different from what I had written one and a half year earlier as a researcher'.[127]

The primacy of these research actors is also indicated by the concrete way of responding to these reports by the interdepartmental committee for the development of a Minorities Policy. This committee decided that the reports of the WRR and the ACOM raised such a sense of urgency and addressed such a sensitive issue, that the committee had to announce concrete policy measures in response to these reports, and simply announcing further research would not suffice.

> 'Because of the urgency and sensitivity of the minorities issue, it seems politically undesirable that the cabinet announces only further research. The questions that are posed to the cabinet in the documents in question are already too concrete for this. (...) Overstressed expectations should not be raised, but neither should the first response give evidence of too much reserves. (...) Announcing concrete measures seems very appropriate'.[128]

Molleman was familiar with the recent publications by Entzinger and Van Amersfoort and with some of Köbben's work, and was convinced that migrants had become permanent ethnic or cultural minorities. [129] Already in 1977, during parliamentary debates on the latest Moluccan terrorism, he called for such an expansion of the debate beyond that of a narrow focus on Moluccans (Van Kuik, 1986). In that same period, an interdepartmental committee for the revision of the Moluccans policy advised the Minister responsible for Moluccans that the current measures for this specific group at various departments should also apply to other minority groups.[130] The Minister however still declined, as he believed that his administrative capacity would be too limited for this aim.[131]

Thus, the structural configuration of research-policy relations in this period was characterised by convergence between the roles of both fields (through direct mutual interaction) and by primacy of research actors in the policy formulation (scientific primacy). This suggests that the research-policy nexus in this period can

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[126] Interview Penninx.

[127] Ibid.

[128] 'Discussion memorandum for the first meeting of the interdepartmental committee for the preparation of policy initiation of the Cabinet concerning the Minorities Policy', Home Affairs Department, 10 August 1979 (B1479080617)

[129] Interview Molleman.

[130] Van Kuik, 1986: 118.

[131] Ibid.

best be described in terms of the technocratic model of boundary configurations. Indeed, research-policy relations in this period seem to approximate a model of 'science speaking truth to power'.

This technocratic configuration of mutual relations must be seen against the background of the structural positions of specific actors. In particular, this technocratic nexus was a product of a mutually reinforcing pattern of boundary work of the ACOM, the WRR, the Department of CRM and the Minorities Policy Directorate with director Molleman. On the one hand, this involved the boundary work of the ACOM and WRR in demarcating the role of research as producing policy-relevant knowledge about ethnic minorities and coordinating its relation to policy in terms of policy engagement. On the other hand, this involved the boundary work of the CRM and the directorate of Molleman that had respectively a missionary and practical need for policy-relevant knowledge on these minorities, and wanted to coordinate research-policy relations in a way that allowed for the development of a Minorities Policy without politicization of this sensitive issue. In this respect, this technocratic way of configuring research-policy relations was related to a structural symbiosis between these specific actors.

5.3   Technocracy and frame-shifts

The final step in the chain of evidence concerns an analysis of the role of this technocratic boundary configuration in the frame-shifts in immigrant integration research and policy. This means providing an answer to the question of what their historic role was in the structural changes in research and policy, in what way they contributed to the rise or fall of specific problem frames and, finally, to what extent their role in problem framing involved critical frame reflection. By looking at the structural effects on the positions of specific actors in research and policy, the extent to which these structural effects benefited specific frames, and the extent to which they stimulated openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust, this section seeks to unravel if, how and why this technocratic boundary configuration contributed to frame reflection.

5.3.1   The structural effects of technocracy

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, boundary configurations can play a role in frame-shifts by their effect on the structural setting in which problems are framed in research and policy. Specific configurations of the research-policy nexus can either reinforce changes within field structures (positive feedback) or inhibit such changes (negative feedback). Because these field structures are inherently connected to the positions of actors within these fields, we must look at how a boundary configuration affects the positions of actors before determining whether it contributes either to positive or negative feedback in the structural dynamics of the fields.

The structural symbiosis between research and policy

The technocratic configuration of research-policy relations strengthened the structural position of specific actors in the fields of research and policy. In the field of research, it provided a boost to the institutional authority of the WRR that with its strong and direct effect on the development of the Minorities Policy could show that it could 'matter' as an institute to policy in such complex and sensitive domains. It illustrated to the WRR that a more 'in-depth' approach to specific issues and a stronger orientation on policy advice instead of merely informative policy, could be very successful. Together with other reports from this period, the report 'Ethnic Minorities' (1979) can be seen as illustrative for a broader change in the structural role of the WRR, in which it extended beyond its moderate decisionist role of the 1970s (as described by Hirsch Ballin, 1979) to a more technocratic role in the early 1980s. Specifically to the domain of immigrant integration, this first report would mark the beginning of a tradition of involvement in this domain.

Furthermore, the technocratic boundary configuration strengthened the position of the ACOM. The ACOM maintained a central position on the research-policy nexus, and its role in the 'dynamic networking' between researchers and policy-makers in this period would be crucial in the development of what has been described as the 'Minorities Research Industry' (Essed & Nimako, 2006). Not only did the amount of funding for research coordinated by the ACOM increase, the technocratic boundary configuration also enabled the ACOM to be closely involved in policy developments and in the societal translation of its research in accordance with its habitus of engagement.

In the field of policy-making, this technocratic nexus strengthened the position of the CRM. The influence of the ACOM and, to some extent related, the WRR in the development of a general Minorities Policy, suggest that the missionary boundary work of this department was successful. Indeed, its intention to convince other departments through scientific research of the need for a policy aimed at the integration of cultural minorities was realised. However, this did not put the coordination of this Minorities Policy under the responsibility of this department. After the coordination of the Minorities Policy had been assigned to the Deputy Prime Minister who was responsible for the Moluccans and then also happened to be Minister of Home Affairs, the coordination of this new policy remained in the hands of this department. The Department of CRM would, however, remain strongly involved in the interdepartmental elaboration of this policy. So, the structural position of this department benefited only partially from the technocratic boundary configuration.

The influence of another actor in the field of policy-making, Molleman and the minorities policy directorate, was more considerable. Not only did this technocratic boundary configuration provide this directorate with the required policy-oriented knowledge and expertise for developing such a Minorities Policy, it also enabled him to develop a Minorities Policy without politicizing this issue and also without

involving the welfare and migrant organisations that had been so strongly involved in the differentialist policies from the 1970s.

Positive feedback: Breaking the iron triangles of differentialist policies

The structural symbiosis between the positions of the ACOM, WRR, Molleman's directorate and, to some extent, the Department of CRM, described by several authors as a 'technocratic symbiosis' (Rath, 2001: 153; Van Amersfoort, 1984: 132), was a source of positive feedback to the changes advocated by these actors. It strengthened the structural positions of these actors in support of a Minorities Policy, but weakened the position of actors that opposed such a Minorities Policy. The Social Affairs Department was left out of this symbiosis, although it did remain one of the departments involved in the interdepartmental coordination of the Minorities Policy. However, this department too would change its differentialist frame toward a more multiculturalist frame. Also, political parties that opposed such a Minorities Policy were kept aside by the technocratic symbiosis. In fact, the role of political parties in general was rather marginal, because of their still minimally articulated positions on immigrant integration, but also because they supported a technocratic approach to policy development as a means for avoiding politicization that could possibly benefit extreme-right parties.

Furthermore, the technocratic boundary configuration had a negative effect on the structural position of the prevailing welfare and migrant organisations in policy-making. Together with the Social Affairs Department, the Department of CRM and specific political parties, these organisations had fulfilled a central role in the differentialist or 'categorical' policies of the 1970s. Now, their role was marginalised in comparison to the prominent role of the ACOM and WRR in policy formulation. This is indicated primarily by their marginal role in the development of the Minorities Memorandum. The process of formulating this memorandum began with the Reply Memorandum to the WRR report, then the Draft Minorities Memorandum that was written by Molleman together with amongst others Penninx, and only then were welfare and migrant organisations consulted about their ideas on this memorandum. Even then, their influence on changes in this draft text seem to have been limited (Van Kuik, 1986). For instance, the final Minorities Memorandum put less stress on collective emancipation as a strategy for integration than the draft Minorities Memorandum, which was one of the central aspects of the frame of these welfare organisations (Fermin, 1997 178). In the media, these organisations are often recorded claiming that policy was being made 'about' them, but not 'with' them.[132]

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[132] "Moluccan contribution to minorities memorandum ignored' (NRC Handelsblad, September 6, 1979), 'Minority groups sick and tired' (Elseviers magazine, October 27, 1979); 'Moluccans feel deeply insulted by statements from Wiegel' (NRC Handelblad, March 24, 1980): 'tool little attention for minorities' (NRC Handelsblad, December 20, 1979): 'Policy provokes minorities' (De Volkskrant, March 15, 1980).

Molleman was one of the entrepreneurs behind breaking these iron triangles in which these welfare organisations were involved. From a multiculturalist perspective, he was in favour of policy involvement of migrant organisations, but these would have to be migrant self-organisations, according to Molleman, rather than the fiduciary organisations ('zaakwaarnemers') that most of them were now. By proposing a general Minorities policy for all minorities, Molleman broke into established structures that advocated a more differentialist approach, and met with significant 'negative' feedback from actors involved in these 'iron triangles'.

> 'I issued a motion for developing a Minorities Policy for all the different groups. I did that without notifying the chairman of our fraction in any way (...) At one point the chairman found out and was not at all pleased. The chairman was a CRM [Department of Culture] man. (...) Also in the area of welfare work there was an iron triangle: those were civil servants, politics, especially the Social Democrat Party and the Christian Democrat Party that was then being established, and the people in welfare organizations. They all held on to each other. So what I was doing was breaking into established patterns. (...) [T]he fear was then, and not without cause, that that pattern was to be broken. (...) So, I had to withdraw that motion. But [the Minister of Home Affairs] had already taken notice of the motion and found it a good case: he was way ahead of his time. Then he said to me: I want to take over your motion anyhow, but you will have to come over and implement it. You'll have to become Minorities Director and then I will arrange in the Cabinet that that is the way it will be done.[133]

Furthermore, the establishment of the ACOM as a technical-scientific committee also formed an important factor in the generation of positive feedback toward a break with established structures. Whereas advisory bodies for research programming generally involved tri-partite bodies in which target groups, scientific experts and government were represented, in this case the responsibilities of these three actors were clearly separated (Entzinger, 1981). Penninx argues in this context that 'this choice is not derived from experience with research programming but is rather a consequence of a choice for separated responsibilities in the development and implementation of (...) policy' (1988b: 26). This political choice not to involve ethnic expertise in the technical-scientific ACOM was related to a certain cynicism concerning the ethnic expertise that these welfare organisations claimed to represent.[134] As observed, these organisations mainly consisted of native Dutchmen who represented the interests of migrants, the so-called fiduciaries or 'zaakwaarnemers'. Their expertise was criticised by some as 'white expertise' rather than 'ethnic expertise' (Choenni, 1987). In the 1979 WRR report as well as in the 1980 Reply Memorandum[135], critical remarks were made about the need to enhance the representation of migrant organisations.

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[133] Interview Molleman
[134] Interview Molleman.
[135] Parliamentary Document, TK 1980-1981, 16102, nr. 6: 19.

At the same time, these welfare organisations opposed the plans for a technical scientific ACOM, by pointing at its 'white' instead of 'ethnic expertise.' This involved practical objections, such as that these organisations were hardly consulted in the process of establishing the ACOM, but also more substantial objections, in particular that the ACOM would mainly represent 'white expertise' in contrast to the welfare organisations that would be able to draw upon the expertise of the immigrant groups. Furthermore, they objected that the establishment of the ACOM undermined the position of these welfare organisations, which had traditionally had an important role in diffrentialist policies (Van Putten, 1990: 360). [136] When in 1980 a 'research programming cycle' was set up, minorities organisations did receive a role in advising on research programming, next to the ACOM. This cycle entailed, firstly, that the ACOM and minorities organisations provide advise or makes suggestions on research programming; secondly, that the Interdepartmental Committee on Minorities Research would formulate a draft research program; thirdly, that the Minister asks minorities organisations and the ACOM for advice and comments on this research program; and finally, the government establishes the research program (Penninx, 1988b: 26). In practice, their influence on research programs was rather limited.

The technocratic configuration of research-policy relations thus had an important effect on the structural dynamics in the fields of research and, in particular, policy. It generated a structural symbiosis ('technocratic symbiosis') between specific research and policy actors. In the field of research, it provided positive feedback to the institutionalisation of this research field, with the ACOM as a central actor in the Minorities Research Industry. Also, it reinforced the structural position of the WRR as a young boundary organisation that now ventured more and more beyond its moderate decision-making role toward a more technocratic role. In the field of policy-making, it provided the Minorities Policy Directorate of Molleman with the policy-relevant knowledge and expertise it required for policy development, and provided an alternative venue for policy development without the need for politicization of this issue. Finally, it also realised the structural aims of the Department of CRM in convincing other departments of the need of a more structural approach to cultural minorities, although it did not bring this department the responsibility for policy coordination, which was attributed to the Home Affairs Department.

Whereas this structural symbiosis reinforced the position of specific actors, it weakened the position of others. In particular, this technocratic nexus seems to have been (to some extent deliberately) designed to exclude the prevailing welfare and migrant organisations. The ethnic expertise of these organisations was viewed with cynicism, as they involved mostly 'zaakwaarnemers'. Rather, government chose to involve scientific expertise in policy formulation, for instance through the ACOM as

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[136] Also: Penninx, 1988b: 47.

a technical-scientific committee. During the 1980s, government would develop an advisory and consultation structure specific for immigrant self-organisations, which would further undermine the role of these welfare organisations. Other actors that were put aside by the technocratic symbiosis involved the Social Affairs Department, which does not seem to have mobilised any negative feedback to this development, and political parties, that also seem to have willingly delegated policy formulation to the technocratic symbiosis to avoid politicization.

5.3.2 The technocracy of multiculturalism

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the effect of boundary configurations on the structural setting of problem framing can also contribute to the rise or fall of specific frames. For instance, by excluding or including actors with specific frames, boundary configurations can play a role in problem framing itself. This means that we have to examine not only the structural effects of boundary configurations, but also their effect on specific problem frames.

The Minorities Paradigm in research framing

The technocratic boundary configuration, and the active role of the ACOM and WRR in this configuration, seems to have contributed to a paradigmatic status of one particular problem frame in immigrant integration research. The central position of the ACOM, which was reinforced by this technocratic symbiosis, provided great influence on problem framing in immigrant integration research. This concerns its influence on research programming, but also its central position toward government as well as its exclusive position within this research field. In this context, Penninx refers to criticism on the ACOM as a 'gatekeeper' to research funding; 'in some circles of researchers the ACOM was seen as a biased group of advisors that function as gatekeepers to (...) research funding and attributed no or insufficient attention to specific subjects or disciplines' (1988b: 37).

There are indications that in the late 1970s one frame became dominant, the so-called Minorities Paradigm, with its strong multiculturalist way of problem framing (Rath, 1991). This paradigm framed immigrant integration in terms of emancipation of ethnic or cultural minorities in social-economic as well as social-cultural domains by means of a group specific approach and within the normative perspective of the transformation of society as a whole into a multi-ethnic society. Rath, following Bovenkerk (1984: 35), observes that 'the development of political-economic theory on guest workers in the Netherlands was quite suddenly interrupted, precisely at the moment that the state incorporated researchers into the bureaucratic apparatus and initiated wide-scale funding for politically relevant research' (Rath, 2001: 152). This is especially striking because of the strong presence of the critical tradition in this field until the 1970s, such as found in the biography of Penninx, and also because of the importance of Marxist perspectives in other countries, such as most notoriously Great Britain (Miles, 1987). This form or Race Critical Research would however only have a very short existence in the Netherlands (Essed & Nimako,

2006). So, the development of a technocratic nexus between immigrant integration research and policy coincided with the disappearance of specific knowledge-claims.

Researchers claim that the ACOM significantly affected immigrant research in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Penninx concludes that 'the influence of the ACOM in its first phase of existence has been very significant' (1988b: 35). Nearly all of the ACOM's proposed projects from its first report to government, the Minorities Research Advice (1979), were eventually implemented with government funding. Entzinger, then secretary of the ACOM, concluded that the function of this advise, to 'stimulate research to attribute more attention to the issue of immigrant integration', 'has certainly succeeded' (1981: 116). The ACOM would have been 'overwhelmed' with research proposals and claims on particular research themes, whilst 'the principles, design and goals of the Minorities Research Advice were rarely or never subject of discussion' (ibid). Entzinger adds that this lack of debate around the ACOM report may be caused by researchers' fear of criticising the organisation that would later on advise government on whether or not to allocate funding to specific research programs. Because of this relationship, criticising the ACOM could be detrimental (ibid: 117).

The logic of minorities in policy framing

Also in the field of policy-making, the technocratic boundary configuration seems to have contributed to a dominant logic of problem framing. In this field too, a predominantly multiculturalist problem frame emerged. This involved a strong focus on minorities as the main objects of a Minorities Policy. Not only were research actors, such as the ACOM and the WRR, focused primarily on minorities, but the Department of CRM and the Minorities Policy Directorate had a minority focus as well. Although they framed immigrant integration in the normative perspective of Dutch society becoming a multi-ethnic society, it focused more on minorities as policy objects than considering on society at large. By shaping a structural symbiosis between a specific network of actors who shared this primary focus on cultural or ethnic minorities, the technocratic boundary configuration divorced the debate about ethnic minorities from larger debates about the transformation of Dutch society into a multi-ethnic society. It seems to have reinforced a logic of minorities in the framing of immigrant integration policy.

This logic of minorities came about in relation with a certain reluctance or even taboo to bring immigrant integration in relation to broader social issues, such as national identity and social cohesion (Tinnemans, 1994: 256). The sociologist Vuijsje attributes this to a post-war sensitivity on discussing ethnic difference (Vuijsje, 1986). The legacy of the Second World War would have created what Vuijsje describes as a 'murdered innocence' (*vermoorde onschuld*) in dealing with weak minorities and with cultural differences. Discussing ethnic differences in relation to their influence on native society in that time easily lead to accusations of discrimination, racism or fascism (Tinnemans, 1994: 253). This would have resulted

in a political correctness in dealing with minorities that would persist for a long period (Werdmölder, 2003).

This reluctance was reinforced by the growing concern about extreme-right and the alleged rise of racism in Dutch society, which this contributed to a strong anti-racist movement in Dutch society and politics. Furthermore, it led to a strong sensitivity for issues that would reveal discrimination, racism or fascism, which concepts were often used interchangeably. An exemplary case involves public statements by a professor of Constitutional Law, Couwenberg, who had posed the question 'How many foreigners can a European cultural people bear without losing its identity' (Couwenberg, 1982).[137] In this context, he pled for a restrictive migration policy in the interest of national demographic and cultural politics, arguing that similar claims made by parties such as the extreme-right Centre Party should at least be considered legitimate. These statements triggered broad indignation, leading to accusations that Couwenberg was racist and fascist.

Thus, the technocratic symbiosis contributed to the development of a Minorities Paradigm in immigrant integration research. In the same period that the ACOM and WRR played an active role in shaping the technocratic boundary configuration, this paradigm rose to a hegemonic status while other paradigms (such as critical Marxist and nationalist frames) fell in disuse. Furthermore, it contributed to consideration of minorities in policy framing. It confined policy development to a limited network of actors that shared a specific focus on minorities and also advocated a specific approach to minorities. Thereby, it divorced the issue of how to achieve the integration of minorities from the larger issue of the transformation of society into a multi-ethnic society. In fact, there seems to have been a certain reluctance or even taboo on linking ethnic differences to broader national issues.

5.3.3   Technocracy and frame reflection?

Finally, after analysing the role of the technocratic boundary configuration in the frame-shift and problem framing in this period, I will analyse to what extent this boundary configuration contributed to critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing. To what extent did its role in frame-shifts and problem framing involve frame reflection? To do this, I will look at the extent to which this boundary configuration promoted openness in the debate on immigrant integration, to what extent it articulated alternative frames and promoted critical reflection on frames, to what extent it promoted a pragmatic attitude toward the adaptation of frames and, finally, to what extent it generated trust between actors to engage into critical debates.

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[137] Cit. in Tinnemans, 1994: 256.

Technocratic opportunities and constraints for frame reflection

The technocratic boundary configuration offered some structural opportunities as well as constraints for a critical dialogue between research and policy. Firstly, in terms of openness it did contribute to an opening up of a first form of debate between research and policy on immigrant integration. The boundary work of specific actors played an important role in breaking the iron triangles that held on to a differentialist approach. The positivism and missionary boundary work of certain policy actors (CRM, Molleman) in combination with the engagement with the position of minorities and policy engagement of certain research actors (ACOM, WRR), created a structural symbiosis between the actors that advocated a different, more multiculturalist approach to immigrant integration. Thereby, this 'technocratic symbiosis' became a source of positive feedback that positions of these actors in their fields. However, this structural symbiosis also imposed a new constraint on the openness of the dialogue between research and policy, as it limited this dialogue to the small group of actors involved in the structural symbiosis. For instance, it excluded welfare and migrant organisations from these dialogues, kept this issue out of the arena of open political debate, and also seems to have limited the openness of debate on the research side of the nexus.

Secondly, technocracy contributed to the development of an alternative multiculturalist frame besides the prevailing differentialist frame, but at the same time it also contributed to exclusion of other frames. For specific actors, such as the Department of CRM and Molleman's directorate, technocracy provided a way for developing an alternative frame in a way that would contribute to the scientific legitimacy of this frame and that would avoid the sensitivity or even taboos concerning politicization of this issue. The confrontation between research actors involved in the development of the new multiculturalist frame and actors that advocated the differentialist frame, also led to the articulation of these two frames. This was manifest, for instance, in the reports of the ACOM and the WRR that clearly addressed the level of problem framing, but also in influential studies and articles such as Van Amersfoort's study from 1974, the article by Entzinger (1975) about the norm and fact of not being an immigration country and a study by Bovenkerk (1974b) that raised doubts about return migration. However, at the same time, technocracy also contributed to the exclusion of alternative frames, such as Marxist frames in research and also nationalist frames in politics (extreme-right parties) and combinations of multiculturalist with differentialist frames as advocated by welfare organisations.

Thirdly, and strongly related to the second point of selective inclusion and exclusion of frames, is that the technocratic boundary configurations does not seem to have contributed to critical reflection about problem framing. In fact, it seems to have been designed as a strategy for getting the multiculturalist frame on the agenda. Both the ACOM and the WRR were oriented toward ongoing policy developments, not toward promoting critical reflection about alternative frames, but

to advocate one specific (multiculturalist with universalist traits) frame. They did not try to stimulate critical reflection about problem frames, but to stimulate the diffusion and elaboration of a particular multiculturalist frame. In fact, this analysis has shown that both organisations took this problem frame as a starting-point for their involvement in this domain rather than as an outcome of reflection. This absence of interest in reflection about alternative frames was also manifest in the practices of policy actors as the Department of CRM and Molleman's Minorities Policy Directorate. They saw research as a means for convincing other actors of the need for a more multiculturalist policy approach (CRM) or as the source of practical knowledge and expertise required for developing such a multiculturalist policy approach (Molleman). Thus, the actors involved in the technocratic symbiosis between research and policy took a multiculturalist frame for granted rather than recognising that they had stimulated critical dialogues about this frame and about alternatives.

Fourthly, instead of a pragmatic willingness of actors do adopt their frames in response to reflection, there was a certain reluctance or even sensitivity in both research and policy to critically discuss their multiculturalist frames. On the one hand, in immigrant integration research there was a social engagement with the position of minorities that was not only expressed in a methodological preferences for field research but also in a research ethos that urged researchers to put themselves in the shoes of the migrants with the aim of contributing to an improvement of the position of these migrants. On the other hand, in immigrant integration policy-making there were also important normative facets that hampered a pragmatic attitude toward problem framing. This involved a reluctance or even a taboo on discussing ethnic differences in relation to broader societal developments.

Finally, technocracy did generate trust within a relatively small network of actors involved in the 'technocratic symbiosis'. However, the other side of this mutual trust seems to have been distrust of other actors. This included distrust of welfare organisations whose representation was put in doubt, but also the distrust of extreme-right parties and of politics in general as political disagreements and conflicts would threaten the development of a rational and consistent approach to immigrant integration.

A moment of reflection?

The role of this technocratic boundary configuration in generating a critical dialogue between research and policy seems to have been rather limited. It was not designed to stimulate critical reflection about problem framing, but rather to generate a structural symbiosis between actors that advocated a mutliculturalist framing. To the extent that frame reflection did take place, it primarily involved a confrontation between this multiculturalist frame with the prevailing differentialist frame, rather than a systematic analysis of various alternative frames.

Thus, the technocratic boundary configuration was designed to establish the multiculturalist-with-universalist-traits frame rather than to promote critical frame reflection. In this process of getting this frame accepted, the 1979 WRR report seems to have played a key role: it was this report that provided a synthesis of available knowledge and expertise, through coordination with, amongst others, the ACOM. Furthermore, the report provided the direct precursor for the first memorandum in which the policy contours were elaborated, the Reply Memorandum, as well as for the final Minorities Memorandum. This justifies a closer look, even if frame reflection appears to have been limited as a structural facet of research-policy relations in this period, at whether frame reflection did play a more prominent role within this WRR.

Throughout the course of developing the 1979 WRR report, a small but important frame-shift took place. In the first drafts of the WRR report, it adopted a problem frame that was predominantly multiculturalist, or as one of the involved authors names it, 'interactionist'.[138] This concerned references in the report to the Netherlands as an 'open, multi-ethnic society' and discussed mutual adaptation between minorities and natives. In later drafts, references were added that defined the limits of such an interactionist approach. This concerned, for instance, passages on 'elements of other cultures where no or almost no compromise with Western possibility is possible' and 'leave no other possibility than to defend the achievements of our culture against contending claims' and about 'the need and space for many adaptations in laws and regulations at government and private institutes to the situation of a multi-ethnic society, without affecting the cultural achievements of our society' (WRR, 1979: XXII).

These revisions were a product of debate within the WRR on the interactionist/multiculturalist frame that was formulated in the first drafts.[139] The author of the parts of these first drafts that concerned the perspective on Dutch society and cultural diversity advocated a perspective that allowed for open interaction between minorities and natives, without the latter using its dominant position for enforcing cultural assimilation.[140] Thus, this author, a staff member, raised concerns about the asymmetrical relationship between minorities and natives and called for an open multi-ethnic society that allowed for interaction.

At the same time, several Council members had doubts about this interactionist perspective. In particular, they raised concerns about the relation between cultural diversity and the rule of law. They argued that this rule of law contained codifications of cultural achievements that were not to be interfered with.[141] Amongst others, one of the council members raised concerns about the

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[138] Interview WRR staff-member. Earlier drafts of WRR report: Archives, WRR, A-79/5.2.

[139] Cit. Van der Zwan, in report of the Temporary Parliamentary Research Committee on the Integration Policy (2003), TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 10: 182.

[140] Interview with the involved staff-member..

[141] Ibid.

compatibility of Islam and the rule of law, and the conflict of values and norms that could arise in this context.[142]

This put the chairman of the project group for the question 'either the council chooses for interaction based on equality with unlimited involvement of both sides, or the Council argues that clashes can occur between the own culture and potential dangers of minority cultures.'[143] The conflict between the two perspectives also involved an issue of internal hierarchy. Although the Council formally decides upon the texts of reports, the staff-members who regularly do most of the writing are also given an important voice. In spite of the majority in the council, the staff member who had fulfilled an important task in writing the draft texts, continued to resist a text that would stress the 'potential dangers of minority cultures'. He threatened to leave the project, as he believed that the stress on 'the protection of the own cultural achievements (….) too strongly suggests (...) that the Dutch majority is put with its back against the wall (...) while in fact we have a dominant position'.[144]

The chairman, who was simultaneously the chairman of the WRR Council and of the project group for this report, played an important role in resolving this internal controversy. It was in the intent of the WRR to unanimously present its report to the outside world, otherwise its authority might be called in question. He took charge of re-editing the draft texts, and attempted to develop textual compromises that would draw the involved actors together back in the project. The references to possible cultural clashes were inserted into the draft texts, but they were formulated conditionally. This meant that the danger of minority cultures was not assumed, but could occur only if such dangers or conflicts would emerge, in which case the cultural achievements would have to be defended.

> 'After several interruptions (...), the chairman argued that it would be the best if he was to take it over. And he then went devising formulas that would be agreeable to the two opponents, leading to several magical formulas. [For instance,] in those cases of confrontation where in practice no comprise is possible, then no other opportunity stands open than to defend the achievements of our culture against opposing claims' (pp. XXII). This passage is very conditionally formulated; *if* this extreme case occurs, *then*… and so forth. (...) So, the incompatibility of cultures was not formulated as the normal situation, but in a more conditional way.'[145]

In spite of the ferocity of this conflict and the role of hierarchy, it constituted an important moment in which the frame for a Minorities Policy was subjected to critical reflection. The multiculturalist frame that had emerged in research and policy received criticism concerning its supposedly cultural relativist traits. Also

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[142] Minutes of Seventh meeting of the Council, 8 May 1979 (A-79/7: pp. 2-4). Also: Interviews with involved staff-member.

[143] Minutes of Seventh meeting of the Council, 8 May 1979 (A-79/7: pp. 2-4).

[144] Interview with the involved staff-member.

[145] Ibid.

within the back office of the WRR, this issue sparked fierce controversy. However, outside the risk of politicization and the taboos in public debate, the WRR provided an ideal context for confrontation of this frame with other frames. It provided a more pragmatic setting for adapting the problem framing wherever necessary. Within WRR, the multiculturalist frame that had emerged amongst specific research and policy actors over the preceding decade was critically reflected upon, adapted on those elements that critics found too relativist, and formulated in to a policy frame for a Minorities Policy. This critical debate on the level of problem framing was to have an important effect on the policy changes to come. In fact, government eventually adopted the references about cases in which compromises would be impossible, referring in particular to the position of the individual.[146]

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shift from differentialism to multiculturalism (with universalist traits) that took place in both immigrant integration research and policy in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In this period, both fields reframed immigrant integration as an issue that did not involve retention of identity but integration in Dutch society; not temporary guest workers or foreign groups such as the Surinamese and Moluccans. Such groups were considered permanent ethnic/cultural minorities in Dutch society; not structural differentiation from Dutch society in the perspective of return migration but structural social-cultural emancipation and social-economic participation in Dutch society; and not a perspective on Dutch society as a non-immigration country but as a multi-ethnic society that contained permanent immigrant minorities.

The first step in reconstructing the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame-shifts was reconstructing the actor setting of research-policy relations. In the field of research, the ACOM and the WRR who both published policy advisory reports in this period. In the field of policy-making, several government departments were involved in various ways in coordinating or utilizing scientific research; the Social Affairs Department, the Department of CRM and the Minorities Policy Directorate of the Home Affairs Department. Also, welfare or migrant organisations were involved in policy-making in this period, and to some extent also in research programming. These actors carried different frames of immigrant integration, primarily multiculturalist frames sometimes with universalist traits (ACOM, WRR, CRM, Home Affairs, to some extent welfare organisations) or differentialist frames (Social Affairs and to some extent welfare organisations). Based on these different frames, these actors selected and interpreted different contextual evidence for their frames. For instance, actors with multiculturalist frames referred to ongoing migration and immigrant settlement as indications of a multiculturalist of society, and also defined the Moluccan terrorist acts as focus events that would draw attention to the need for a general Minorities Policy. In

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[146] Parliamentary Document, TK 1980-1981, 16102, nr.6: 5-6, 10.

contrast, actors with differentialist frames referred to demographic, economic or international arguments that the Netherlands should not be a country of immigration.

Secondly, an empirical analysis was made of boundary work practices of these actors. This showed that there were important differences in boundary work practices, related to the structural positions of these actors in the fields of policy-making and research. Based on its position in the differentialist policies from the 1970s, the Social Affairs Department engaged in an avoiding type of boundary work, showing interest only for research that fitted this differentialist approach. Welfare organisations protected their structural positions as representatives of minorities in relation to government by demarcating a clear separation between the roles of research and policy-making, so that it would not obstruct the role of their 'ethnic expertise'. In contrast, actors that were in no way or only in a weak way involved in the structure of policy-making, demarcated and coordinated research-policy relations so as to allow strong policy-involvement of specific research actors that provided policy-relevant knowledge and expertise on cultural minorities. In this respect, the Department of CRM engaged in missionary boundary work to stimulate the development of policy-relevant research and the Minorities Policy Directorate engaged in positivist boundary work by defining immigrant integration as a non-political issue that should rather be developed based on rational insights of independent research. Furthermore, both the ACOM and WRR engaged in an expansionist sort of boundary work, coordinating their relations to policy in a way that allowed for a strong policy-orientation and demarcating their roles as researchers in terms of engagement with the position of minorities.

Thirdly, I have examined the structure of the interaction between research and policy, shifting attention from the actor setting to the structural setting of research-policy relations. This interaction between research and policy was very direct, for instance in how the 1979 WRR report played a role in policy development and also in terms of direct personal relations between research and policy actors. Furthermore, research seems to have had a strong influence on these policy developments. Based on these indications of convergence between the roles of research and policy and scientific primacy in mutual relations, the configuration of research-policy relations in this period was described in terms of the technocratic model.

Finally, the role of this technocratic boundary configuration in providing the structural conditions for frame-shifts and in problem framing was analysed as well as the extent to which this role involved frame reflection. In terms of frame-shifts, technocracy created a structural symbiosis between specific actors that advocated a multiculturalist rather than differentialist frame. In this way, it generated positive feedback to frame-shifts in research and policy by strengthening the position of the actors involved in this symbiosis (ACOM, WRR, CRM, Minorities Directorate) and weakening that of others (Social Affairs, Welfare organisations). Within both fields,

this structural symbiosis contributed to the rise of multiculturalist frames. However, this role in frame-shifts and problem framing did not so much involve critical frame reflection. It offered some opportunities for frame reflection, in part by opening up the iron triangles around the differentialist approach of the 1970s. At the same time, it also contained the debate to a limited set of actors, excluded possible alternative frames, took the multiculturalist frame as a starting-point rather than as an object of reflection, limited pragmatism because of the sensitivities of the issue and limited trust to a small set of actors.

Thus, we must conclude that the technocratic research-policy nexus in this period was clearly not designed to promote a critical dialogue between research and policy on the level of problem framing. Rather, it was a product of actor strategies to design the relations between these fields in such a way that they would reinforce the structural positions of actors with a multiculturalist problem frame. Thereby, the research-policy nexus in this period clearly played an important structural role in the frame-shifts in research and policy, but not in a way that involved critical frame reflection.

Table 5: Summary of findings of the role of the research-policy nexus in research and policy frame-shifts in this period

	Indicators	Findings
Frame-shifts*	-*Policy*: formulation of a Minorities Policy aimed at social-cultural emancipation and social-economic participation of specific ethnic minorities within the perspective of the Dutch multi-ethnic society -*Research*: growing interest for the social position and emancipation of migrants defined as ethnic minorities in the Dutch pluralist society.	Frame-shift from differentialism to multiculturalism (with universalist traits) in immigrant integration research and policy in roughly the same period (1978-1983)
Actors and context	-*Policy*: Actors involved in the differentialist approach of the 1970s (Social Affairs Department, Department of CRM, welfare/ migrant organisations), new actors that emerged (Minorities Directorate) or changed their position (CRM) -*Research*: ACOM as central actor in research field, WRR as more general boundary organisation	Actors had different frames: multiculturalist (CRM, Minorities directorate, ACOM, WRR, to some extent welfare organisations) or differentialist frames (Social Affairs). Based on these frames, contextual evidence was selected and interpreted differently
Boundary work and field structures	-*Policy*: Social Affairs Department and migrant organisations ignored or discouraged research to ethnic minorities. CRM and minorities directorate demarcate a specific interest in policy-relevant knowledge and expertise on ethnic minorities -*Research*: ACOM and WRR demarcated their roles in terms of social engagement with minorities and coordinated policy relations in terms of engagement and relevance	Mutually reinforcing pattern of boundary work of actors with no structural position in the differentialist approach of the 1970s or that changed their position (CRM, Minorities Directorate, WRR, ACOM); demarcation of policy-relevant research to minorities and coordination of policy engagement and involvement of researchers.
Boundary configuration	-Direct relation between ACOM, WRR and policy actors involved in policy developments -Strong influence of the reports of the ACOM and WRR on policy formulation	Convergence of roles of (specific) research and policy actors + primacy of scientific research in mutual relations = technocratic boundary configuration
Role in frame-shifts, framing and frame reflection	-Technocracy created a structural symbiosis between specific actors (CRM, ACOM, WRR, Minorities directorate), and weakened the positions of others (Social Affairs, Welfare organisations) -This symbiosis involved actors that shared a similar problem frame (multiculturalism) -The openness of debate was constrained, alternative frames were excluded, frames were not subject to reflection, there was no pragmatism and trust was limited to a small network of actors	Technocratic boundary configuration was not designed to promote frame reflection, but to create the structural conditions for establishing a multiculturalist frame in both research and policy.

* From chapter 4

6

ENLIGHTENMENT AND THE RISE OF UNIVERSALISM

(1989-1994)

The second period in which frame-shifts took place in immigrant integration research and policy was in the end of the 1980s and in the early 1990s. In this period, a more universalist policy approach emerged with the development of an Integration Policy. Also in the research field, a more universalist perspective on immigrant integration emerged, for instance, in a second report from the Scientific Council for Government Policy. Universalism involved a different way of framing immigrant integration than the multiculturalist frame of the 1980s. It phrased immigrant integration in terms of 'integration' and 'citizenship' rather than emancipation, it named immigrants as a category of individuals ('allochthonous') rather than as ethnic or cultural groups ('minorities'), it explained immigrant integration in terms of social-economic participation of migrants in material domains instead of social-cultural emancipation of minorities and it contained a liberal-egalitarian perspective rather than a normative focus on the Dutch multi-ethnic society.

In this chapter, I will make an empirical analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in this frame-shift in policy and research. This involves an analysis of the involvement of actors in research-policy relations, the boundary work practices of these actors, the structural configuration of research-policy relations that was thus produced and, finally, the role of this boundary configuration in frame-shifts, problem framing and frame reflection.

The aim is not to unravel how and why these frame-shifts in research and policy took place, but rather to unveil the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame shifts and the extent to which this role involved critical frame reflection. Just as in the period that was examined in the previous chapter, key research actors were involved in this period, including the ACOM and the WRR, but also new research actors, such as the Social and Cultural Planning Office. In the field of policy-making, the Home Affairs Department was still involved, but there was also a growing involvement of political actors. But how did these actors structure their mutual relations, and how and why did this affect the frame-shifts that took place in research and policy? Did the shift toward universalism in policy and research result out of a structural design of the research-policy nexus for achieving critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing, or did the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame-shifts involve something other than critical frame reflection?

6.1   Actors and context

Following the identification of the periods in which frame-shifts took place in research and policy (Chapter 4), the second step in the analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame-shifts is to reconstruct the involvement of actors in this period. How did these frame-shifts take place, what actors were involved, and what were these actors' positions and frames? By analysing the literature about immigrant integration research and policy in this period, a reconstruction is made of the context in which the frame-shifts took place. Based on this reconstruction, involved research and policy actors are identified, that will be the objects of analysis in the following steps of analysis. Furthermore, by looking at the texts that were produced by these actors and looking at texts about these actors, a reconstruction will be made of their frames and their positions in the fields of research or policy-making.

6.1.1   Context: from multiculturalism to universalism

The multiculturalist framing of immigrant integration had led to a specific focus on ethnic minorities in research (Minorities Paradigm) and a specific approach to minorities in policy (Minorities Policy). Furthermore, the structural symbiosis between research and policy in this period contributed to relative stability in the domain of immigrant integration. It effectively established a structure-induced equilibrium or 'subsystem' that was relatively insulated from developments outside this domain (Timmermans & Scholten, 2006).

Various contextual developments eventually contributed to a disturbance of this structure-induced equilibrium. First of all, an economic recession during the 1980s led to a sharp increase of unemployment in society at large but in particular amongst immigrants. Migrants were especially vulnerable to economical decline, and were hit hard by the reform of labour-intensive sectors in which they were often employed. Whereas unemployment had been relatively low in the 1970s, especially amongst foreign workers, it rose sharply in the early 1980s. In 1984, the level of unemployment amongst Moroccans and Turks was about double the unemployment amongst native Dutch (35.5% and 38.8% percent respectively) (Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 53). In 1987, the differences in level of unemployment had grown even sharper: 13% for natives, 27% for Surinamese, and no less than 42% and 44% for Moroccans and Turks. [147] Also, the position of migrants in the educational sphere seemed to lag behind that of the population at large. This included the relatively low level of education as well as low educational participation and high levels of school drop-outs (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1989: 139-141).

Successive governments from the 1980s conducted a politics of retrenchment in various policy domains. This retrenchment politics was deemed necessary to

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[147] Data from the Department of Social Affairs, cit. in WRR, 1989: 105.

maintain the viability of the welfare state. This involved a so-called 'no-nonsense politics' aimed at cut-backs in welfare-state spending by changing welfare-state facilities (cutting back on social benefits, restricting access to social benefits) and putting priority on employment ('work before income'). A 'regulated liberalisation' of the welfare state took place in this period, involving a recalibration of the division of responsibilities between state, civil society and individuals (Van der Veen & Trommel, 1999). Gradually, welfare responsibilities shifted from the state toward the individual, or the market. The level of unemployment decreased during the 1980s, but stagnated in the late '80s at just below 14%, and remained especially high for immigrants in the second half of the 1980s (Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 73).

Furthermore, ongoing immigration during the 1980s frustrated the expectation that immigration could be effectively brought to a halt while integrating the minorities that had settled in the Netherlands. Family migration continued during the 1980s (in the form of family reunion but also family formation). Furthermore, there was a sharp increase of asylum migration in the second half of the 1980s (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 244). In previous decades, asylum migration had already taken place, but on a relatively small scale and mainly within Europe. In the 1980s, due to asylum migration, various 'new' migrant groups arrived, such as from Sri Lanka (Tamils), Ghana, Somalia, Iraq, Iran, Ethiopia and Afghanistan. As a result of family migration and asylum migration, there continued to be an immigration surplus during 1980s. From a surplus of 53000 in 1980, it decreased to 24000 in 1985 to increase again to 60000 in 1990.[148] Moreover, the number of immigrants or 'allochthonous' (persons either born outside the Netherlands or of whom at least one of the parents was not born in the Netherlands) increased from 1.3 million (9.9% of total population) to 2.1 million (14.2% of total population) between 1975 and 1990s.[149] This meant amongst others that the minority groups that had been formally recognised as policy target groups grew significantly larger (in 1990: Surinamese 237.000, Turks 206.000, Moroccans 168.000) (Martinez and Groeneveld, 2003; cit. in (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004). Also these groups became increasingly diverse in terms of first and second generations. Furthermore, asylum migration had led to the arrival of various 'new' immigrant groups who were not recognised as 'minorities' in the Minorities Policy and also received little attention from researchers.

In response to these problematic developments and in particular the signs of stagnation in the social-economic position of minorities, government expressed doubts about whether the current approach should be continued. It issued an advisory request to the WRR for a new report on immigrant integration, which was published in 1989 (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 1989). This report is generally referred to as a turning-point in policy developments (Blok, 2004a; Entzinger, 2006; Penninx, 2005) as well as research developments during this period (Engbersen & Gabriëls, 1995b; Timmermans & Scholten, 2006). It advised

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[148] Source: CBS Statline.
[149] Source: CBS Statline.

government to develop an Integration Policy that would focus more on social-economic activation of individual migrants.

Although government did not immediately take over the new perspective of the WRR, as indicated by the Government Reply Memorandum to this report[150], it did mark a shift in public and political discourse on immigrant integration (Fermin, 1997: 82). This shift in discourse, however, was contested by some of the actors that were involved in the structure-induced equilibrium of the multiculturalist approach. Molleman, until 1990 director of the Minorities Policy Directorate, reported to the media that he had 'doubts whether a fundamentally new policy approach was needed' and claimed that although the Minorities Policy may have been not entirely successful it could also not be dismissed as a failure. 'Policy has not failed, it has only not yet succeeded.'[151] He also objected plans for budget cut backs to the Minorities Policy, as he claimed that especially in bad economic times the efforts for achieving integration of these groups should not be diminished.[152] Furthermore, in various articles and newspaper contributions, Penninx, civil servant of the Department of CRM and observer to the ACOM, referred to the criticism to the multiculturalist policy approach because of growing unemployment as 'democratic impatience', since the effects of this approach would take considerable time to pay off (Vermeulen & Penninx, 1994).[153] The ACOM as an organisation also took odds with claims that a different policy approach would be required, for instance in a response to the 1989 WRR report in which it discarded the claim that policy had failed (ACOM, 1989). Migrant organisations also criticised the new mode of discourse, sometimes also with terms as 'forced integration' or 'hidden assimilation' (Blok, 2004a 116-117).

However, the Minorities Policy gradually shifted from a specific approach on minorities to an intensification of general policies in particular (mainly social-economic) policy domains such as labour and education (Fermin, 1997: 82). Furthermore, as a reflection of a more general trend toward decentralisation, the role of municipalities became more and more significant. Due to this functional and territorial decentralisation, the coordinating role of the Home Affairs Department became weakened in this period (Molleman, 2003). One of the most important means for policy coordination that this department possessed was the coordination of research and the monitoring of policy efforts and effects in various domains. In this respect, it cooperated closely with the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) that would become an important data provider in this domain with regular Minorities Reports. These reports contained data primarily on the social-economic position of migrants.

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[150] Parliamentary Document, TK 1989-1990, 21472, nr.3.

[151] In: 'Nederland valt best mee', De Tijd, 9-3-1990; and 'Doelen minderhedenbeleid zijn achteraf te ambitieus', De Volkskrant, 13-5-1989.

[152] Interview Molleman.

[153] Also: interview Penninx.

In the early 1990s, immigrant integration became an increasingly central issue in public and political debate. In 1990, Prime Minister Lubbers openly expressed his disappointment about the effects of the Minorities Policy, and called for a more activating approach to immigrant integration.[154] Furthermore, following political statements by the leader of the main opposition party (Bolkestein), a broad national minorities debate emerged in 1992. This debate took place in the media (Mariën, 1992), in politics (Koolen, 2003: 27) and in several conferences organised by the Minister of Home Affairs.[155] It drew attention to social-cultural issues of immigration and to concerns about social cohesion. In response to this debate, two experts, Entzinger and Van der Zwan, wrote an advisory report to government that elaborated plans for civic-integration programs for newcomers to Dutch society, which had already been raised in the 1989 WRR report (Van der Zwan & Entzinger, 1992). These civic-integration programs would become an important facet of policy in the 1990s, and their focus on all migrants instead of specific minorities and on social-economic proficiencies of migrants rather than their social-cultural status clearly indicated a shift toward universalism.

In response to the gradual changes that had taken place in the preceding period, parliament called for a 'recalibration' of the contours of government policy, to replace the Minorities Memorandum. To achieve this, a Contours Memorandum on the Integration of Ethnic Minorities was presented by the coordinating Home Affairs Department in 1994. As observed in Chapter 4, this memorandum marked the shift from the multiculturalist (with universalist traits) Minorities Policy toward a more universalist Integration Policy. Also in research, this period marked the evolution of a more universalist 'Integration Paradigm' in addition to the multiculturalist 'Minorities Paradigm'. The WRR and the SCP seem to have played an especially important role in this respect. The ACOM was, however, dissolved or rather discontinued in 1992.

Thus, various research and policy actors seem to have played a role in the frame-shifts in this period. In research, this includes the WRR that published a second report on immigrant integration, the SCP as a data provider, the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger who published a report in response to the national minorities debate, and also the ACOM, which seemed to have lost its central position in this period. In policy, this includes the Home Affairs Departments, who remained the coordinating department although this role seems to have changed in this period, as well as political actors who in this period became more involved in policy-making.

6.1.2   Established nexus: Home Affairs Department and the ACOM

Whereas until the 1970s there had been no prevailing research-policy nexus in the domain of immigrant integration, such a structural nexus did exist in the 1980s. This consisted of the technocratic boundary configuration that maintained a structural

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[154] 'Lubbers wil doorbraak van minderhedentaboe', in Het Parool, 26 March 1990

[155] 'Groot debat over alle minderheden', Haagsche Courant, 7 October 1991.

symbiosis between specific actors, in particular the Home Affairs Department and the ACOM. According to Guiraudon, this nexus formed an important part of the strongly centralised and unitary structure for policy coordination in the 1980s (Guiraudon, 2000b: 131-134). Furthermore, during the 1980s this centralised and unitary structure was further reinforced by the co-optation of ethnic elites. While the role of welfare organisations was increasingly marginalised, the role of immigrant self-organisations became more structural, especially when a National Advisory and Consultation Structure for Minorities (LAO) was established in 1984. In order to understand the actor setting of the research-policy relations in this period, I will first discuss how the positions and frames developed for actors involved in this established research-policy nexus.

Home Affairs Department

The Home Affairs Department and, more precisely, the Minorities Policy Directorate in this department (led by Molleman) was responsible for the interdepartmental coordination of the Minorities Policy during the 1980s. Initially, it had a strong coordinating role, especially in taking policy initiatives itself even when these were to be implemented by other policy departments. However, the coordinating role became increasingly problematic during the 1980s, as various policy departments claimed more and more autonomy.[156] Furthermore, during the second half of the 1980s, the coordinating role of this department became subject to growing political pressure (Koolen, 2003: 25). As a result, its coordinating role gradually declined from strong to only weak policy coordination (Molleman, 2003).[157] This meant that instead of an initiating role in developing policy programs in various domains, it now constantly had to search for new ways to convince other departments to accept specific policy measures. This change in its structural position was also illustrated by renaming the directorate to 'Directorate Headlines of the Minorities Policy'.[158] In the Contours Memorandum from 1994, policy coordination was defined as a 'shared responsibility' of national and local governments, in which it was stressed 'that the centre of gravity in the realisation and implementation of policy lays mainly with the municipalities'.[159]

The weaker coordinating role of the Minorities Policy Directorate reflected a broader structural trend of territorial and functional decentralisation in this period. Government conducted a politics of retrenchment in various domains, including immigrant integration but also welfare state policies in this period. This clearly also affected the centralised and unitary structure of the Minorities Policy, which was increasingly delegated to sector departments as well as to local governments. For Molleman, this weaker role of his department was one of his reasons to resign as

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[156] Interview Molleman.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Parliamentary Treaties, TK 1986-1987, 19700VII, nr.65.
[159] Contours Memorandum, P. 28.

director of the Minorities Policy Directorate in 1990 (just after publication of the Reply Memorandum to the WRR report from that year).[160]

In addition to the change in the department's leadership, it also adopted a different problem framing in this period. It shifted from a multiculturalist-with-universalist-traits frame towards a more universalist frame. Two documents from this period provide indications of this more universalist frame: the Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR Report on 'Allochthonous Policy' (1990)[161] and, to a greater degree, a new memorandum developed by this department on the coordination of the Integration Policy, the Contours Memorandum on the Integration of Ethnic Minorities (1994).

The Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR Report was written by the Inter-departmental Committee for the Minorities Policy, chaired by the Home Affairs Department, on behalf of the government coalition that was established in 1990. Therefore, it not only provides indications of the position of this department itself, but also of the changing political views about immigrant integration that were delegated to this department. This Reply Memorandum maintained the original policy contours that were set by the 1983 Minorities Memorandum (Fermin, 1997: 194). For instance, this document held the social classification of immigrants as 'minorities' and focused on a specific number of selected minorities, because 'Dutch government carried a special responsibility for their admission or who were connected with the Netherlands through the colonial past'.[162] Furthermore, it argued that the minorities concept was 'internationally accepted and referring to fundamental principles of democratic law, especially concerning the principle of respecting minorities' (ibid). Also, it stated that measures aimed at the institutionalisation of cultural differences, such as Immigrant Minorities Language classes and the Advisory and Consultation Council for Minorities were maintained.

However, it also contained indications of a minor shift toward a more universalist approach. It reiterated the demand that general policy should be the rule and specific policies the exception rather than the other way around. 'General policy wherever possible, specific or categorical policy where necessary'.[163] In this respect, it also proposed measures for functional and territorial decentralisation, also in the context of the politics of social renewal in this period. Furthermore, in response to suggestions from the 1989 WRR report, it concentrated more on social-economic domains such as education and labour. It stressed that 'integration does not conflict with identity: it adds a dimension to it (...) Only those who sufficiently speak Dutch language, who have completed an adequate occupational education and who has learned to stand firm in a hard and competitive society can effectively

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[160] Interview Molleman
[161] Parliamentary Document, TK 1989-1990, 21472, nr.3.
[162] Ibid: 9.
[163] Ibid: 8.

participate with retention of one's own identity'. [164] Government adopted the recommendation of the WRR to develop additional facilities for newcomers for acquiring the necessary educational basis for participation on the labour market and in Dutch society at large.[165] Furthermore, it embraced suggestions from the WRR about an Equal Treatment and Equal Employment act and also the recommendation to create a legal basis for dual nationality.

The Contours Memorandum [166] provides a more direct indication of the changing problem frame of the Home Affairs Department, as the Minorities Policy Directorate within this department wrote the memorandum.[167] In the memorandum, the name of the Minorities Policy was changed in Integration Policy, as the term integration would 'better that the social integration of minority groups and persons belonging to these groups is a mutual process of acceptation'.[168] It also adopted a more liberal-egalitarian perspective on immigrant integration by stressing the individual obligations of migrants for their integration, stating that: 'on all members of ethnic minorities that stay permanently in the Netherlands (...) lies the individual obligation to participation in education and labour market and also the obligation to make efforts to learn the Dutch language and to acquire basic knowledge of Dutch society'.[169] Furthermore, it does more than the Reply Memorandum in 1990 to diminish forms of institutionalised pluralism, for instance by depriving the National Advisory and Consultation Structure for Minorities Organizations (LAO) of its advisory function, as it was feared that this function would too much interfere with its consultative role and that it would constitute a form of relative privileging of ethnic minorities in relation to other groups in society (Blok, 2004a:494).

Advisory Committee on Minorities Research

The ACOM also occupied a central position in the established research-policy nexus. In the early 1980s, the ACOM's position was further strengthened. Its formal role was broadened from advising to the Department of CRM to advising on minorities research to government as a whole. It was then also formally associated with the coordinating Home Affairs Department (Van Putten, 1990: 362). However, the ACOM's position was constantly based on an establishment regulation for only a specific period of time. The timeframe had to be regularly (mostly once every four years) prolonged in order for the ACOM to be continued. This prolongation led to debates about discontinuing the ACOM in 1984, in the context of a larger restructuring of government advisory bodies (ibid: 363). The Minorities Policy

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[164] Ibid: 2.

[165] Ibid: 15.

[166] Parliamentary Document, TK 1993-1994, 23684, nr. 1,2.

[167] Interview with the director of the Minorities Policy Directorate.

[168] Parliamentary Document, TK 1993-1994, 23684, nr. 2.: 8.

[169] Ibid: 25.

Directorate, however, strongly opposed such a discontinuation, illustrating the strength of the established research-policy nexus in this period.[170]

Within the field of immigrant integration research, the ACOM had maintained a central position throughout the 1980s. During the early 1980s, its influence on research programming had been very significant. Penninx, then working at the Department of CRM and acting as observer in the ACOM, even concluded that almost all projects that were recommended in its 1979 Minorities Research Advice had been taken over by government several years later (Penninx, 1988b: 35). Furthermore, the ACOM would also have had significant indirect effects on this research field at large, 'because of the infrastructural work of the ACOM and the coordinating role of its secretariat' (ibid: 37). Beyond doubt, the ACOM had enormous influence on the development of the immigrant integration research field.

The ACOM held on to a multiculturalist problem framing during the 1980s. This meant that its advices on research programming contained a specific focus on minority groups, with attention to issues such as; the social and economic position of migrants; deprivation (such as due to discrimination); participation, emancipation and culture; problem accumulation; and women, youth and the elderly (ibid: 32). These were also the topics of government research programming, which the ACOM regularly advised to consolidate. The influence of the ACOM on government research programming would have involved drawing attention to issues of discrimination. This focus on discrimination was also manifest in one of the key advices from the ACOM in the 1980s. This concerned a report by Bovenkerk on positive labour market measures for stimulating participation of migrants by taking obligatory measures toward employers, called 'A Fair Chance' (Bovenkerk, 1987).

However, the central position of the ACOM changed during the second half of the 1980s. Penninx and Van Putten relate the declining role of the ACOM during the 1980s to the institutionalisation of the Minorities Policy in that period (Penninx, 1992; Van Putten, 1990). This would have diminished the demand for the type of expertise that was provided by the ACOM, and increased demand for more evaluative research. Penninx observes that whereas some reports were very influential on policy developments, others remained largely ignored (Penninx, 1988b: 36). In 1987, a significant change took place in the composition of the ACOM (Van Putten, 1990: 365). Köbben resigned as chair of the ACOM and also Van Amersfoort left. Bovenkerk then became chairman of the ACOM. Also, various new researchers joined the ACOM, including several from minority groups.

In 1992, government (the Department of Home Affairs) chose not to prolong the mandate of the ACOM was discontinued. It was temporarily succeeded by a Temporary Scientific Committee for the Minorities Policy (TWCM). However, the

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[170] Interview with civil servant of the Minorities Policy Directorate. In contrast to the Minorities Policy Directorate, the Home Affairs Minister himself seems to have supported the discontinuation of the ACOM.

position and role of this TWCM differed significantly from the ACOM in various respects. First of all, it was not a technical-scientific committee as the ACOM, but was instead bi-partite, consisting of researchers as well as policy makers. Secondly, its role was primarily to further the translation of existing research and expertise for the purposes of policy practice. However, the TWCM was in turn also dissolved in 1996.

Migrant self-organisations

Finally, the centralised and unitary structure in this issue domain during the 1980s also involved migrant self-organisations. Whereas the role of welfare organisations, or so-called 'zaakwaarnemers', had diminished in the early 1980s, a new structure was developed in the early 1980s that consisted of self-organisations of migrant groups. In 1984, a National Advisory and Consultation Council for Minorities Organisations (LAO), that had an advisory role in policy formulation of the Home Affairs Department as well as a consulting role for obtaining insights about and from minorities by government. These organisations were also involved in providing advice on research programming, which had been so fiercely struggled in the period examined in the preceding chapter. However, their influence on research programming seems to have been rather limited.[171]

During the 1980s, these organisations held on to the multiculturalist frame on which the policy and research structure was based in this period. For instance, in a joint response by the LAO to the government Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR Report, the migrant self-organisations advocated a consolidation of the broader approach to social-economic deprivation, collective emancipation and identity rather than adopting a more narrow approach to social-economic participation (Fermin, 1997: 195). Furthermore, they focus attention on issues as discrimination and structural deprivation rather than what they saw as a focus of universalism on individual deficiencies of migrants (ibid: 196). Also in terms of normative perspective, they would continue to frame immigrant integration in the context of a normative process of transforming Dutch society into a multicultural society, rather than adopting a more liberal-egalitarian view on immigrant integration (ibid: 199).

These actors from the prevailing research-policy nexus selected and interpreted the evidence about ongoing problem developments in a way that was different from other actors. They selected evidence about the success of the multiculturalist approach rather than about its failures. This concerns, for instance, the legal and political position of minorities that had significantly improved during the 1980s and the implementation of a constitutional right to vote in local and regional elections for long-term resident foreigners. Furthermore, researchers as well as policy-makers often defended the Dutch multiculturalist approach internationally as a success,

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[171] Interviews with two civil servants (Department of CRM and Home Affairs Department) involved in research programming.

amongst others because of the absence of any significant racial unrests in the Netherlands in this period, in contrast to several surrounding countries (Vermeulen & Penninx, 2000).

At the same time, evidence about the persistent deprivation of migrants in social-economic domains as labour and education were interpreted not as indications that the current approach had failed, but rather that there were even more reasons for continuing the current approach. It was argued that in periods of overall economic decline, a specific approach to minorities was even more necessary to avert the disproportionate effects that such trends could have for the position of minorities. For instance, the director of the Minorities Policy Directorate frequently stated that the integration policy had not failed, but had not yet succeeded. Contending claims were sometimes rejected as issues of 'impatience'.

6.1.3   WRR: Ethnic Minorities II?

A decade after its first report on immigrant integration, *Ethnic Minorities* (WRR, 1979), the WRR published a second report on this issue, *Immigrant Policy* (WRR, 1989). During the 1980s, the WRR had continued the more in-depth approach to specific policy themes, which it had developed in the period of the first report in 1979. Furthermore, the position of the WRR had become more and more institutionalised during the 1980s, with significant authority in the field of policy-making as well as research. This authority was further sustained by the appointment of Willem Albeda, a former Minister of Social Affairs, as chairman of the Council in 1985. Specifically in the fields of immigrant integration research and policy, the WRR had obtained authority because of the role and influence of its 1979 report. However, because of the regular alternation of the Council, there was no connection between these two reports in terms of involved council members. Within the staff, there was such a personal connection. For example, one of the main authors of the 1979 report was involved in the development of the second report. However, the main author of the second report, Entzinger, had not been involved in the 1979 report, but had been the prior secretary of the ACOM.

The second report was a response to a formal advisory request from government, which was in contrast to the first report that had been developed on the WRR's own initiative. In a government document on the 'Action Program Minorities Policy' for 1988, it was concluded that insufficient progress was made in key domains as housing, education and labour.[172] This referred in particular to indications of rising unemployment and persistent social-economic deprivation amongst migrants. It was against this background that government decided to request a new advice from the WRR on immigrant integration. The text of this advisory request stated that on 'material points', such as housing, education and labour, 'too little progress' had been made, whereas 'on a number of, mainly

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[172] Kamerstukken II, 1987-1988, 20260, nr. 2.

immaterial, points significant progress has been made'.[173] It raised doubts about 'whether the approach that characterised the policy from the Minorities Memorandum (...) would have to be continued in its current form.' The WRR was asked to provide 'advice for the prioritisation of future government policy' so that 'strategic choices on the future of the Minorities Policy could be made in 1990 (...).' Furthermore, it was asked to provide 'creative and practical suggestions' on how to ameliorate the policy design. Remarkable was that government suggested a term in which advice would have to be received, which was before the strategic choices that were to be made in 1990.

The report provided not only an update of the prior report in the context of ongoing issue developments but also contained a different perspective in various respects. Furthermore, it renamed immigrant integration in terms of 'integration' instead of 'emancipation', defining integration as 'equal participation in societal sectors and institutions'.[174] It framed immigration as a permanent phenomenon rather than a historically unique occurrence, based on the 'supposition that the level of migration to the Netherlands (...) will be sustained for the foreseeable future'.[175] It stated that 'whereas the Council advised in 1979 that the presence of immigrants in Dutch society should be regarded as a permanent phenomenon, it now expects that immigration too will be a lasting feature'[176].

Furthermore, it developed a different way of categorizing migrants, defining migrants as a social category rather than as ethnic or cultural groups. It proposed to use the (difficult to translate) concept of 'allochtonen' or 'allochthonous', which refered to 'all those who have migrated to the Netherlands plus their descendants up to the third generation insofar as the latter wish to regard themselves as non-indigenous'.[177] Based on this more open definition of immigrants, the policy called for a 'periodically review' of what immigrant groups take in a low social position and would therefore be eligible as a target group for government policy. The classification and selection of specific minority groups as policy target groups was rejected as 'arbitrary and prompted more by historical than by social considerations'[178]. Furthermore, because the minorities concept referred only to groups of a different ethnic or cultural origin that occupied a low social position, it would be a 'too limited concept' for describing the 'dynamism' in the social position of immigrants and would furthermore be 'stigmatizing'.[179]

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[173] Advisory request 'Ethnic Minorities', 1 October 1987; cit in WRR, 1989: 207.

[174] WRR, 1989: 45. This definition of integration has been described as structural integration (Fermin, 1997: 189). Next to structural integration, the WRR also distinguished cultural integration, or 'mutual coordination of behaviour, values and preferences by the members of various ethnic groups'.

[175] Ibid: 10.

[176] Ibid: 10.

[177] Ibid: 10.

[178] Ibid: 54.

[179] Ibid: 43.

This renaming of migrants reflected a distinct causal theory that was elaborated in this report. Instead of approaching migrants as separate groups, the WRR considered the position of migrants 'in significant measure the product of general developments'. Therefore 'any policy specifically directed towards minorities should be primarily conceived as an intensification of general policies in the sectors in question'.[180] Integration would have to be achieved by general policy measures rather than by group specific measures. Furthermore, these general measures should be aimed at enabling the migrant 'to stand on its own feet', or to promote citizenship of migrants. The role of government policy would be facilitating, as migrants not only have 'rights' to entitlements, but also 'obligations' in terms of participating in society. 'All the state can do is to help ensure that the right conditions exist (...), on the part of immigrants, a commitment is required to make full use of the facilities on offer'.[181] In this respect, the WRR also saw now problems for migrants to carry dual nationality, especially when this would stimulate naturalization of migrants in Dutch society.[182]

The WRR developed a universalist rights-and-duties perspective on immigrant integration. On the one hand, government should provide conditions for migrants to be able to participate in society. In this report the WRR proposes to develop an Equal Treatment Act for combating discrimination, and an Equal Employment Act to exert soft pressure on employers to hire migrants. On the other hand, migrants should be obliged to participate to remain eligible for government facilities in various spheres. The state should be able to impose 'penalties where those opportunities are not exploited'.[183] Whereas multiculturalism focuses on processes of position attribution by processes in society at large, such as deprivation due to discrimination, this more universalist perspective focuses more on position acquisition by migrants themselves, such as citizenship and participation. In fact, the WRR rejected an approach that would treat migrants too much as 'welfare categories' who are made dependent on government facilities.

> '(...) [G]overnment tends to view these groups too much in the light of welfare categories instead of providing them with opportunities to stand on their own feet. Many members of minority groups have become directly or indirectly dependent on the state in the form of social security benefits, welfare services and facilities and housing'.[184]

Finally, the WRR adopted a different perspective on the multi-ethnic or multicultural character of Dutch society. Rather than adopting a multi-ethnic society as a normative ideal, it accepted it as a 'social datum' in which government should

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[180] Ibid: 9.
[181] Ibid: 99
[182] Ibid: 31.
[183] Ibid.
[184] Ibid: 9

not intervene. It recommended not to institutionalise cultural pluralism. Instead, culture and ethnicity were attributed to the private sphere beyond the reach of government policy. In fact, one of the reasons why the Minorities Policy was so minimally effective is that it remained 'stuck in a debate on policy goals'[185] with a 'symbolic' character, focusing especially on 'cultural and morality' instead of on vital problem areas.[186]

> '(...) [T]he institutionalisation of ethnic pluralism need not be regarded as an independent objective of government policy. A multi-ethnic society should be regarded as a social datum, and hence as a starting point for policies leaving space for cultural diversity in various fields. (...) Immigrants who so wish should be able to maintain and develop their own cultural identity: integration certainly does not imply cultural assimilation. To an even greater extent than institutional integration, however, this forms part of the responsibility of the individual groups. (...) The government's task is confined to helping eliminate the barriers experienced by ethnic groupings as a result of their non-indigenous origins, with a view to enabling them to participate on a equal footing with indigenous persons in a culturally diverse society.'[187]

6.1.4   Social and Cultural Planning Office

In the early 1990s, another actor obtained a more central position in the field of immigrant integration research: the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP). Since this period, it published annual and later biannual Minorities Reports that contained mainly quantitative data on the position of migrants in various social-economic domains.

The Social and Cultural Planning Office had a institutional history similar to the WRR. Both were established in response to recommendations of the 'committee on the preparation of research for the future structure of society' (also, the De Wolff Committee). The SCP was to counterbalance the economic expertise that was provided by the more established Central Planning Bureau (CPB) (Halffman & Hoppe, 2006). It is formally part of the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work, which is responsible for the coordination of social-cultural policies. However, just as the WRR, it enjoys formal independence in terms of its work programme. The SCP evolved out of the Research and Planning Directorate of the Department of CRM from the 1960s and early 1970s. In spite of the strong orientation of this directorate on ethnic minorities, the SCP did not attribute much systematic attention to immigrant integration in the second half of the 1970s and the early 1980s. For instance, its biannual Social and Cultural Reports only contained chapters on ethnic minorities in the editions of 1976 and 1986 (Van Praag, 1986: 2).

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[185] Ibid.

[186] Ibid: 18.

[187] Ibid: 61.

The SCP did become more involved in the domain of immigrant integration since the second half of the 1990s. Before, in 1984, it had published a report, upon request of the Home Affairs Department, about the use of social facilities by immigrants, for instance the use of welfare state entitlements (social security), in the spheres of education, labour and housing (Van Praag, 1984). This showed that the SCP was primarily focused on participation of migrants in social-economic domains. Furthermore, in its *1986 Social and Cultural Report*, the SCP attributed significant attention to ethnic minorities. In this report, it was very critical about the claim that the Netherlands would become a multicultural society. Instead, it claimed that there was no evidence of the development of ethno-cultural 'streams' in Dutch society for whom minorities' ethnic or cultural status is the primary status (Van Praag, 1986: 44). Moreover, Van Praag, the author of the chapter on ethnic minorities in this 1986 report, observed in another article that he did not perceive Dutch society a multicultural society, and believes that the phrase 'mutual adaptation between minorities and majority' in the Minorities Memorandum put too much stress on the adaptation required from the side of majority society (Ibid: 45). Since 1990, the SCP would provide regular (first annual, later biannual) Minorities Reports to government that contained an evaluation of the position of migrants, mainly in social-economic domains as education, labour and housing. With these reports, it would take a more central position in the immigrant integration research field.

The SCP's involvement in this period seemed to reflect a universalist problem framing, as indicated in particular by its focus on social-economic participation of migrants and by its explicit rejection of multiculturalism. Furthermore, it was also manifest in its methods of data collection that did not involve a differentiation for specific groups. In fact, until well into the 1990s, the SCP studies were based on generic data that were derived from the Statistics Office (CBS), such as from the Labour Force Enquiries (EBB) of the CBS.

6.1.5   The Van der Zwan and Entzinger report (1994)

Another instance where research actors were involved in research-policy relations in this period involved an advisory report that was published by the experts Entzinger and Van der Zwan. Both had been involved in the making of WRR reports on immigrant integration, Entzinger as one of the authors of the 1989 WRR report, and Van der Zwan as a Council Member that played an important role in the development of the 1979 WRR report.

Following the national minorities debate of 1992, Van der Zwan was first asked by the Minister of Home Affairs to be involved in the organisation of a series of conferences. In the context of these conferences, Van der Zwan wrote a 'memorandum to the Minister of Home Affairs' (September 28, 1992), that contained 'a fairly complete compilation of all possible data on the position of minorities,

including negative aspects; criminality rates, and reliance on social facilities'.[188] This report was also debated during a special parliamentary session on the national minorities debate[189], but its impact on concrete policy measures had been limited.[190]

Van der Zwan and Entzinger felt that although the National Minorities Debate had created a political sense of urgency, it tended to focus too much on cultural aspects of integration (as raised by Bolkestein) and that it had insufficiently led to concrete policy measures to further the civic integration of migrants.[191] When the 1992 memorandum by Van der Zwan did also not resort in significant policy consequences, Van der Zwan and Entzinger lobbyd the Home Affairs Department for more appropriate policy measures. This led to a formal assignment from the Home Affairs Department to Van der Zwan and Entzinger to write a new document on 'Policy Succession of the Minorities Debate'. This study would have a strong influence on the development of civic integration programs, which would become a central element of the Integration Policy of the 1990s (Blok, 2004a: 116).

In this advisory report, many facets of the 1989 WRR report were revived. This included its universalist way of framing immigrant integration. It named and framed immigrant integration in terms of the (civic-) integration of newcomers as new citizens. The rights-and-duties perspective on immigrant integration and the focus on integration policy as intensified general policy further took shape in this report. For instance, it is argued that 'integration is promoted in the first place through labour market participation' (Van der Zwan and Entzinger, 1994: 1). To this aim, the report recommends to temporarily lower the minimum wage for newcomers so as to facilitate their inclusion into the labour market. On the part of government, this temporary limitation of immigrant rights would have to be combined with an obligation to provide civic integration programs, directed at language as well as social skills. On the part of immigrants, this involved a right to civic integration programs that would allow them to become full members of Dutch society, but also an obligation to participate in these programs.

In terms of normative perspective, immigrant integration was framed in the context of maintaining a viable welfare state and added to this liberal-egalitarian perspective a concern about social cohesion. Van der Zwan and Entzinger wrote, 'from the perspective of social cohesion as well as the stability of our welfare state, we are put before a fundamental turning-point' (ibid: 2). Immigrants' disproportionate reliance on welfare state facilities would threaten the solidarity required for maintaining a viable welfare state. It is argued that 'when policy remains unaltered, a mismatch will develop (...) between supply and demand on the bottom of the labour market, which can lead to tensions between the established population and parts of newcomers and will lead to an increase of demand for

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[188] Cit. Van der Zwan, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr.10: 180.
[189] Parliamentary Document, TK 1991-1992, 22314, nr. 5 en 9.
[190] Cit. Van der Zwan, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr.10: 180.
[191] Interview Entzinger.

facilities of the welfare state, especially by immigrants' (ibid: 14). This was put in the perspective of a broader development in welfare state orientation, but also in the perspective of rising concerns about cultural relativism after the second national minorities debate.

> 'The urgency of a solution for this issue (...) is further underlined by the societal shift, also on a European level (...), in the character of the welfare state, from 'soft compensatory' in the direction of 'achievement performance'. (...) The willingness of society to compensate for differences declines and the pressure to make a productive contribution increases. Minorities that do not have part in this societal reorientation will more and more acquire an isolated position, with all accompanying social tensions' (ibid: 5).

In 1994, the plans for civic integration programs were taken over in a coalition agreement of the new ('purple') government that was formed in that year. However, the observations about a more obligatory approach were not taken over in the coalition agreement, nor were the plans for allowing selective lowering of minimum wage levels. In the Contours Memorandum Integration Policy that was published just before the Van der Zwan and Entzinger report, plans for civic integration programs appeared as well, with reference to the 1989 WRR report that had already proposed such programs. In this memorandum too, the obligatory approach was not taken over.

6.1.6 Politics

Finally, political actors became more involved in policy-making and research-policy relations in this period. Until the 1980s, politicians had played a relatively minor role in policy developments. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, this was due to the little articulate positions of political parties on this issue, but also to a tendency to depoliticise this issue and to adopt a positivist approach to policy-making in which especially researchers and administrators were involved and politics was perceived as a threat to a rational and consistent approach.

The Prime Minister in this period, Ruud Lubbers from the Christian Democrat Party (CDA), was one of the first to break with the tendency to depoliticise immigrant integration. As Prime Minister of various successive governments between 1982 and 1994, Lubbers played an important role in the politics of welfare state retrenchment that had already affected many policy domains but as observed earlier, not yet immigrant integration. In a radio interview that became widely discussed in the media and in parliament, he drew attention to the relatively high degree of dependence of migrants on welfare state facilities, and called for 'less soft treatment'.[192] He claimed he 'was losing his patience' with minorities, and that he

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[192] 'Lubbers wil doorbraak van minderhedentaboe', in Het Parool, 26 March 1990; 'Spoeddebat Kamer over minder softe uitspraak Lubbers', De Volkskrant, 27 March 1990.

wanted a policy revision following the lines of the 1989 WRR report.[193] He further argued that the Minorities Policy should primarily involve an intensification of government policies in various (social-economic) sectors, and should therefore also fall under the responsibility of the departments responsible for these specific sectors. In this respect, he claimed, also in the line of the 1989 WRR report, that a directorate for the coordination of the minorities policy would be redundant, because the responsibility for policy toward migrants would shift toward various sector departments.[194]

To some extent, his statements reflected the rise of a more economical-liberal perspective in the party ideology of the CDA (Fermin, 1997: 125), which stressed the responsibilities of citizens, including migrants, for participating in Dutch society. This welfare state perspective on immigrant integration did however not substitute but rather complement the position of this party on achieving immigrant integration by means of collective emancipation (ibid: 130). In fact, in this period Lubbers still defended 'pillarism', a form of institutional multiculturalism or even differentialism, as a model of immigrant integration. [195] So, the political entrepreneurship of Lubbers was based on a multiculturalist problem frame that was combined with elements of both differentialism and universalism.

Another political entrepreneur that had an important effect on policy-making was the leader of the main opposition party in this period, Frits Bolkestein from the Liberal Party. Bolkestein triggered, for the first time, a broad national debate in politics and media about immigrant integration. He did so unwittingly, with statements that eventually triggered this debate. First at an international conference for Liberal parties and later in several newspaper articles, he called for a stricter and more 'courageous' approach toward immigrant integration. [196] This more courageous approach should be based on fundamental principles of a liberal society, such as the separation of church and state, freedom of expression, tolerance and non-discrimination. These principles were not to be negotiated. It is here that, according to Bolkestein, 'the multicultural society meets its limits, that is, when abovementioned political principles come into play'.[197] In this respect, he was particularly sceptic about the compatibility of Islam and liberal values: key liberal values would have to be defended against immigrant cultures, especially against Islam 'not so much as a religion, but as a way of life.'[198] In this rejection of cultural

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[193] Ibid.

[194] Ibid.

[195] 'Lubbers: Verzuiling kan opnieuw succes zijn', in Trouw, 28 October 1991.

[196] Bolkestein held his speech at the International Liberal Conference in Luzern on 6 September 1991. A summary of the text of this speech appeared in 'Islamitische immigranten moeten integreren', NRC Handelsblad, 10 September 1991. A few days later, Bolkestein wrote a more elaborate article for another newspaper: 'Integratie van minderheden moet met lef worden aangepakt', De Volkskrant, 12 September 1991.

[197] Ibid.

[198] Ibid.

relativism, Bolkestein explicitly referred also to the 1979 WRR report, in which it had been claimed that 'in cases of confrontation where compromise is practically impossible, there remains no other option but to defend our cultural against competing claims.'[199]

Bolkestein's way of defining immigrant integration was a blend of universalist and assimilationist thinking. On the one hand, he seems to adopt a universalist definition of integration in terms of promoting a logic of equity (Mariën, 1992: 10) and claiming universal value for specific liberal principles. In this respect, he also referred to the French republican definition of integration.[200] On the other hand, his specific questioning of the relation between Islam and immigrant integration reveals a somewhat more assimilationist framing directly linking these liberal principles to European history and civilisation. This combination of universalism and assimilationism by Bolkestein reflected a shift from neo-liberal to more conservative-communitarian thinking within the Liberal Party during the early 1990s (Fermin, 1997: 92).

In sum, the actor setting of the research-policy nexus in this period (late 1980s, early 1990s) involved various actors with different frames. The established research-policy nexus involved the Home Affairs Department, which gradually shifted from a multiculturalist to a more universalist position, and the ACOM and migrant organisations, which carried a primarily multiculturalist framing. Furthermore, in the field of research, other actors played a role as well. The WRR once more published a report on immigrant integration, but this time with a more universalist problem frame. Also, there was a growing involvement of research-institutes that produced more quantitative data, in particular the SCP that carried a somewhat universalist frame. Furthermore, the experts Entzinger and Van der Zwan published an influential report that contained strong universalist elements. Finally, political actors became more openly involved in policy-making in this period, including the Prime Minister Lubbers with a multiculturalist and universalist frame, and the opposition leader Bolkestein, who triggered a broad national minorities debate with statements that reflected a universalist as well as an assimilationist framing.

These frames reflected different ways of selecting and interpreting contextual evidence about developments in immigrant integration. Actors with multiculturalist frames referred to policy stagnation in social-economic domains, such as rising unemployment levels, as an indication that the current approach would have to be continued to prevent the economic recession from having disproportionate effects on minorities. Contending claims that the multiculturalist approach had failed were interpreted as 'impatience' as the emancipation of minorities would take several generations. In contrast, actors with universalist frames did not select and interpret

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[199] Ibid.

[200] Derived from a report from the Haut Conseil a l'Intégration (Mariën, 1992: 4).

such evidence in a way that legitimised the prevailing approach, but rather as indications that a different approach was needed. Especially ongoing immigration, which created more diverse and larger target groups, and signs of structural deprivation of migrants in social-economic domains were considered evidence that a more universalist approach to integration was required. Furthermore, universalist concerns about social-economic participation were combined with concerns about social cohesion, as structural social-economic deprivation of migrants would put solidarity with migrants at risk. From this perspective, not just the disproportionate effect of economic decline on immigrant unemployment was considered problematic, but considered more worrisome were the effects that relatively high levels of unemployment amongst migrants in comparison to natives could have on social cohesion and on the viability of the welfare state.

6.2   Boundary work and an enlightenment research-policy nexus

The next steps in reconstructing the role of the research-policy nexus involve an analysis of the boundary work practices and an analysis of the more structural setting of research-policy relations that was thus created. Firstly, how and why did research actors (ACOM, WRR, SCP, Entzinger and Van der Zwan) and policy actors (Home Affairs departments, political actors) demarcate and coordinate the relations between research and policy? By examining the boundary discourse, relations and objects of these actors, empirical reconstruction will be made of the actual boundary work of these actors. Secondly, how and why did these boundary work practices in research and policy combine in ways that produced a structural configuration of research-policy relations? By looking at the actual relations between research and policy and looking for the distribution of primacy and the convergence and divergence of the roles of research and policy, an analysis can be made of the type of boundary configuration in this period (technocracy, enlightenment, bureaucracy, engineering).

6.2.1   The field of scientific research

In the field of scientific research, various actors with different structural positions were identified. The WRR was once more involved in the domain of immigrant integration, but this time with a formal advisory request from government and with the authority it had developed in this domain through its report from 1979. The ACOM lost in this period its central position in the immigrant integration field. Since this seems to be an indication of a changing field structure, the role and discontinuation of the ACOM in this period still deserves attention. Furthermore, another boundary organisation that advises on general social-cultural policies rather than specifically on immigrant integration, was the Social and Cultural Planning Office. The SCP obtained a structural position as a data provider to government on the position of migrants in various domains. Finally, the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger published a report in this period that seems to have had a rather direct effect on policy developments. In this section, I will examine how and why these

actors defined research-policy relations in specific ways (their boundary work practices), by looking at their boundary discourse, relationships and objectives, in interviews as well as in documents and secondary sources.

WRR: anti-establishment boundary work

Boundary work played a central role in the development of the WRR report *Immigrant Policy*. This concerned, first of all, the demarcation that WRR tried to achieve between this report and the Minorities Policy, but also between this report and the Minorities Paradigm. Whereas its first report in 1979, *Ethnic Minorities*, had been deliberately associated with ongoing research and policy developments at that time, this second report was meant instead to differ from both.

The formal advisory request that government issued in 1987 played an important role in this demarcation. The WRR and the Home Affairs Department negotiated this advisory request before it was issued. [201] It would have been triggered or even 'provoked' by the WRR itself. [202] This was facilitated by the personal networks of the Albeda, chairman of the WRR and then also chairman of the project group for this report, and Entzinger, who would be the main author of this report as a staff-member of the WRR. Albeda had been a minister and was member of the same political party as the Home Affairs Minister and that of the prime minister. Entzinger had a strong network on both sides of the research-policy nexus because of his background at the Department of CRM, as secretary of the ACOM and because of a recent appointment as professor of Multi-Ethnic Studies at Utrecht University. Also, Entzinger maintained close contact with the Prime Minister's Cabinet, which was of importance to the advisory request as the Prime Minister formally issues these advisory requests to the WRR.[203]

The advisory request already contained a specific definition of the substantial areas on which the WRR should focus and of its role in discussing policy measures in these areas. The WRR should concentrate on 'material areas' in which, as the text of the advisory request concludes, too little results had been achieved. It was in these material areas that government 'had doubts whether the current approach should be continued.' This demarcated the focus of the WRR from that of the established Minorities Policy, which also contained a clear 'non-material' focus on social-cultural issues. Furthermore, the role of the WRR was defined as providing 'creative and practical suggestions' to government, aimed at a change in 'the prioritisation of government policy' in 1990. This meant that the report would have to be completed within 2 years.

In the WRR, the formulation of the advisory request led to a boundary struggle about the relation between the WRR and government. Objections were raised against the narrow focus on material areas and the limited time frame that was

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[201] Interview with Entzinger.

[202] Ibid.

[203] Ibid.

proposed in the request. It was argued that the WRR, in order to be able to provide a scientific advice, should at least put the research problem in a broader context. The WRR would have to do 'more than just deliver a tool-kit; broader reflection is required, involving a more general report and a longer advisory period'.[204] Central concepts as 'minorities' were to be problematised, and that the focus should be not so much on integration policy but rather on integration as a social process so that, for instance, value conflicts could be also addressed.[205] A broader scientific approach would also have to involve a longer time span than the 18 months that lasted to the date mentioned in the advisory request, otherwise the report would almost inevitably have to join with current policy.[206] Some minor changes were made to the text of the advisory request. In particular, a phrase that said that the WRR would advice on 'Minorities Policy' that was replaced by 'policy with regard to ethnic minorities', so as to put the study in a broader perspective.[207]

The WRR interpreted the advisory request, containing a narrow task description, rather broadly. This also concerned the focus on material domains. The WRR put these material domains in the larger perspective of developments in immaterial domains. It stressed that 'an effective integration policy in these fields [education, labour, housing] would largely obviate the need for specific measures to assist immigrants in other fields' (WRR, 1989: 7). Rather than provide advice that was clearly confined to material areas and provided only 'creative and practical suggestions', the WRR eventually developed a new policy frame.

In addition to demarcating its role through (its interpretation of) the advisory request, the WRR employed a specific mode of discourse to mark the difference between this report and the Minorities Policy. The concepts 'integration policy' and 'allochthonous' were coined to stress the difference of 'minorities policy' and 'minorities' respectively. The concept 'integration policy' emerged in a debate on a draft text of the report, in which it was questioned whether it had been made sufficiently clear to what extent the report would call for policy change. To make it clearer that the WRR would propose a fundamental turning point, it was suggested that the term 'integration-policy' be used.[208] In addition, the concept 'allochthonous' was coined so as to stress the difference with the discourse on 'ethnic minorities'. The WRR wanted to alter this focus on groups and cultures that was associated with this concept, and focus instead on social-economic participation of individual immigrants, or individual 'allochthons'.

> 'The definition of ethnic minorities meant that only particular groups were
> recognised as ethnic minorities, such as the Moluccans, but not the Chinese.

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[204] Archives WRR, minutes of 13th meeting of the WRR Council, 13 September 1987 (A-87/13)

[205] Ibid.

[206] Ibid.

[207] Ibid.

[208] Minutes of Staff Meeting (23 February 1989); proposal accepted in the 4th meeting of the Council, 28 February 1989.

Second, it was not the intention to create ethnic minorities in this country, or to fixate them on the term ethnic minorities. We actually did not want them to become or remain ethnic minorities, but to become citizens of Dutch society. Basically, the only relevant difference is that they were people that came from different places; hence, allochthons. (...) As such, it was a useful analytical and above all more neutral term.[209]

Furthermore, in terms of boundary discourse, the literary style of the report was object of discussion in the WRR. On several occasions when discussing draft texts, Council members raised objections against the report, arguing for a more 'down-to-earth and empirical style of writing', a 'more down-to-earth tone' and a 'less normative' tone.[210] Therefore, a sharper distinction had to be made between analytic observations and normative policy recommendations, for instance by leaving out phrases such as 'the council thinks that'.[211] This is a clear example of the type of boundary discourse that has been described by Gusfield as the 'literary rhetoric of science'. Choosing a more sober, empirical style and tone served to underline the objective, scientific status of the report.

The WRR not only demarcated its report from established Minorities Policy, but also from established minorities research. In fact, one of the aims of the report was to challenge the dominant focus on immigrants as 'minorities'. According to Entzinger, this term would have been 'too unreflectively adopted from American sociological discourse, with too little notion of their application in the Dutch situation and their reifying effects on minorities themselves.'[212] Hence, it proposed to use the concept 'allochthonous' instead, which was believed to have less reifying effects on minorities as groups because it categorized migrants as 'not from here' rather than in more substantial cultural or ethnic terms.[213]

Furthermore, the WRR took a more interdisciplinary perspective than was customary in the field of immigrant integration research; it put immigrant integration in a broader scientific perspective.[214] Thereby, the WRR took odds with the established anthropological habitus in this domain, and with the research methods (field research) and ethos (specific engagement with minorities) associated to this habitus. In contrast, it took a more structural-functionalist perspective on immigrant integration, linking it to participation in societal institutions (instead of engagement with minorities) and adopting different methods such as desk and survey research (instead of field research).

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[209] Interview with staff-member of the WRR.

[210] Minutes 16th Council meeting (29 November 1988), 1st Council meeting (17 January 1989), 4th Council meeting (28 February 1989)

[211] Minutes of 4th Council meeting (28 February 1989)

[212] Interview.

[213] Interview with staff-member involved in this project group.

[214] Interview with project secretary.

Entzinger refers to the interdisciplinary composition of the WRR as one of the reasons why they could raise specific issues in this report, such as a more obligatory approach to immigrant integration, which would have been taboo in the broader scientific field. Only Entzinger was a field-specific expert, as a professor in Migration Studies, with a background in sociology and welfare state research.[215] Albeda, the project chairman, had a background as an economist, and was professor in social-economic policy.[216] Moreover, a council member with a legal background played an important role in strengthening the universalist perspective of the WRR. He objected initial texts that pled for a multiculturalism policy' aimed at the cultural sphere in addition to the 'integration policy' aimed at the social-economic sphere. From a legal perspective, he objected a policy that would involve 'the removal of present material objections for experiencing positive fundamental rights in the domain of culture' that would be specific for minorities and connected to race.[217] He considered this a violation of the legal principle of substantive neutrality with regard to cultures of specific groups, and as such a violation of the neutrality of the rule of law. The council member used his competence to issue a 'minority position' asserting pressure to change this element of the report. Eventually, the involved plans were reformulated into a more modest 'culture policy' that would not apply to specific ethnic or cultural groups, but to society as a whole, a 'general culture policy'.

This demarcation of its role from minorities policy and minorities research was related to how the WRR aimed to coordinate its relation to policy and research. The aim of the WRR was to break into the established structure-induced equilibrium in policy and research. In terms of policy, the aim of the WRR was not to provide 'creative and practical suggestions' for adapting the Minorities Policy, but it interpreted the advisory request in a way that allowed it to raise a fundamentally new policy perspective.[218] Hence it used the concepts 'allochthonous' and 'integration' to mark that it proposed something new. Furthermore, the fact that this report was issued in response to an advisory request also created commitment for policy change based on this report. A formally requested report would be more difficult to ignore.[219]

The fundamental new perspective on integration that the WRR wanted to develop was based on a policy agenda it had on welfare state reform. Under influence of its chairman Albeda (who was still a professor of social-economic policy), the WRR developed in this period an agenda on the development of an activating welfare state.[220] In a newspaper article that followed the publication of

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[215] Interview.

[216] Interview.

[217] Minutes 4th Council Meeting, 28 February 1989, A-89/4, pp.3

[218] Interview with project secretary.

[219] Ibid.

[220] Interviews with project chairman, project secretary, and staff-member. See also: Fermin, 1997: 190.

this WRR study, Albeda clearly established a link between the 1989 WRR report and this general agenda: 'our welfare state makes too much apathetic and has been too little activating (...), in the report the Council develops the contours of a more activating welfare state (...) that offers specific rights, but simultaneously also has a more obligatory character.'[221] In this respect, there was also a clear relation between this report and several other WRR reports from the same period, such as *An Active Labour Market Policy* (1987a) and *Work in Perspective* (1990).

> 'The idea for this report emerged in the context of a debate we had about the welfare state. (...) We observed that the problem of immigrant policy suffers from all the shortcomings of our welfare state. I think that this has been one of the most important innovations of the 1989 report, that it simultaneously addresses the problem of the welfare state and shows that the issue of immigrant integration is related to the problems of our welfare state. So, this [perspective] does not stand on itself, but is connected to the perspective we developed in the context of that Council.'[222]

Another facet of the agenda, related to the first, is that the WRR believed the 1979 WRR report had been misinterpreted.[223] Several project group members believed that policy-makers had given too little consequence to the recommendations of the first report on social-economic participation, and had put too much emphasis on social-cultural emancipation. According to Entzinger, the main author of this report, 'if you take the first report as the middle of the road, than the Minorities Policy goes in one direction and the second report goes in the other direction.'[224] With a new report, positioned as a successor of the first report, the WRR hoped to correct this misinterpretation.[225] Although no Council of the WRR is accountable for studies of earlier Councils, as every Council is in office for only five years, there was clearly a sense of institutional involvement with how earlier reports were translated into policy. Hence, the working title of the project was initially 'Ethnic Minorities II'.[226]

Furthermore, the WRR wanted to go against the research establishment, which would have focused too specifically on minorities instead of putting their positions in the context of broader developments in the welfare state. Research would have focused too much on migrants as 'the underdog', thereby insulating this topic from broader scientific debates about how migrants could be activated, for instance in the field of welfare state sociology in which both Albeda and Entzinger had been involved.

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[221] Albeda, W. (1989) 'Rechten en plichten van een nieuw integratiebeleid', in NRC Handelsblad, 17-8-1989.

[222] Interview with Chairman of the Council, also chairman of the project group.

[223] Interview project-secretary.

[224] Ibid.

[225] For some time this WRR project carried the working-title 'Ethnic Minorities II'

[226] Archives WRR, A-87/18.3a.

The boundary work of the WRR, in terms of demarcation and coordination, was thus aimed at breaking the structure-induced equilibrium in research and policy. It clearly demarcated its role from minorities policy as well as minorities research (with the advisory request, in its discourse) to coordinate its relations with these fields in a way that stressed that it provided a fundamentally new perspective (activating approach, interdisciplinary). This means, of course, that it challenged the positions of the actors involved in this structure-induced equilibrium, including the Home Affairs Department and the ACOM.

ACOM: Expulsionary boundary work

The position of the ACOM had, as observed, weakened during the second half of the 1980s. The WRR report from 1989 provided a further challenge to the ACOM, in terms of its structural position and its ways of demarcating immigrant integration research and coordinating its policy relations. Whereas the WRR had cooperated closely with the ACOM in the development of its report in 1979, this time the ACOM had been excluded from the initiative of the government plans for an advisory request to the WRR and from the WRR report. This led to a period of more difficult relations between the ACOM and the Home Affairs Department.[227]

Following the publication of the 1989 WRR report, the ACOM considered it its task to comment on the scientific foundation of this report. Since the duty of the ACOM was to 'pay attention to the scientific value of research and the value of research for government policy', the ACOM considered it legitimate to write a report on 'the scientific argumentation of the WRR advice' as the WRR had 'founded its advice for a large part on scientific research' (Advies Commissie Onderzoek Minderheden, 1989). In the report, *A Better Policy?*, the ACOM was very critical of the WRR. It described the WRR report as a report 'inspired by science' rather than a scientific report:

> '[The ACOM] is not positive about its [the 1989 WRR report's] scientific value. (...) The ACOM regrets that no clear separation was made between the presentation of scientific material, analysis and policy recommendations. Now all these components are intermixed and normative claims and analysis are undistinguishable. Therefore it is more a report inspired by science than a scientific report.' (ibid: 25).

The ACOM was critical about the WRR's rights-and-duties perspective. It pinpointed a 'biased focus on the individual level and for factors in the sphere of [individual] acquisition of social positions' rather than the attribution of social positions, too little attention 'for issues as discrimination and social marginalisation', and a certain 'bias in recommendations (...) on sanctions for members of ethnic groups that would be administered more often than sanctions for employers'. The WRR would have measured with two measures, focusing more on

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[227] Interview secretary of ACOM.

the duties of immigrants than on the duties of Dutch society, including for instance government and employers. In other words, it would have focused too narrowly on deficiencies on the part of migrants rather than structural factors in society at large, or too much on 'position acquisition' rather than 'position attribution' (ibid). Also, the ACOM argued that the claim that 'minorities have been regarded too much as welfare categories and would have been turned too much dependent on government care (…) would have been an unproven assumption, (…) not empirically founded (…) and seems to be inspired on a more general opinion on the welfare state' (ibid: 25-26). This disagreement revealed differences in the underlying agendas of the ACOM and the WRR, with the latter holding on to the premises of the Minorities Paradigm and the former adopting an activating welfare state agenda.

The WRR report also received criticism about its first report by the author of the influential preparatory study, who was now an advisory member of the ACOM. Together with another researcher, he published an article in the leading Dutch journal "Migrantenstudies" called 'Footnotes to the scientific value of the WRR-report' (Muus & Penninx, 1989). He concluded that the WRR had used 'a biased problem definition' and had 'made insufficient use of available scientific knowledge'. Van Amersfoort also published an article in which he agreed that the 'change in perspective of the WRR is not based on scientific arguments or research results, but rather on policy arguments' (Van Amersfoort, 1991: 32). Furthermore, several researchers took their boundary struggle about proper immigrant science to the media, stating amongst others that the WRR report 'contained small-talk'.[228]

This institutional struggle also led to a more personal struggle between Entzinger, the main author of the 1989 WRR report, and his colleagues at Utrecht University, including the chairman of the ACOM, Bovenkerk. In 1990, a conflict arose over a professor position at the research-group on 'Studies of the Multi-ethnic Society' (SMES). This position was awarded to Entzinger, much to the discontentment of some of his colleagues. This triggered a revival of the controversy surrounding the 1989 WRR report and about prior media statements of Entzinger concerning the permanent nature of immigration.[229]

This conflict showed that this institutional and personal struggle was also about different views on how to demarcate and coordinate research-policy relations. Entzinger's colleagues wrote a letter to the faculty dean, asking for the resignation of this professor because of a lack of 'intellectual leadership', 'insufficient theoretical knowledge of the research field' and 'lack of research qualities'.[230] Amongst other

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[228] De Volkskrant, respectively: 'Rapport van WRR over minderheden nogal eenzijdig' (13 June 1989), 'WRR –nota over allochtonen bevat ideeën van borreltafel' (20 June 1989).

[229] In an interview in a newspaper article, Entzinger had stated that 'soon, the Mediterranean Sea will be no wider than the Rio Grande', Volkskrant, 1 April 1989.

[230] As cited in media articles; "Hoogleraar moet weg van vakgroep" and "Stammenstrijd over minderheden splijt vakgroep", in NRC Handelsblad, p.1 en p.3, 5-01-1990.

shortcomings, Entzinger would have had too little experience and knowledge of the type of field research of most of his colleagues, making him incapable of leading this research group. This reflected the way of demarcating immigrant integration research that the ACOM had advocated throughout the 1980s, with a focus on field research.

In terms of coordination, the combination of being a professor while also a staff-member of the WRR would have created a dilemma between either scientific independence or what was described as being a 'civil servant'.[231] In this respect, Entzinger was criticized for having a 'strong sensitivity to public opinion and policy-makers', which would have revealed itself in 'strong, tough and firm statements' in the media.[232] His work for the WRR and his professor position in Utrecht were therefore considered incompatible. Moreover, Entzinger's colleagues in Utrecht had concerns about the effects of Entzinger's statements in the media and involvement in the 1989 WRR report on the position of migrants. These statements would 'not have been directed at combating the hostile mood toward migrants or the combating of prejudice' and would in some cases even 'have reinforced this mood'.[233] This illustrated the discrepancy between the focus of these researchers on issues as anti-racism and factors in Dutch society that inhibited emancipation rather than on factors on the side of immigrants that hampered their integration.[234] Moreover, such media statements were considered potentially harmful to the relation between the involved researchers and the minority groups that were studied.[235]

In the months after the WRR report and after the letter to the dean, fruitless attempts were made to reunite this research group. In January, this conflict was reported to the national media, even appearing on the front page of some leading Dutch newspapers.[236] Eventually however, the dean decided to dismiss Entzinger's colleagues at Utrecht University and to dissolve the research group SMES.[237] Entzinger maintained his professor position.

The ACOM thus adopted an expulsionary mode of boundary work, in an attempt to counter the challenge of the WRR by denouncing it as un-scientific. It re-emphasised its demarcation of immigrant integration research in terms of engagement with the specific position of minorities (also in terms of methods) and coordinated research-policy relations in a way that involved more distance from policy. However, the distancing from ongoing policy developments, which were to

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[231] Interview with chair of the ACOM.

[232] Ibid

[233] Ibid

[234] In 'Stammenstrijd over minderheden splijt vakgroep', NRC Handelsblad, p.3, 5-01-1990. Also: 'Muffe sfeer hangt rond ruzie over hoogleraar', in Volkskrant, 11-01-1990.

[235] Interview with chair of the ACOM.

[236] NRC Handelsblad, 5-01-1990.

[237] This decision was taken by the dean of the involved faculty, who at that time was also a member of the WRR council.

a great extent the consequence of the report from the WRR that had been requested by government, and its failure to respond to the growing demand for more evaluative expertise, gradually undermined the position of the ACOM in this period. The controversy surrounding the 1989 WRR report contributed further to this process.[238] In 1992, the mandate for the ACOM was eventually discontinued.

SCP: Boundary work of a data provider

Apart from occasional attention for immigrant integration in several documents from the 1980s, the SCP attributed more structural attention to immigrant integration since the early 1990s. In annual and later biannual Minorities Reports, the SCP provided data on the position of immigrants in various domains. This included primarily social-economic domains as education and labour. These minorities reports were a product of a contract between the SCP and the Home Affairs Department.

The SCP demarcated its role in terms of the provision of quantitative data. It made secondary analyses of data that was obtained by the Statistics Office.[239] This concerns generic data, or data that was derived from general databases such as the Labour Force Survey (EBB) from the CBS (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 76-77). The data on ethnic minorities were derived from these generic databases. The SCP did not gather data about ethnic minorities with use of specific methods for reaching these minorities. Only later in the 1990s would the SCP cooperate with the Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISEO) that did employ specific techniques for obtaining data on immigrant minorities (Meloen & Veenman, 1990; Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 79).[240] The role of the SCP was thus demarcated as the provision of 'hard facts' on the social-economic position of migrants.

In terms of coordination, the role of the SCP was to be instrumental and functional to policy departments.[241] The evaluations of the position of minorities in various domains would enable various government departments to evaluate the effectiveness of their approach, and to adapt their approach if necessary. Furthermore, the contract with the Home Affairs Department gave this department an important say about the domains that the SCP should focus on. Instrumentality and functionality meant in this respect that the role of the SCP in relation to government was demand-driven.

The SCP in this period was careful not to venture beyond this instrumental role. It did not repeat its criticism on multiculturalism from its 1986 Social and Cultural Report until the Social and Cultural Report from 1998. However, Van Praag, one of the leading researchers of the SCP and responsible for the studies on immigrant integration, continued his criticism on multiculturalism in columns in

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[238] Interview secretary of ACOM.
[239] Interview with researcher of the SCP.
[240] Interview director of the ISEO.
[241] Interview director of the SCP.

the scientific journal 'Migrantenstudies'. He published these columns under a pseudonym, Vyvary, so as to be able to speak out freely and to avoid that his statements would reflect upon the SCP (Van Praag, 2003: 74).[242]

Van der Zwan and Entzinger: Entrepreneurial boundary work

Both Van der Zwan and Entzinger were experts known for advocating a different approach to immigrant integration. Van der Zwan had already advocated a more obligatory approach in which labour would be the main means for integration as a member of the WRR Council that developed the 1979 report on Ethnic Minorities.[243] Entzinger had proposed a similar 'activating' approach to social-economic participation of migrants as the main author of the 1989 WRR report. The national minorities debate that emerged in 1992 following the statements of Bolkestein had led to a broader public and political acceptation of such a more activating approach to immigrant integration primarily by means of labour and education. However, this had not yet led to concrete policy changes in this direction. In this respect, Van der Zwan and Entzinger would play an important role in this period as entrepreneurs in the translation of this activating approach into concrete policy measures.

In terms of demarcation, Van der Zwan and Entzinger defined their roles in a way that stressed the political and policy relevance of their advice. Their aim was 'not to come with lengthy analyses, but with concrete proposals that could be realised by politics.'[244] Furthermore, these concrete proposals would have to be practically feasible. To make sure that the proposals in the report would be realisable in practice, the document was subjected to debate in two 'mini-conferences' with various actors involved in policy practice; 'this way, we not only made sure that our plans were legally and economically feasible, but also that there was a certain public support for it, especially amongst those who were directly involved in the practice of immigrant integration' (Van der Zwan and Entzinger, 1994: 1). Furthermore, political support was generated by involving various political parties in the making of the report. The Minister of Home Affairs (Dales) and Van der Zwan were both members of the Social Democrat Party. The director general of the Home Affairs Department, who, at that time, played an important role in the request to Van der Zwan and Entzinger for this report (Van Aartsen), was a member of the Liberal Party. In addition, Entzinger was a member of the Democrat Party. One of the reasons for involving these three political parties was that it was than already assumed that these parties would be involved in the formation of a new government coalition in 1994:

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[242] Interview researcher of the SCP.

[243] Cit. Van der Zwan, in TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 10: p.181.

[244] Ibid.

'During the preparation of our proposals, we immediately looked at the support it would raise. Endless debates were held to estimate how the plans could be received. Entzinger was involved because it was thought that D66 [Liberal Democrat Party] would be involved in the next formation. I was involved because of my affiliations to the PvdA [Social Democrat Party]. The aim was to achieve a certain acceptation.'[245]

In addition to this orientation on public and political support, it was clear that Van der Zwan and Entzinger shared the same ideas about a more obligatory approach to immigrant integration, and that both focused on labour as the means for achieving integration. They shared a more or less similar frame.[246] In this respect, their way of demarcating their role from established immigrant integration reflected that of the 1989 WRR report. Both resisted the tendency to ignore the 'contra-indications' that illustrated the deficiencies of the multiculturalist approach.[247] Van der Zwan noted:

'We knew each other from WRR networks: it is like one family. He strongly agreed with the tone of the second WRR report (...). The report also states clearly that we were unhappy about the practical consequences that had been given to that WRR report. So, that was the motivation. We could not name it 'policy succession WRR report', because then it would be too much of the WRR, and because we had already had the minorities debate in between. So, there was a clear link between the second WRR report, the minorities debate and the report 'policy succession minorities debate.'[248]

In terms of coordination, the Van der Zwan and Entzinger report was directly aimed at influencing the coalition formation of 1994. There was a belief that the minorities debate and the report by Van der Zwan from 1992 still had too little impact on concrete policy measures. This was the background for top administrators from the Home Affairs Department and the Minister of Home Affairs to ask advice, and also the background for Van der Zwan and Entzinger to be involved in this advice. The parliamentary elections that were held in May 1994 would provide a window of opportunity for achieving more concrete policy effects. This was especially so because of the foreseen decline of the Christian Democrats that had led government since 1982 (three cabinets led by Prime Minister Lubbers) and had been consistently involved in government since World War II. The aim was to have an advisory report that could be used during the formation of a new government coalition in 1994, hence the timing of the publication of the report, May

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[245] Ibid.

[246] Although there were differences in terms of the extent to which they advocated a more obligatory approach, and what sanctions would be best fit to achieve such a more obligatory approach. Interview Entzinger, and cit. Van der Zwan, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 10: 181.

[247] Cit. Van der Zwan, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 10: 181.

[248] Interview Entzinger.

1994. Also, Van der Zwan and Entzinger stood in close contact with the leaders of the various political parties during these coalition formations (Van Thijn, 1994: 256-257).[249]

Thus, different boundary work practices were found for varoius actors in the research field in this period. The WRR strategically demarcated the role of its report from established minorities policy as well as research to develop a fundamentally new perspective on immigrant integration for both fields (as part of its broader agenda on welfare state reform). Similar to the WRR, Van der Zwan and Entzinger also tried to achieve a breakthrough in the structure-induced equilibrium of multiculturalism. However, they did so through a more entrepreneurial sort of boundary work, demarcating its role as ensuring the feasibility of the new approach and coordinating it directly with ongoing political developments, such as the coalition formation in 1994. The ACOM, before being dissolved in 1992, responded to the 1989 WRR report with a more expulsionary sort of boundary work, holding on to the prevailing way of demarcating minorities research and coordinating its relation with policy and minority groups, and denouncing the WRR report as 'un-scientific' based on these demarcation and coordination criteria. Finally, the role of the SCP was clearly demarcated as a provider of quantitative data on minorities and coordinated with policy in terms of instrumentality and functionality, although there were indications that the SCP adopted a more critical stance toward multiculturalism.

6.2.2   The field of policy-making

In the field of policy-making, the Home Affairs Department remained a central actor, as did political actors that became increasingly involved in this domain. The positions of these actors changed in this period, as the coordinating role of the Home Affairs Department weakened and politicization triggered more open public and political debate on immigrant integration. In this section, I will examine the effect of these structural changes on the boundary work practices of these actors.

Home Affairs Department: Changing position, changing boundary work

As coordinating department, the Home Affairs Department was involved in the established research-policy nexus from the early 1980s. However, the position of this department changed in the late 1980s and early 1990s, as its coordinating role became weaker due to functional and territorial decentralisation of the Integration Policy.

The advisory request to the WRR in 1987 was a first indication that this changing position also led to changing boundary work practices of this actor. The Minister of Home Affairs sought new advice from the WRR in response to growing pressure in parliament on the coordinating role of this department. On the one

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[249] Interview Entzinger.

hand, the Minister faced pressure to fulfil its coordinating role in response to signs that policy effectiveness would be insufficient in mainly material areas. [250] On the other hand, he faced difficulties to achieve interdepartmental coordination, as various departments increasingly chose to follow their own policy lines, in part because of great pressure on these departments for budget cuts.[251] This tension surfaced in 1986 when disagreement emerged in parliament about what seemed to be inconsistencies in the budgets as presented by the coordinating minister and those presented by the departments themselves.[252] There was an agreement between government departments that there would be no budget cuts for the Minorities Policy. Nonetheless, disagreement emerged about changes in departmental budgets that seemed to reveal cut-backs on measures taken in the context of the Minorities Policy (amongst others Education and Social Affairs) (Koolen, 2003: 25). Although the coordinating minister denied that any budget cuts would have taken place, this disagreement was an indication of the growing pressure on the coordinating role of the Minister of Home Affairs and the alleged difficulties of interdepartmental coordination. [253] The Minister faced a further constraint on his scope of action because of the norm that this should be kept a non-partisan issue. '[T]here was a sort of unwritten code between political parties not to engage in debates (...) that could lead to stigmatisation of minorities.' [254] Together with the problems of interdepartmental coordination, this constraint made the annual debates on the action programs for the Minorities Policy into 'annual rounds of beating up on the Minister'.[255]

In response to this political pressure and constraints on interdepartmental coordination, the Home Affairs Minister (Van Dijk) decided to issue an advisory request to the WRR. As discussed earlier, this advisory request was formulated together with the Minorities Policy Directorate, still led by Molleman, and with the WRR itself. The advisory request demarcated an interest in a specific type of expertise, which is on integration in material areas. According to Van Putten, research manager at the Minorities Policy Directorate at that time, the department had an interest in more evaluative research about what kind of approach works and what does not work (Van Putten, 1990: 366). This demand for more evaluative expertise was a consequence of the ongoing process of institutionalisation of the minorities policy. Now the Minorities Policy had been formulated and had entered implementation stage, there was more demand for knowledge concerning the effectiveness of policy measures rather than concerning fundamental questions concerning problem framing. In this respect, the ACOM would have been left

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[250] Interview with civil servant from Minorities Policy Directorate.

[251] Interview Molleman. Also, Molleman, 1978.

[252] Kamerstukken II, 1986-1987, 19700, nr.65.

[253] Interview civil servant of Minorities Policy Directorate.

[254] Interview with civil servant from Minorities Policy Directorate.

[255] Ibid.

behind in terms of responding to this changing demand for expertise. For instance, the ACOM would have failed to respond to the growing demand of government for research that could monitor the progress of integration in specific domains, such as the Accessibility and Proportionality project on the monitoring of minority participation in mainly social-economic spheres that was eventually given to a new research institute (the ISEO) without involving the ACOM in this decision.[256] Whereas the ACOM had been closely involved in establishing the minorities policy, now its role became more marginal. In the late 1980s, the Department of Home Affairs would start to play a more active role in research programming. In fact, the ACOM was not even involved or notified about the advisory request to the WRR until a relatively late stage (Van Putten, 1990).

In addition, the advisory request contained a specific idea about the coordination of this report with ongoing policy developments. It should provide suggestions about a new approach of government policy in these domains. Therefore, the advisory request offered a clear political statement about the need for a different approach. This resulted in a crisis about the current policy coordination structure.[257] This crisis was invigorated when the WRR, having interpreted the advisory request in a broad way, came out with a fundamentally new policy perspective in its 1989 report, which also addressed the position of the minorities policy directorate. Instead of having a strong coordinating role, the role of this directorate would only be to monitor the headlines of the Integration Policy.

The position of the minorities policy directorate changed significantly in the late 1980s. This was indicated amongst others by the renaming of the directorate in the Directorate Headlines of the Minorities Policy. Following the 1989 WRR report, and the departure of the director Molleman, the coordinating role was further reformulated in 1991.[258] Policy responsibility was now located more clearly with the various departments responsible for specific programs in their sectors, and the role for a severely downsized Directorate for the Coordination of the Integration of Minorities (DCIM) would be to coordinate the measures taken in various domains by means of monitoring of policy results(Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 90).[259]

The changing position of the Home Affairs Department involved another way of demarcating and coordinating the role of research in policy formulation than had been customary in the established research-policy nexus of the early 1980s. Instead of research that provided expertise on the position of minorities to aid policy formulation, it now had a more specific interest in more evaluative research that could be used for the evaluation of policies conducted in various policy sectors. It is in this context that the Department of Home Affairs came to an agreement with the SCP for regular Minorities Reports. In terms of coordination of research-policy

[256] Ibid.
[257] Interview civil servant of Minorities Policy Directorate.
[258] TK, 1990-1991, 21472, nr.15.
[259] Ibid.

relations, this data on the social position of minorities in various policy sectors, especially labour, education and housing, had an instrumental role in the Department of Home Affairs' interdepartmental coordination of the integration policy. It allowed this department to evaluate policy results in various policy sectors and appeal to the responsible policy departments to take appropriate policy measures.[260] Also, through the open publication of the data gathered by the SCP, the Home Affairs Department could more easily put issues on the agenda, so as to stimulate policy measures through this venue. The director of DCIM declared:

> 'At the department, we reflected about what we wanted to know based on the policy goals. (...) This concerned the groups of which we want to know things, involving a limited number of target groups (...). This concerned also what we wanted to know of these groups, involving their position in labour, education and housing. (...). We wanted to have two types of studies, one annually about where we stand at that moment, and biannual in-depth studies of specific topics. (...) This means that, for instance, when the department of education says it is going very well with education for minorities (...), but research initiated by our department showed that this was not the case, that this issue could then be put on the political and public agenda (...). Consequently, it would be reported to Parliament or written about in the media, so that the minister of education and his civil servants could be held accountable. (...) This meant that we organised our information position based on ideas about what you wanted to know about which groups. (...) This has proven to be a very effective coordination mechanism.'[261]

The request for advice on the policy succession of the minorities debate from the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger also served a strategic purpose for the coordinating position of the Home Affairs Department. The national minorities debate had created a renewed political sense of urgency about immigrant integration, and the conferences held by the Home Affairs Department had led to ideas for the development of civic integration programs. According to the director of DCIM:

> 'The Home Affairs Department found itself in a difficult position; it was responsible for coordination, but lacked the appropriate means. So we had been thinking, who can we ask to give advice with real pragmatic meaning, as much has already been written.(...) And we found that they had the quality, Entzinger the substance, and Van der Zwan also the means for presentation. (...) So, it really had to do with strategic positioning. What did not succeed with the WRR report and the government Reply Memorandum, was to get the financial means for a civic integration policy.'[262]

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[260] Interview with director of Minorities Policy Directorate.
[261] Ibid.
[262] Ibid.

By demarcating the role of this advice as providing concrete policy proposals that could lean on sufficiently broad support and on the authority of the involved experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger, the department hoped to coordinate the relations with ongoing political developments (coalition formation in 1994) in a way that would stimulate the making of concrete policy choices. This concerned in particular the idea for the civic integration programs, which the Department of Home Affairs wanted to obtain under its departmental coordinating role. Thus far, these courses had, on a limited scale, been provided by the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work. Entzinger and Van der Zwan's report was thus a strategic initiative to make these courses the responsibility of the Home Affairs Department.[263] Indeed, following the coalition formation of 1994, civic integration programs would be developed by this department, and during the 1990s would grow into one of the most important facets of the Integration Policy.

The boundary work of this department thus changed significantly in this period. In contrast to its role in the established research-policy nexus of the early 1980s, its way of demarcating and coordinating research-policy relations changed in the second half of the 1980s. It demarcated a more specific interest in evaluative research, and coordinated the role of this research to policy development in more instrumental and functional terms. This changing boundary work is particularly manifest in its relation to the SCP, but it was also manifest in the advisory request to the WRR, although the WRR would eventually demarcate and coordinate its role differently. Finally, the minorities debate in the early 1990s seems to have given occasion to more entrepreneurial boundary work of the Home Affairs Department, in an attempt to strengthen its coordinating role in response to the rising sense of urgency and changing public and political discourse.

Politics: the boundary work of politicization

In the early nineties, political actors became more openly involved in public debates about immigrant integration. Especially the minorities debate in 1992 triggered a broad political sense of urgency. However, before this debate, the Prime Minister made public statements that hinted at a different approach to immigrant integration, reflecting the recommendations of the 1989 WRR report. Fermin observed a rather general shift from emancipation to integration in political discourse in this period (Fermin, 1997: 211). Also, there was general agreement about the need for additional policy efforts for achieving social-economic participation (ibid: 227). Political differences persisted, however, mainly on social-cultural issues, which gradually shifted to the background.

This politicization involved a different way of demarcating the roles of research and policy-making. The technocratic research-policy nexus of the early 1980s involved a demarcation of immigrant integration as a non-political issue that was delegated rather to researchers and policy-makers that would develop a

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[263] Ibid.

rational policy approach based on policy-relevant knowledge and expertise. Bolkestein now clearly defined immigrant integration as a political issue. He stated in the media that he no longer wanted to have his party's position hidden out of fear that extreme-right parties could play the race card, arguing that 'when a democratically elected politician fails to put this major issue crystal-clear on the table, then he is functioning inadequately.' [264] In this context, he pled for the eradication of taboos and for an open debate on this issue, saying, 'The integration of minorities is such a complex issue that it can only be resolved with courage and creativity (...). [I]n this there is no space for lack of engagement and for taboos (...), [A] broad debate in which all political parties participate is required (..).' [265] Bolkestein's statements, and also the many responses that it triggered, were not just about the issue of immigrant integration, but also about the demaracation of the role of politics in dealing with immigrant integration. He wanted to rid political involvement in this domain of the sense of 'political correctness', which implied 'that one could not have the courage to name sensitive issues' as a sort of 'self-restriction (...) that limited one's perception.'[266]

Prins has described this new mode of political discourse as 'new realism' (1997; 2000). This involves, first of all, an eradication of taboos; reality would have to be represented 'as it is', without the burden of taboos or distorting values and interests. This would be a representation of typical Dutch 'virtues', such as honesty, courage and soberness. Also, new realism claimed to represent the opinion of the 'ordinary citizen' that had thus far been largely ignored. Instead of avoiding debate and conflict, new realism meant engagement in debate with immigrants, as a signal that these immigrants are taken 'seriously'. Taking immigrants seriously meant treating them as equals and not as dependents; immigrants had become citizens, and new realism would appeal to the civic duties of migrants. As such, it reinforced a universalist problem frame that defined immigrants as equals, rather than a problem frame that stressed the specificity of minorities.

In terms of coordination, the politicization in this period did not mean that scientific research was entirely ignored. Instead, Bolkestein and Lubbers made explicit references to the reports from the WRR from 1979 and 1989. Also in the broader public and political debate, the 1989 WRR report in particular played an important role. In the parliamentary hearing surrounding this minorities debate, the 1989 report was honoured for its contribution to the sober and realist tone of the debate, and that in contrast to prior publications emotions did not gain the upper hand(Koolen & Tempelman, 2003: 94).[267] However, the way in which reference was

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[264] 'Integratie, een probleem van allereerste orde', in Haagsche courant, 12 September 1991.

[265] Ibid.

[266] Cit. in Blok, 2004: 75.

[267] Parliamentary Treaties, TK 1992-1993, 4-167/190 and 5-193/220.

made to scientific research became clearly more selective in this period. Whereas the 1989 WRR report became a benchmark in public and political discourse, other studies (such as the 1986 WRR report *A Fair Chance* and its 1989 report *A Better Policy*?) seem to have played only a marginal role.

Thus, in the field of policy-making, the pattern of boundary work seems to have changed significantly in comparison to the period examined in the preceding chapter. Instead of demanding policy-relevant knowledge about the position of minorities for policy formulation, the Home Affairs Department now demanded more evaluative knowledge and expertise that it could use to strengthen its position in interdepartmental policy coordination. Its relation to the SCP involved a more instrumental type of boundary work, whereas its relation to the WRR, and later Van der Zwan and Entzinger, involved a more strategic type of boundary work. Furthermore, political actors in this period changed their boundary work from defining immigrant integration as a non-political issue best left to researchers and policy-makers, to defining it as a political issue on which politicians should have no constraints on expressing their opinions. In this context, specific scientific studies that reinforced the changing mode of political discourse, especially the 1989 WRR report, continued to play an influential role.

6.2.3   An enlightenment boundary configuration

The next step is to examine the more structural configuration of research-policy relations as a product of these different boundary work practices. Was the technocratic boundary configuration from the early 1980s maintained, or did a different type of nexus emerge? By looking at the structure of the interaction between research and policy, I will try to establish to what extent the roles of research and policy were convergent or divergent (direct relations, or indirect relations) and to what extent either scientific research determined policy-making or vice versa (scientific primacy, political primacy). Based on these two structural dimensions of the interaction between research and policy, we can then describe the boundary configuration in this period in terms of technocracy, enlightenment, engineering or bureaucracy.

Divergence in research-policy relations

The technocratic research-policy nexus of the previous period involved a direct involvement of researchers in the formulation of the Minorities Policy, and of policy-makers in research developments. In the late 1980s, the WRR played a key role in creating more divergence in this relationship, in a deliberate way. The WRR dissociated itself from the established research and policy fields in an attempt to raise a fundamentally new (universalist) perspective in both fields. Consequently, its 1989 report '*Immigrant Policy*', especially its new perspective, was not directly utilised in government policy. Not only did the ACOM respond with expulsionary boundary work, but the Home Affairs Department did not immediately give effect

to the new perspective and the consequences it would have for the coordinating department. Although the Reply Memorandum adopted various elements of the 1989 report, it did not take over some of its most fundamental elements, such as the definition of 'allochthonous' and the rights-and-duties perspective on integration through labour market and education.

The report did, however, have a more significant effect on public and political discourse. It triggered broad attention in the national media, illustrated by many headings that claimed that the WRR had shown that the Minorities Policy had failed, and that policy would have too much 'coddled' minorities.[268] Several weeks before the WRR report was to be made public, it was 'leaked' to the press, who immediately picked up its sense of urgency, evidenced by headlines such as 'The WRR attacks the Minorities Policy' and 'The WRR sweeps the floor with the Minorities Policy'.[269] Although the WRR nowhere stated in its report that the Minorities Policy had been a failure, this became the main point that was taken up in the media. Furthermore, most political parties positively received the report, and Prime Minister Lubbers also approvingly referred to the WRR report when he was one of the first to break the taboos on politicization in 1990. Also, the report indirectly affected the changes of the coordinating role of the Home Affairs Department in this domain, and the development of the DCIM in particular.

Several years later, this attention for the 1989 WRR report was revived by the national minorities debate that emerged in 1992. During this national minorities debate, it became clear that the more activating social-economic approach to immigrant integration that the WRR had proposed, had now become more broadly accepted in public and political discourse. It was in the aftermath of this national minorities debate that policy was reframed according to the universalist perspective that the WRR had raised.

Scientific research was involved in this reformulation, but not in a structural way as in the late 1970s and early 1980s and also not in a way that involved established research institutes such as the WRR or ACOM. Rather, individual experts (Van der Zwan and Entzinger) played an active role as entrepreneurs in the diffusion of the perspective that had been developed in the 1989 WRR report to policy-makers and politicians. This involved not so much the further development of this universalist perspective, but rather the generation of public and political support for it and an attempt to make use of the window of opportunity of the 1994 coalition formation to have this perspective translated into concrete policy initiatives. However, this involvement was not structural, but rather an incidental 'coalition of convenience' between the Home Affairs Department and the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger that, after the national minorities debate, both shared a similar universalist perspective.

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[268] Amongst others; 'Doodgeknuffeld' (Elsevier, 18 February 1989); 'Ethnic groups have been cuddled to death' (De Volkskrant, 18 June 1988).

[269] NRC Handelsblad, 10 May 1989.

Also in relation to research, there seems to have been more divergence than in the early 1980s. Whereas the ACOM had played a central role in the provision of policy-relevant knowledge for policy formulation, this institutional nexus was dissolved when the ACOM was discontinued in 1992. During the 1980s, as the Minorities Policy became more and more institutionalised, government demand for expertise changed. It developed a new interest in more evaluative expertise, whose relation to policy development is indirect. The instrumental data that was provided by SCP was only indirectly related to policy development as a means for interdepartmental policy coordination. It offered a tool for monitoring policy results in various domains rather than a direct means for influencing policy development.

In contrast to this divergence to policy-making and research, there seems to have been at least some convergence in terms of personal networks among experts involved in the 1989 WRR report and politicians. Amongst others Albeda, chairman of the WRR and also chair of the project group for the second WRR report, had a political background. He had been minister of Social Affairs from 1977 to 1981, and maintained close contacts with the incumbent prime minister who was from the same party (Christian Democrats). Furthermore, Entzinger, one of the main authors of the 1989 WRR report, maintained close contacts with the minorities policy directorate as well as with the Prime Minister's Cabinet. These contacts seem to have played an important role in the formulation of the advisory request to the WRR. Therefore, the divergence that was created between the role of the WRR and that of established research and policy was a product of deliberate design by the WRR in the context of ongoing political developments.

Scientific primacy
There are indications in this period of scientific primacy as well as to some extent political primacy. An important indication of primacy of scientific research in this period was the great influence that the 1989 WRR report had on the development of the Integration Policy. Although, as we observed, it did not immediately trigger policy change, it did trigger public and political debate that would eventually lead to policy changes. It punctuated the structure-induced equilibrium in both research and policy, by making immigrant integration an issue of broader scientific and political debate. Thereby it created a setting in which policy change and change in research became possible. This involved challenging the structural position of established researchers (ACOM) and the position of established policy actors (Minorities Policy Directorate). Furthermore, the influence of the WRR on policy developments also concerned the activating welfare state perspective on immigrant integration. In the Contours Memorandum of 1994, many aspects of the 1989 WRR report were taken over, including its more open way of categorizing migrants and its causal theory of achieving immigrant integration by activating migrants in the social-economic spheres of labour and education.

At the same time, there are also some indications of rising political primacy. Especially the politicization that was triggered by the National Minorities Debate indicates the growing involvement of political actors in this domain. This debate put immigrant integration firmly on the political agenda, punctuating the norm of depoliticization in this field. Also, the role of the SCP and its relation to government since the early 1990s provides some indications of growing political primacy. The Home Affairs Department gradually took up a more active role in research programming during the 1990s, especially in stimulating more evaluative research (Van Putten, 1990). The agreement with the SCP on the provision of quantitative data regarding the position of minorities in specific domains was a concrete manifestation of the influence of policy on research developments. In this respect, the strong role of research actors (ACOM) in research programming made place for a stronger role of government in research programming.

The changes in the policy field in the early 1990s seem to have been conditional upon the politicization during the National Minorities Debate following Bolkestein's statements about the need for a more courageous approach towards the integration of migrants. However, when we look at the actual relations between research and policy actors in this period and the influence on policy developments, a more primary role of research emerges. Political actors as Bolkestein and Lubbers strongly founded their political claims on the reports of the WRR in particular, especially the 1989 WRR report. Furthermore, the national minorities debate itself seems to have had little direct effect on policy developments; the political ideas about policy change seem to have remained abstract rather than concrete.[270] At this stage, the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger played a central role in the translation of the universalist perspective into concrete policy choices. The influence of the WRR report on policy developments was also manifest in the Contours Memorandum that was issued by the renewed Minorities Policy Directorate in this period.

Thus, beyond the looks of politicization in this period, a more primary role of research emerges. It was the WRR that first put immigrant integration on the agenda in 1989, opening debate on the level of problem framing about a new perspective on immigrant integration and challenging the structural equilibrium in this field. The politicization after the national minorities debate took this debate to the political arena, but did not so much effectuate specific policy change. It did create a political environment for policy change in which many ideas from the 1989 WRR report were revived. In terms of policy reframing, the changes that were to come in the early 1990s reflected primarily the ideas from the 1989 WRR report. In fact, the translation of the new perspective of the WRR into concrete policy plans was aided by efforts of involved researchers, Entzinger and Van der Zwan, themselves.

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[270] Interview Entzinger; also, cit Van der Zwan in Blok, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 10: 180.

Thus, the structure of the interaction between research and policy in this period was characterised by divergence of the roles of research and policy and by moderate scientific primacy in terms of research influence on policy developments. This means that the boundary configuration in this period can be described with reference to the enlightenment model of the research-policy nexus. The role and influence of the 1989 WRR report on policy developments in the early 1990s especially reflects the model of a gradual enlightenment of government and politics based on scientific research. At the same time, some indications were observed of a rising political primacy in the coordination of research on a more instrumental level. In this respect, the enlightenment boundary configuration on the level of problem framing seems to have been combined with a more bureaucratic model on the level of more instrumental research and policy developments.

This enlightenment model does not seem to have been the product of structural developments within the fields of immigrant integration research and policy itself, but rather of structural developments beyond the scope of this issue domain. It was a product of the political agenda of the WRR in this period, and of the structural position it had obtained by then to achieve this agenda. The construction of an enlightenment type of nexus was part of the strategy of the WRR to punctuate the structure-induced equilibrium in immigrant integration research and policy during the 1980s. Furthermore, this enlightenment nexus was mediated by the political context in this period. During the 1980s, a politics of welfare state retrenchment had been conducted in many policy domains, but not in the domain of immigrant integration for specific reasons (such as the taboos that surrounded an activating approach to immigrant integration and the idea that minorities were especially vulnerable because of the overall economic decline). The construction of an enlightenment nexus offered a legitimate way to connect this political discourse to the domain of immigrant integration, and thereby also punctuate the established structure-induced equilibrium in this domain.

6.3   Enlightenment and frame-shifts

Following this analysis of how and why an enlightenment type of research-policy nexus was constructed in this period, the next step is to analyse the influence of this enlightenment nexus on the frame-shifts in research and policy, its role in the rise of a universalist frame in particular and, finally, the extent to which this role involved critical frame reflection.

6.3.1   The structural effects of enlightenment

First of all, the role of the enlightenment nexus in frame-shifts in research and policy will be analysed by studying the effects of this boundary configuration on the structural positions of actors within the fields of research and policy. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, a frame-shift will take place when the structure of a field, and consequently the structural positions of actors within this field, is changed. Hence, I will look for indications of the role of this nexus in either

sustaining the structural positions of established actors (negative feedback) or changing these positions (positive feedback).

Enlightenment as a source of positive feedback

The enlightenment type of boundary configuration had a disturbing effect on the structural symbiosis between established research and policy actors in this domain. In particular, the boundary work of the WRR was strategically aimed against established minorities policy as well as research. The universalist approach that framed integration policy as an intensification of general policy, which the WRR put on the agenda, weakened the position of the minorities policy directorate that advocated a specific (multiculturalist) approach to ethnic minorities. Furthermore, it challenged the position of the ACOM that had thus far maintained a central position in the immigrant integration field by excluding the ACOM from this WRR project and adopting an individualist and activating welfare state approach to immigrant integration. This approach contrasted sharply with the specific focus on the position of ethnic minorities and issues such as discrimination and emancipation, which were propagated by the ACOM.

In fact, as we have observed, these actors involved in the structural symbiosis between minorities research and minorities policy also mobilised significant negative feedback toward the 1989 WRR report. The ACOM denounced the WRR report as 'un-scientific', based on its own demarcation and coordination criteria of minorities research. Furthermore, the minorities policy directorate initially refused to give full consequence to the WRR report, arguing that the minorities policy had not failed but had merely not yet succeeded.

The enlightenment boundary configuration was primarily a product of the boundary work of the WRR and of political actors. For the WRR, this report constituted an important success story in achieving its agenda on welfare state reform. Although the report initially led to debates about the scientific status of the WRR, especially in breaking the alleged taboos about discussing the rights and duties of immigrants, the report eventually provided a boost to the authority of the WRR in dealing with controversial policy topics (Hirsch-Ballin, 1997: 116). For the second time, the WRR had issued a report that would mark a turning point in immigrant integration policy.

For political actors, the enlightenment boundary configuration provided a way of punctuating the structure-induced equilibrium that had so long insulated this policy domain from broader political developments. The politics of welfare state retrenchment that had already affected many social policy domains, now also penetrated the domain of immigrant integration policy. Important was that the enlightenment configuration, supported by the scientific authority of the WRR and the experts involved in the 1989 report, provided a legitimate venue for connecting this issue to the broader concerns about the welfare state, as the taboos surrounding this topic and the norm of de-politicization blocked other venues from raising such

a perspective. Even when Lubbers and Bolkestein triggered a broader politicization of this issue, they often referred to the WRR as an authoritative source for their political claims.

The negative feedback of a new structure-induced equilibrium

The enlightenment configuration, with a strong involvement of the WRR, was thus successful in changing public and political discourse and altering the positions of involved actors. With the establishment of the new universalist approach, there was a growing need for more practical and instrumental expertise for the construction of a new structure-induced equilibrium around this approach. In the policy field, this involved a structural repositioning of the Home Affairs Department, in which the SCP and the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger played a strategic role. In the research field, this involved a structural positioning of the SCP and until 1996 the TWCM.

The Home Affairs Department, in particular the drastically reformed DCIM, attempted to strengthen its structural position within the new universalist approach by organising its information position in relation to other departments. The Minorities Reports from the SCP provided an instrument for the interdepartmental coordination of the Integration Policy. With this SCP data, the Home Affairs Department could influence the policies of other departments by presenting data on the position of minorities in specific areas that fell under the responsibility of specific departments. Furthermore, the Van der Zwan and Entzinger report in the aftermath of the minorities debate formed an important strategic initiative for getting the provision of civic integration programs under the responsibility of the Home Affairs Department. This strategic move would indeed prove to have a great effect on the position of this department in the Integration Policy of the 1990s. However, the Home Affairs Department continued to cope with problems of interdepartmental coordination. This is illustrated aptly by a passage in the memoirs of the former Minister of Home Affairs Van Thijn about interdepartmental debates about the Contours Memorandum that was to be published in 1994:

> 'The interdepartmental debate on the contours memorandum ends up in a battle. From all sides, severe objections are made. (...) When I see the notes of [the Minister of Education] I become very angry. He suggests getting rid of almost all the plans that fall in his domain. (...) The content of the memorandum suffers severely under these debates. The formulations that had made this memorandum so powerful had been severely tuned down. There is no longer question of a re-calibration of policy, for which had been asked (...). The word 'recalibration' has been systematically deleted' (Van Thijn, 1994: 115-120).

In the field of research, the SCP now for the first time obtained a more central position. During the 1990s, it became the most important provider of data on the position of minorities in various domains. However, no organisation during the 1990s obtained a central position within the field of immigration research similar to

the position the ACOM had held during the 1980s. The bi-partite TWCM for some time played a role in the desemination of reseach findings towards policy practices, but was dissolved in 1996.

The enlightenment configuration thus played an important role in reinforcing the structural conditions for frame-shifts in research and policy. It was a source of positive feedback by disturbing the structural symbiosis between established actors in the fields of research and policy (ACOM, minorities policy directorate) and strengthening the position of other actors in this period (WRR, political actors, Home Affairs Department or DCIM after 1990). The fact that the research-policy nexus was structured according to an enlightenment type of nexus was of great relevance, as this created a legitimate and effective way for punctuating the structure-induced equilibrium from the 1980s that involved such a powerful structural symbiosis between specific actors but also powerful taboos and norms of de-politicization. Since about 1990, when the enlightenment configuration appeared more and more successful, the more instrumental and strategic role of research (SCP, Van der Zwan and Entzinger) contributed to the establishment of a new structure-induced equilibrium around the universalist perspective in policy (Home Affairs Department) and in research (SCP).

6.3.2 Enlightenment and universalism

The enlightenment configuration contributed to the occurrence of frame-shifts, but did it also contribute to the rise of universalism in particular? Finding the answer requires an examination, from a structuralist-constructivist perspective, of whether the enlightenment configuration created specific structural conditions for the rise of universalism.

The Integration Policy: From logic of minorities to logic of equity

The structure-induced equilibrium of the 1980s created structural conditions for the rise of multiculturalism by confining the scope of policy and research debate to a limited circle of actors that focused specifically on minorities. Thereby, it contributed to the 'logic of minorities' in both research and policy, which was relatively insulated from broader issues in other policy domains and in other scientific disciplines.

By punctuating this structure-induced equilibrium, the enlightenment configuration seems to have contributed, at least, to the fall of this logic of minorities. By connecting the issue of immigrant integration to broader concerns in policy and politics about the welfare state, it provided the structural foundation for a more general perspective on immigrant integration. The specificity of minorities, in terms of, for instance, their ethnic or cultural status, now shifted to the background, as migrants were perceived as citizens. As with any other citizens, migrants would have the same rights and duties in their participation within the Dutch society. Thus, this citizenship perspective introduced the logic of equity

rather than the logic of minorities, thereby contributing to the rise of universalism and to the fall of multiculturalism.[271]

A concrete illustration of this logic of equity versus logic of minorities concerns the interpretation of data on immigrant unemployment, one of the central issues in this period. As perceived from the logic of minorities, immigrant unemployment is explained in relation to specific traits of minorities. This concerns their ethnic or cultural status and the problems of discrimination that this could raise, or their social position and the problems associated to specific sectors in which migrants are employed (low-wage, low-education, labour-intensive industries). Therefore, immigrant unemployment requires, from this perspective, a specific approach to the specific situation of minorities. In contrast, as perceived from the logic of equity, immigrant unemployment is compared with the levels of unemployment amongst natives. Higher unemployment amongst migrants would mean that migrants perform weaker on the labour market because of specific deficiencies in comparison to natives. Consequently, an approach would have to be developed to counter these deficiencies, rather than one that takes these deficiencies into account as in the logic of minorities.

This logic of equity was clearly manifest in the focus on citizenship that emerged in the Integration Policy and in the functional decentralisation of the Integration Policy to various sector departments, illustrating that the Integration Policy was a more general policy than the more specific Minorities Policy. Furthermore, an important facet of this logic of equity was its stress on breaking taboos concerning immigrant integration. These alleged taboos would have prevented migrants from being treated as equals with Dutch natives. In the early 1990s, the politicization triggered by Lubbers (who was 'losing his patience with minorities') and Bolkestein (who stressed the importance of universal liberal principles) broke these taboos, and a new realist discourse emerged that claimed openness in the debate about immigrant integration, including negative facets such as criminality and reliance on welfare state facilities. At least partially, this shift toward the logic of equity reflected a more general trend in government policies. The politics of welfare state retrenchment involved a broader trend from 'soft-compensatory' to 'achievement-based' policy measures.

Minorities research: Scientific habitus at stake

Also in the field of scientific research, the enlightenment configuration posed a challenge to the established logic of minorities. Although it did not alter the structure of the field of scientific research to a same extent as the policy field (the Minorities Paradigm was not dissolved, but structurally challenged by a rival Citizenship Paradigm), the enlightenment configuration also contributed to a different logic of framing immigrant integration in this field.

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[271] Mariën (1992: 10) names the 'logic of equity' in an analysis of this debate.

The enlightenment configuration challenged the established way of studying immigrant integration, which was strongly influenced by the anthropological tradition. This involved specific research methods (field research) and a specific ethos (engagement with minorities). The enlightenment research-policy nexus created an opportunity for developing an alternative research perspective, beyond the established field structure and the role of the ACOM in that respect.

The WRR played an especially central role in this respect. Because of its structural position beyond the scope of the immigrant integration research field and its central position in relation to government, the WRR provided an effective venue for experts like Albeda and Entzinger who advocated an alternative perspective on immigrant integration. Furthermore, the interdisciplinary composition of the WRR played an important role in developing a broader scientific perspective on immigrant integration. This was illustrated by the involvement of, besides Entzinger, several experts from other domains such as law and economics.

This structural position and multidisciplinary composition enabled the WRR to punctuate the dominant logic of minorities in the field of immigrant integration research. It was not institutionally involved in research of minorities alone, but in fact, as we observed, carried a broader agenda on welfare state reform in this period. Furthermore, because of its multidisciplinary composition it adopted a perspective on immigrant integration from disciplines that are (generally) colour-blind, or blind to the relevance of ethnic or cultural factors, such as economic and law. In fact, the involvement of a council member with a legal background played an important role in the making of the 1989 WRR report in developing a principle of 'substantive neutrality', indicating that government should observe in policies in the cultural domain.

Thus, the enlightenment configuration contributed in both fields to a more generalist focus on minorities, shifting the specificity of the situation of minorities to the background. By connecting immigrant integration to broader concerns about welfare state reform and citizenship, the logic of equity replaced the logic of minorities in policy development. Also in research, a logic of equity emerged, amongst others as a consequence of the multidisciplinary and multi-sector focus of the WRR. Therefore, it contributed more specifically to the fall of multiculturalism and the rise of universalism in both fields.

6.3.3   Enlightenment and frame reflection?

The enlightenment configuration played a role in providing conditions for frame-shifts in research and policy and for the rise of universalism in particular. However, the final question that needs to be addressed is the extent to which this role involved critical frame reflection. Did the enlightenment configuration contribute to critical dialogues between research and policy, which were then the cause of the

frame-shifts and the rise of universalism? Did it contribute to the criteria for frame reflection – openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust?

Opportunities for frame reflection

In several respects, the enlightenment boundary configuration did contribute to frame reflection. First of all, it had an important effect on the openness of debate in terms of putting immigrant integration back on the policy agenda. The relative insulation of this policy domain, supported by scientific involvement, had hampered critical reflection on the underlying problem frame. By opening up this issue domain and drawing in more actors in the debate on immigrant integration, it promoted the first condition for frame reflection: openness of debate. Immediately following the 1989 WRR report, the debate became more open in terms of public debate but also in terms of debate within the scientific field. Following the National Minorities Debate, the debate became more open in the political domain as well; this marked the first time that this domain became politicised.

Furthermore, the enlightenment configuration put an alternative problem frame on the agenda, a frame of the universalist type, which conflicted in fundamental respects with the dominant multiculturalist frame. Thereby it broke the monopoly of the multiculturalist frame. Now, by the development of a real alternative frame, the debate on immigrant integration, in research as well as policy, was lifted to the level of the fundamental way in which the problem was framed. It also broke with some of the prevailing taboos on alternative frames that had hindered frame reflection. For a long time, the multiculturalist frame had been imperative as other frames were often criticised for stigmatisation and minorisation. Now, the formulation of an alternative frame that did not stress the specific risks for stigmatisation of the minorities' situation, but rather approached migrants as equals (logic of equity instead of logic of minorities), created opportunities for more open reflection upon different frames.

Thirdly and strongly related to the prior point of formulating an alternative frame, was that the enlightenment boundary configuration contributed to critical reflection. The rise of an alternative frame on the agenda triggered frame conflict, thereby making both frames more explicit. The emergence of frame conflict, within the policy field as well as the scientific field, forced involved actors to reflect upon their own frames, instead of taking them for granted. The growing sense of urgency following the 1989 WRR report and the National Minorities Debate, contributed even further to this structural condition for critical reflection

Constraints on frame reflection

Although the enlightenment boundary configuration did provide some of the structural conditions required for frame reflection, it did not contribute to frame reflection in some other respects. This concerned, first of all, the sense of pragmatism that is required for gradually adapting one's frame in response to critical reflection. Instead, such pragmatism was obstructed by the open conflict that

emerged in policy as well as research. On the one hand, the WRR, supported by the Minister of Home Affairs, stressed the fundamental difference between the new frame they advocated and the prevailing multiculturalist frame, rather than that they advocated pragmatic adaptation between both frames. For instance, the aim was confrontation with the status quo rather than reflection and pragmatic adaptation of frames, amongst others by deliberately naming immigrant integration in terms of allochthonous, integration and citizenship so as to mark the difference with the prevailing Minorities Policy. On the other hand, the criticism by actors involved in the status quo also did not indicate a sphere of pragmatism. This regularly concerned criticism of moral character, such as accusations of stigmatisation to the WRR report but also to, the Prime Minister after his statements in 1990s, and later to Bolkestein. The character of this criticism often contributed to confrontation instead of reflection. This also goes for the criticism with a personal character, such as to Entzinger and his involvement in the 1989 WRR report, where his 'intellectual leadership' was discredited because of his different way of perceiving and approaching the issue of immigrant integration.

Secondly, the enlightenment configuration did not provide the trust amongst involved actors that is required for frame reflection. It evolved in a context of growing distrust in this policy domain, between actors supporting the status quo and actors that advocated policy change. In fact, the enlightenment configuration seems to have been a deliberate design for breaking the monopoly of the status quo. The official demand for scientific advice from the authoritative WRR created an alternative venue for policy change. In the preceding analysis, we saw that this process went largely beyond the actors involved in the policy status quo, such as the ACOM and the Minorities Policy Directorate.

Whereas the enlightenment boundary configuration provided some of the conditions for frame reflection, it also obstructed reflection in other respects. By putting immigrant integration back on the public and political agenda, by developing an alternative frame and by forcing a critical revaluation of the prevailing policy frame, it stimulated reflection on the level of problem framing. However, it did so in a social context of confrontation and distrust rather than pragmatism and trust. In fact, the enlightenment configuration created a venue for problem framing beyond the scope of the actors engaged in the prevailing status quo, sometimes leading to sharp conflicts of a moral and personal nature among actors in this domain.

6.4　Conclusions

This chapter analysed the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shift that took place in immigrant integration research and policy from multiculturalism to universalism from 1989-1994. In policy, an Integration Policy emerged that named immigrant integration in terms of citizenship and integration of migrants that were

categorized as 'allochtonous', and framed their integration in terms of the activation of migrants in social-economic domains as education and labour and put immigrant integration in a broader normative perspective of the viability of the welfare state. In research, the dominant Minorities Paradigm was challenged by a rival Integration Paradigm that did not define migrants as ethnic or cultural minorities but as 'allochthonous', and that did not focus on social-cultural emancipation and issues such as discrimination, but instead on social-economic participation and issues as individual activation. This Integration Paradigm did not contain a normative perspective of a multicultural society, but rather a more structural-functionalist perspective on migrant participation in societal institutions.

The positions of involved actors and their perceptions of the problem situation changed significantly in this period. The ACOM and the Home Affairs Department, who were involved in the established research-policy nexus of the previous period (late 1970s), initially carried multiculturalist frames. However, the position of the ACOM gradually weakened in the 1980s until its dissolution in 1992. The position of the Home Affairs Department would change significantly, and furthermore, this department would adopt a more universalist frame in the early 1990s, after which it remained the coordinating department for the integration policy. Other actors emerged in this period as well, mostly carrying a more universalist problem frame. In the field of research, the WRR published for the second time a report on immigrant integration, the SCP obtained a structural position in this field as a data provider and the experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger published an influential advisory report in 1994. In the field of policy-making, political actors became more strongly involved, for instance in a broad national minorities debate that emerged in 1992. Based on these different frames, actors tended to select and interpret evidence about problem developments differently. Actors with universalist frames often referred to rising immigrant unemployment and ongoing immigration as evidence that a different approach was required. In contrast, actors that defended multiculturalist frames often denounced this criticism in terms of impatience, arguing instead that especially in times of economical decline a specific Minorities policy was required, and that in various ways the multiculturalist approach was rather successful.

These changing actors positions and problem frames triggered different boundary work practices. The boundary work of several actors with universalist frames was oriented at creating a breakthrough in established minorities research and policy. The WRR deliberately demarcated its role from that of established research and policy so as to coordinate its relation to this field in a way that stressed that the WRR develop a fundamentally new perspective for both fields. Political actors now defined immigrant integration as a political issue and did so in a way that involved the selective use of scientific research, referring in particular to the 1989 WRR report, to strengthen the legitimacy of their claims against the established Minorities Policy. The ACOM initially responded with an expulsionary type of

boundary work, renouncing the WRR report as unscientific, but was dissolved in 1992. When the universalist frame had settled into public and political discourse in the early 1990s, boundary work patterns seem to change. Furthermore, the Home Affairs Department attempted to demarcate a new position in this field, by demanding more evaluative research and coordinating the relation of this research to policy in instrumental and functional terms. As a consequence, the SCP obtained a position in the research field as well as being a data provider whose relation to government was coordinated in instrumental and functional terms. Furthermore, Van der Zwan and Entzinger played an active role in the translation of the universalist perspective in concrete political choices, demarcating their role by generating broad support for this approach and coordinating their relation to policy aimed at using the 1994 coalition formation as a window of opportunity for making political choices.

These changing practices led to the construction of a new structural research-policy nexus. The indirect role of the 1989 Report in the changes in the policy-field from Minorities Policy to Integration Policy was an indication of divergence between both fields. At first the report played a role in public and political debates, and to some extent in scientific debates, and would only later have a significant effect on policy developments in terms of changing policy framing. Furthermore, the dominant role that political actors and, eventually, also the Home Affairs Department attributed to this WRR report in the framing of an Integration Policy, and the role that experts Van der Zwan and Entzinger eventually played in the translation of the new universalist approach into concrete policy measures were an indication of scientific primacy. Only after policy reframing had taken place, did more political primacy emerge in mutual relations. In particular, the Home Affairs Department developed a more prominent role in the coordination of instrumental research that was provided by the SCP. This suggests that following the establishment of the universalist frame in policy-making in the early 1990s, a more bureaucratic boundary configuration emerged.

Finally, the enlightenment boundary configuration contributed to some extent to frame reflection. It contributed to the structural conditions for frame-shifts by weakening the position of established research and policy actors and strengthening that of actors beyond the technocratic symbiosis of the 1980s (WRR, Political actors). Important was that the enlightenment configuration provided a legitimate way of punctuating the structure-induced equilibrium of the 1980s that was sustained by the specific actors (ACOM, minorities policy directorate) and by specific taboos and norms of de-politicization. Enlightenment created a legitimate and politically acceptable venue for connecting the issue of immigrant integration to the broader politics of welfare state retrenchment. Later, a new structure-induced equilibrium was created around the new universalist approach, in which the SCP, the Home Affairs Department and Van der Zwan and Entzinger played a central role. Enlightenment contributed to the rise of universalism, in particular through

punctuating the dominant 'logic of minorities' in problem framing by linking immigrant integration to broader concerns about the welfare state. Thereby it established a 'logic of equity', framing immigrants as equals or citizens and adopting a multidisciplinary perspective that was more blind to cultural factors.

The enlightenment configuration was designed by political actors and the WRR to punctuate the structure-induced equilibrium in minorities policy and research. It also had the unintended effect of contributing to frame-reflection, leading to an open scientific and political debate about immigrant integration (punctuating the structure-induced equilibrium of the 1980s), and providing a legitimate and acceptable venue for raising an alternative frame (universalism). Furthermore, it forced critical reflection about alternative frames through open confrontation of frames in public, political and scientific debates. However, the enlightenment configuration also constrained frame-reflection because it was aimed at confrontation with established minorities policy and research rather than promoting reflection about multicutluralist or universalist frames in a sphere of pragmatism and trust.

Table 6: Summary of findings of the role of the research-policy nexus in research and policy frame-shifts in this period

	Indicators	Findings
Frame-shifts*	-*Policy*: Formulation of an Integration Policy aimed at social-economic participation of migrants within the perspective of a viable welfare state -*Research*: Emergence of a broader social-economic perspective on immigrant integration, that stressed participation of immigrants as citizens within institutions	Frame-shift from multiculturalism to universalism in immigrant integration research and policy in roughly the same period (1989-1994)
Actors and context	-*Policy*: The Home Affairs Department, whose position changed in this period as well as its problem framing that also changed. Political actors also become more involved in this period. -*Research*: ACOM as an actor from the established research-policy nexus, the WRR that became involved in this domain for the second time, the SCP as a data provider; Van der Zwan and Entzinger provide an expert advice	Actors with different frames: multiculturalist (ACOM, Home Affairs Department until 1990) or universalist frames (WRR, Home Affairs Department since about 1990, political actors, SCP, Van der Zwan and Entzinger). Based on these frames, contextual evidence was selected and interpreted differently
Boundary work and field structures	-*Policy*: Politicians define immigrant integration as a political issue and make selective use of research. Home Affairs Department interested more in evaluative research that is coordinated with policy in instrumental and functional terms -*Research*: WRR strategically demarcates its role from minorities research and policy to coordinate its relation with both fields to present a fundamentally new perspective. ACOM adopts an expulsionary mode of boundary work, rejecting the WRR as unscientific. SCP demarcates its role as a data provider and coordinates its relation to policy in instrumental terms. Van der Zwan and Entzinger coordinate their role with ongoing political developments	Boundary work of the WRR, Van der Zwan and Entzinger, and political actors (all with universalist frame) aimed at mobilizing research for achieving a breakthrough in established minorities policy and research. Boundary work of the Home Affairs Department changes as it s position changes in the early 1990s. ACOM is dissolved in 1992.
Boundary configuration	-Indirect relation between 1989 WRR report and changes in policy-making; influence first on public and political discourse, then on policy and research developments -Strong influence of the 1989 WRR report on a breakthrough in policy and research. Later, rise of political primacy in instrumental research	Divergence of roles of research and policy actors + primacy of scientific research in mutual relations = enlightenment boundary configuration
Role in frame-shifts, framing and frame reflection	-Enlightenment punctuated the structural symbiosis of technocracy, and strengthened the position of actors beyond this symbiosis (WRR, ACOM, Political actors) -Enlightenment introduced a logic of equity as an alternative to a logic of minorities in policy and research -Enlightenment did contribute to the openness of debate, to development of an alternative frame and to critical reflection, but did so in a sphere of confrontation rather than pragmatism and trust	Enlightenment boundary configuration did provide some opportunities for frame-reflection, but it was not designed to promote reflection but rather to punctuate established minorities policy and research

* From chapter 4

7

ENGINEERING AND THE RISE OF ASSIMILATIONISM

(2000-2004)

The third period in which frame-shifts occurred in policy and research was after the turn of the millennium. This time, however, the frame-shifts in research and policy were not as similar as in previous period. In policy, immigrant integration now became 'named' and 'framed' in an assimilationist way. The Integration Policy New Style would focus on promoting 'common citizenship' amongst migrants by diminishing the cultural distance between migrants and Dutch society from the perspective of preserving social cohesion and maintaining national norms and values. In research, the diversity in terms of problem framing would widen during this period. On the one hand, trans- or postnationalist frames emerged in research that looked beyond the role of the nation-state. On the other hand, assimilationist frames emerged in research as well, focusing on the social-cultural integration of migrants and questioning the normative perspectives of multiculturalism and transnationalism.

The aim of this chapter is to analyse how and why the research-policy nexus was structured in this period, and to examine the role of this research-policy nexus in these developments in research and policy framing. First, an analysis will be made of the actors and the contextual setting of research-policy relations in this period. Then, I will focus on how and why these actors defined research-policy relations and the resulting structural configuration of the research-policy nexus. Finally, I will analyse the structural effects of this research-policy nexus on the fields of research and policy and its role in the rise of transnationalism in research and assimilationism in research. Based on this empirical analysis, I will then assess to what extent the research-policy nexus in this period contributed to critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing, or whether its role in these frame-shifts was of a different nature.

In this third period, immigrant integration became more than ever a subject of public and political controversy. It was even labelled the 'social question' of the age and played a central role in the 'long year of 2002', which marked one of the most controversial episodes in Dutch post-war political history. Following this episode, parliament took the initiative for a parliamentary investigation on the Integration Policy. Also in scientific research, immigrant integration drew attention of more and more researchers and research-institutes. Amongst others, the WRR, who had by now developed a solid reputation in this domain, and the SCP, who had obtained a structural position in this field as well, continued to be involved in the research-

policy nexus in this period. But was this attention and 'sense of urgency' in policy and research organised in a way that stimulated the 'situated resolution' of this frame controversy, or did research-policy relations in this period fail to contribute to critical reflection, and if so, why?

7.1 Actors and context

From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the first step in the analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing is to analyse actor involvement in research-policy relations in this period. These actors are the objects of the analysis in the following steps of reconstructing how and why these actors structured the interaction between research and policy in specific ways, and how and why this interaction did or did not lead to frame reflection. A reconstruction will be made of the context in which the frame-shifts in this period took place, what actors were involved, what their positions in the fields of research or policy were and how these actors framed the problem context, This analysis of actor frames and positions will subsequently enable an understanding of they developed specific boundary work practices.

7.1.1 Context: from universalism to transnationalism or assimilationism

A new structure-induced equilibrium had emerged in the 1990s based on the universalist approach of the Integration Policy. The Home Affairs Department remained the coordinating department, but in many respects the Integration Policy had been functionally decentralised to various sector departments as well as undergoing territorial decentralisation to local governments. Instead of a specific policy toward minorities, the Integration instead involved an intensification of general policies in specific sectors such as labour and education. In the field of research, no such structure-induced equilibrium, as had existed in the early 1980s, was reconstructed. The ACOM as well as the short-lived TWCM had been dissolved, and the SCP now obtained a structural position mainly as a provider of quantitative data as an instrumental means for interdepartmental policy coordination. The SCP too focused primarily on the social-economic domains that now were central to the Integration Policy.

Several contextual developments during the 1990s and around the turn of the millennium put pressure on this structureal equilibrium of the universalist Integration Policy. One development that induced some actors to reframe immigrant integration was the ongoing process of internationalisation, or according to some, globalisation. Internationalisation had a growing effect on various institutions, including government and science. The establishment of the European Union during the 1990s and its growing influence on various facets of national policies were important indications of this internationalisation. Also the national welfare state, which was a central point of reference for Dutch Integration Policy in this period, was increasingly affected by developments on a European level. Scientific research also became more internationalised. Sometimes aided by the

development of European institutions (such as EU research funding), more and more international research networks evolved.

This internationalisation also affected the domain of immigrant integration. Free movement of people within the EU and better means of transportation and communication on a global level contributed to a rise of migration flows to EU countries. In response, EU governments took more and more joint activities to limit migration across EU borders, contributing to the rise of a so-called 'Fortress Europe' (Geddes, 2003). In addition to the development of a joint European immigration policy, EU institutes became increasingly active in the domain of immigrant integration (ibid), especially in the domain of anti-discrimination regulations (Guiraudon, 2006). This also contributed to the development of EU research networks in this domain. Whereas immigrant integration research had thus far been confined mainly to the context of nation-states (Favell, 2005; Lavenex, 2005), now they became increasingly involved in networks beyond their nation-states and, according to some, even cooperated in EU government networks (Geddes, 2005).

Internationalisation and ongoing immigration (especially family migration and asylum migration) had more and more visible effects in society. Settled migrant groups grew because of demographic effects such as due to high fertility rates and ongoing family migration. In 2000, there were 2,8 million immigrants in the Netherlands that were either born outside the Netherlands, or had at least one parent who was born outside the Netherlands (about 17,5% of the Dutch population). [272] In the major cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam, immigrants comprised 31,1% and 30,5% respectively of the total population.[273] Furthermore, asylum migration contributed to the rise of new migrant groups, such as from the former Yugoslav Republic, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Somalia. The communication and transportation means that facilitated migration flows on a global level facilitated the orientation of migrants to their home countries (for instance, through satellite television and internet). Cultural diversity became more and more institutionalised in Dutch society, as illustrated by the establishment of more and more Mosques, Islamic schools and even Islamic universities.

The Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) was one of the first actors to reconsider the prevailing perspective on immigrant integration in the context of these developments. In its third report on immigrant integration (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001b), the WRR claimed the Netherlands had become an immigration society, and that immigration and integration policies as well as the Dutch social state itself had to adapt to this development.

There was a certain reluctance in Dutch society to adapt to this prospect of an immigration society. In fact, there were indications in this period that the integration process was advancing rapidly in the social-economic domains of labour, education and housing, which were key areas of the Integration Policy.

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[272] Source: CBS Statline, data 2004.

[273] Ibid.

Unemployment levels amongst immigrants had declined significantly since the early 1990s, from over 30% amongst Turks and Moroccans and over 20% for Surinamese and Antilleans in 1994, to under 10% for all these groups in 2000 and 2002. The aim of government to halve the unemployment level amongst immigrants had been achieved in 2001 (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2001: 14). Nonetheless, the level of immigrant unemployment remained more than double than that of average native population. Also, labour market participation amongst minorities grew significantly, although still remaining less than amongst natives. The position of immigrants in education had ameliorated as well, in spite of persistent differences between the groups (especially Turks' and Moroccans' weak position) and a persistent difference with the educational position of natives.

A series of political and societal developments after the turn of the millennium changed the direction of policy developments. A second national minorities debate emerged in 2000, the so-called Scheffer debate, which focused attention on an alleged 'multicultural tragedy'. Secondly, a series of events widely discussed in Dutch media and politics drew further attention to an alleged 'clash of civilisations' (Snel & Scholten, 2005). This included violent events that involved immigrants, as well as moral events that focused attention on the dilemmas of cultural and religious diversity, such as imams making radical statements about homosexuals or refusing to cooperate with the female Minister for Integration (ibid). Also, the international developments surrounding the 11th September terrorist attacks in New York and Washington led to fierce anti-Muslim responses in the Netherlands, as it did in other European countries (Fennema, 2002).

Especially path-breaking was 'the long year of 2002' when the populist politician Pim Fortuyn made immigrant integration the centre of public and political attention. Fortuyn first became a political leader of the newly founded party Liveable Netherlands in 2001, and led the local branch Liveable Rotterdam in the local elections in 2002. He became rapidly subject to controversy because of tough media statements, calling for 'zero-immigration' as the Netherlands was 'full', calling for a 'cold war against Islam' and dismissing Islam as 'an idiotic culture'.[274] The board of his party immediately dismissed Fortuyn as their political leader, after which Fortuyn founded his own party, the Pim Fortuyn Party (LPF). When running for the 2002 parliamentary elections, an animal-rights activist assassinated Fortuyn on the same day that polls indicated that his party would come out first of the elections. In spite of these events, his party was second largest out of the ballot box, and was included in a centre-right government coalition with the Liberals and the Christian Democrats.

The 'long year of 2002' had two direct political effects. Firstly, it led to a parliamentary initiative in 2002, following the parliamentary elections, for a parliamentary investigative committee on the Integration Policy. The aim of this committee was to examine why the integration policy had been so limitedly

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[274] Elsevier Magazine, 25-8-2001: De Volkskrant, 2-11-2001; De Volkskrant, 9-2-2002.

successful and to provide building blocks for new policy initiatives.[275] Partly based on an extensive study of scientific sources by the Verwey-Jonker Institute, this committee eventually concluded that the integration policy was relatively successful. Consequently, it triggered fierce controversy in public and political debates.

Also, strong political leadership in migration and integration policy was established during 2002. The departmental responsibility for immigrant integration and immigration policy shifted towards the Justice Department. For a limited period, the Minister of Immigration and Integration was a member of the Pim Fortuyn Party. When this short-lived coalition fell in 2002 and a new centre-right coalition was formed in 2003 without the LPF, immigration and integration obtained again a strong political leadership with Minister Verdonk from the Liberal Party. This Minister played a central role in the development of several memoranda in which the contours of an Integration Policy New Style were elaborated. Although the effects of this new policy discourse on policy practices seems to have been limited (Poppelaars & Scholten, forthcoming), the policy documents in this period did reveal a change in how immigrant integration was framed in government policies, from universalism toward a more assimilationist policy frame.

In both politics and research, there was growing attention for the social-cultural dimension of immigrant integration. In contrast to the transnationalist discourse of the WRR, the SCP attributed attention to social-cultural integration of migrants in Dutch society. Also, the SCP was more explicitly involved in advocacy of a more assimilationist approach in this period.

This context analysis shows that several actors were involved in research-policy relations in this period. In the field of research, this again involves the WRR that reflected the internationalisation of research in this domain, although this time it seems to have been not so influential in terms of policy framing. The SCP also continued to be involved in this period. Furthermore, the parliamentary investigative committee and the scientific study it commissioned from the Verwey-Jonker Institute seem to have been a combined effort of research and policy actors in this period. Finally, in the field of policy-making, the political leadership of the Department of Justice, which was the new coordinating department of the Integration Policy New Style, clearly played a prominent role in policy changes in this period.

7.1.2   WRR: The Netherlands as Immigration Society

In 2001, the WRR published a third report on immigrant integration, 'The Netherlands as an Immigration Society'. It contrasted with earlier reports in that it put immigrant integration more in the perspective of immigration policy and the Dutch rule of law, whereas the earlier reports had focused more narrowly on the domain of immigrant integration (De Jong, 2002). The WRR argued that inadequate

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[275] Parliamentary Documents, TK 2002-2003, 28689, nr. 1.

integration of migrants into citizens could create tensions in Dutch society as a social state. Also, ongoing immigration could negatively affect the absorption capacity of society (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001b: 25).

It does, however, also build on observations from earlier reports. Whereas the first report had claimed that immigrants would not return to their home countriesy and had become permanent minorities, and the second report claimed that immigration as such had become a permanent phenomenon and that the Netherlands had become a de-facto country of immigration, this report argued that 'the permanency, diversity and unpredictability of migration' and the 'sharp increase of diversity since the 1980s (...) also have consequences for the (organisation of) Dutch society (…) and the capacity of Dutch society and its institutions to cope with (cultural) differences and take benefit of the positive contribution of immigrants'(ibid: 19). It adds that, although the message from the second WRR report that the Netherlands had become a country of immigration was now widely recognised, 'the translation of this fact into conduct and policy takes effort' and that 'basically, Dutch government policy is insufficiently directed at the immigration *society'* (ibid.). Such an immigration society would demand 'a capacity from Dutch society and its institutions to cope with [cultural] differences and take profit from the contribution of migrants' (ibid).

The WRR did not adopt a new way of classifying immigrants, as it had done in the two earlier reports. It used the term 'migrant' or 'immigrant', but also 'allochthonous' and 'newcomers'. An important argument for using the comparatively neutral depiction of 'migrants' was that referring to migrants of the second or third-generation as 'allochthonous' could have a labelling effect that may support the intergenerational character of being an immigrant (ibid: 32). Also, the report speaks more of 'participation' than of 'integration'. Participation is used with reference to the position of migrants, whereas 'integration' is used with reference to mutual interdependence within society. The general use of the term 'integration' with reference to the incorporation of migrants into society was not adopted in this report.

In contrast to the two earlier reports, and in spite of the reference to the fundamental transformation into an immigration society, the WRR does not explicitly call for a fundamental policy shift. In fact, it takes sides in the controversy over policy success or failure by claiming that government should resist 'the pressure to (...) formulate new policies, instead of striving to ameliorate the implementation of current policies (ibid: 180). In spite of the often 'strongly ideological character of policies concerning immigration and integration', the WRR calls for a more instrumental and procedural policy approach, which focuses primarily on those areas that lend themselves best to government intervention, such as language proficiency, labour and education.

The WRR dissociated itself from the emerging assimilationist policy discourse. In important respects, it built on the universalist frame of the 1980s, for instance in

its emphasis on principles of personal responsibility of the migrants in making efforts to participate (citizenship), and the principle of participation of immigrants that requires accessibility of institutions. It formulates principles of 'encounter' and 'confrontation'. This concerns the promotion of interaction within society, avoiding the formation of segmented societies that threaten the integration of society at large, without necessarily involving assimilation. The role of government in this respect would not be substantial but rather instrumental, creating the conditions for interaction.

> 'These principles underline that the aim of assimilation, in the sense of the absorption into Dutch culture, is neither desirable nor necessary in a highly diversified immigration society. For the ongoing existence of the social-democratic system in the Netherlands, it is however necessary to lay down certain requirements for immigrants and the host society. The requirements imposed on immigrants are aimed at their participation in Dutch society and those for the host society at the accessibility of the institutions of the social state and adjustment to the cultural diversity of the population.' (ibid: 25)

It adds, however, a cultural dimension to this frame that reflected more of a transnationalist frame than an assimilationist frame. Whereas both universalism and multiculturalism contain a clear national perspective on immigrant integration (the Dutch multicultural society, the Dutch functionalist state), the WRR now put immigrant integration in the perspective of internationalisation. In fact, the report contains numerous references to the fact that 'the world has become smaller', that cultures have become more dynamic, that individuals develop more and more hybrid or multiple identities, and that migration has led to the formation of transnational communities that keep their feet in both the country of origin and destination. Without explicitly taking this transnationalist perspective as a normative perspective, internationalisation is accepted as a given way to which policy should be adapted. To do this, it sets a more positive tone to migration as an element of internationalisation. In fact, it wants to put forward 'an approach that would maximise the benefits of immigration, both for Dutch society and for the newcomers' (ibid: 9). It explicitly denounces the 'programmatic and normative tone' of the debate on the multicultural society (ibid: 22).

7.1.3   Social and Cultural Planning Office

In the early 1990s, the SCP obtained a central position as a provider of data on the position of immigrants in various social-economic domains. It had acquired an important role in the structure-induced equilibrium of the universalist approach with the provision of instrumental data in its regular Minorities Reports. During the 1990s, the Minorities Reports of the SCP remained an important tool in the interdepartmental coordination of the Integration Policy. It occasionally led to important policy corrections, for instance in 1996 in the domain of housing policies (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 138). More generally, because of its involvement in

other domains and its strong media profile, the SCP had become a more established organisation in this period, with authority in the political field and the field of scientific research.

In the end of the 1990s, the SCP adopted a more assimilationist problem framing, amongst others in response to indications about declining acceptation of minorities and cultural diversity in Dutch society. Firstly, in its Social and Cultural Report from 1998, the SCP explicitly dissociated itself from the idea that the Netherlands would have or should become a multicultural society.[276] The SCP claimed that 'although Dutch society does increasingly contain persons of different cultural origins, the secular, universalist, individualist, in short Western culture experiences barely any competition from other streams' (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 1998: 8). Moreover, cultural goods, such as norms and values, would have to be clearly distinguished from social goods such as labour and income, which can be discussed in terms of individual rights and duties. According to the SCP, cultural goods cannot be differentiated for various individuals and groups. Instead, they represent an 'intrinsic hierarchy', ruling out the possibility of 'essentialistic pluralism' as this would lead to 'as many public spheres as cultural groups' (ibid: 267). In this context, the importance of 'cultural assimilation [would have been] underestimated and ignored by government, agents and social scientists' (ibid: 271). The SCP had already made similar statements in its Social and Cultural Report from 1986 (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 1986), but had refrained from repeating these observations since it became more structurally involved in this domain in the early 1990s.

The in 1998 newly appointed director of the SCP, Paul Schnabel, openly argued for 'adaptation and assimilation', claiming the multicultural society was 'an illusion'. He did so in a lecture for the institute for multicultural cooperation, FORUM and in an essay (Schnabel, 1998) and a newspaper article in 2000.[277] He based this argument on the Social and Cultural Report from 1998.[278] According to Schnabel, becoming a multicultural society was 'neither a realistic nor a desirable option' (ibid: 8). He saw social-cultural adaptation as an important means for achieving integration, or as he called it, 'assimilation' (ibid: 25). Concerning central cultural areas as the constitution and civil rights, Schnabel argued that there was no other option but complete assimilation. Also in other public areas, as school and work, some degree of integration or assimilation could be expected, whereas in the more private cultural spheres, such as home, family and church, there would be more space for diversity or even segregation.[279]

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[276] Interview researcher from the SCP.

[277] 'De Multiculturele Illusie', in De Volkskrant, 17 February 2000., De multiculturele illusie: een pleidooi voor aanpassing en assimilatie. Essay – Utrecht, Forum, 2000, blz. 5-26

[278] Interview director of the SCP.

[279] Schnabel phrases this distinction in terms of A-culture (complete assimilation), B-culture (some assimilation, integration) and C-culture (segregation) (Schnabel, 2000).

Also in its Minorities Report, the SCP attributed more systematic attention to 'social-cultural integration'. For the first time it included an empirical analysis of data on social-cultural integration in a preparatory study it made for the 2001 WRR report on immigrant integration (Dagevos, 2001). In the context of rising concerns about social-cultural diversity and ethnic cleavages in society after the turn of the millennium, the SCP decided together with the coordinating Department of Justice to involve social-cultural integration in its Minorities Report for the first time in 2003 (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2002: 134; 2003: 9). It defined social-cultural integration in terms of modernisation of specific norms and values, referring to 'a centuries-long modernisation process of western culture (...) which has advanced less in many other parts of the world' (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2003: 9). These norms and values would be related primarily to individualisation, social equality (also between men and women), secularism and democracy. According to the SCP:

> 'Social-cultural integration stands (…) for the extent to which ethnic minorities share a number of basic values and norms of Dutch society and the extent to which they have contacts with natives. A modern western world view was taken as a point of reference for the choice of these norms and values, which is characterized by the idea of individual human development, social equality (also between men and women), secularism and a democratic regulation of power' (ibid: 9).

In the 2003 Minorities Report, the SCP provides a differentiated image of the process of social-cultural integration. In terms of modern cultural attitudes, there were signs of cultural assimilation, especially in second and third generation migrants of specific migrant groups (SCP, 2003: 427). However, in terms of religious attitudes and social contacts, it seemed that there was a growing divergence between natives and immigrant groups (ibid). The Turks and Moroccans had an especially strong orientation of their own cultural group, whereas Antilleans and Surinamese would be more assimilated into Dutch society (ibid: 430). Also in the domain of social-economic participation, the SCP signals that, in spite of the significant progress made in the prior decade, there are still persistent problems. These involve, amongst other indicators, a persistent relative deprivation in the domains of education and labour, which in the domain of labour had been deteriorating because of overall economic decline.

The SCP would continue to draw attention to the social-cultural dimension of integration. Following the 'long year of 2002' when the populist Pim Fortuyn Party was eventually incorporated in government, the Minister of Immigration and Integration asked the SCP to coordinate a research project on Islam in Dutch society. This eventually led to the report 'Muslim in the Netherlands'. [280] This report concluded that although secularisation did occur amongst Muslims in terms of

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[280] This was a project together with the IMES and ERCOMER research institutes.

religious practices, of the group's religious identity underwent a religious revitalisation. Also in other reports, the SCP focused on social-cultural integration as well as (often in relation to) social-structural integration.[281] Although the regular Minorities Reports were discontinued after 2003, the SCP continued to issue reports on this issue, such as the Annual Integration Report (2005) that was issued together with the Statistics Office (CBS) and the Scientific Research and Documentation Center of the Department of Justice (WODC).

7.1.4   The Blok Committee and the Verwey-Jonker Institute

Following the controversial parliamentary elections in 2002, parliament took the initiative in establishing an investigative committee to examine the Integration Policy. Dutch parliament has a constitutional right to establish investigative parliamentary committees or parliamentary inquiries to investigate social problems but also to evaluate policies. They form an important means through which parliament can alleviate its relative information asymmetry in relation to government, which has a great number of advisory bodies at its disposal, such as the WRR and the SCP (Halffman & Hoppe, 2006).[282] Although this right had existed for a long time, it became more frequently used by parliament over the past decades, and also increasingly used by parliament to investigate policy fiascos (Andeweg & Irwin, 2005: 144). This development was also institutionalised with the establishment of a Research and Verification Office (OVB) in 2002, which provided administrative support to parliamentary inquiries and investigative committees. In this case, parliament established an investigative committee, which has fewer formal powers than a parliamentary inquiry, but can have a similar policy impact.

The parliamentary motion that demanded the establishment of an investigative committee was submitted by the Socialist Party who advocated a more assimilationist politics (Fermin, 1997: 112). In vain, this party had already before called for a parliamentary investigative committee.[283] Now, parliament accepted a motion that concluded that the integration had been 'insufficiently successful' and called for an evaluation of the causes of this failure; 'Concluding that the integration policy has thus far been insufficiently successful, observing that it would be desirable to evaluate what may have been the cause of this, observing that such a research could provide the building blocks for the formulation of a new integration policy, parliament decides to establish a parliamentary research committee on the integration policy.'[284] There was a evaluation of policy as a failure already present in

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[281] Amongst others; 'Labour-market position of Turks in the Netherlands and Germany' (SCP, 2007), 'The social atlas of women from ethnic minorities' (SCP, 2006), 'Cross-border marriage' (SCP, 2003), 'Love thy neighbour?' (SCP, 2005).

[282] The WRR is, especially in practice, closely related to government. For instance, it presents 'reports to the government' that are issued directly to the Council of Ministers. However, in formal terms, its reports can also be directed at parliament.

[283] Volkskrant, 30 maart 2000.

[284] Parliamentary Document, TK 2002-2003, 28600, nr. 24.

this stage of the research problem formulation. Members of the Pim Fortuyn Party, however, did not vote in favour of this motion, as for them the conclusion that the integration policy had failed was already so clear that they saw no need for a special research committee. In addition, the Pim Fortuyn Party did not want to obtain new building blocks for an integration policy, but rather wanted to abolish the integration policy and entirely incorporate policies toward immigrants into general government policy.[285]

Whereas the initial idea for establishing this investigative committee was based on an assimilationist evaluation of the Integration Policy as insufficiently successful or 'failed' in the social-cultural terrain, eventually the official aim of the committee was formulated in a more open way, through a parliamentary working group that made preparations for establishing the committee. The final assignment to the committee also contained no specific focus on social-cultural issues that would have been expected in an assimilationist framing of the aim of the investigative committee. Instead, the goal of the committee would be 'to enable the Second House of Parliament to evaluate the integration policy of Dutch government over the past 30 years, to evaluate the aimed effects and factual results of this policy and to evaluate the coherence of policy on various policy terrains.'[286] Also, 'the research should provide building-blocks for the integration policy to come'. The various policy domains that were considered relevant included income and labour, education, housing, and recreation and sports.

The report of the investigative committee (named the 'Blok-Committee' after its chairman Stef Blok) was for a large part elaborated based on a study by the Verwey-Jonker Institute, although the reports of this committee and the institute also differed in some important respects. The Verwey-Jonker Institute was asked to do an evaluative study of the goals and results of the integration policy over the past decades in specific domains and to determine the extent to which policy had been consistent and coherent.[287] Moreover, it was asked to determine to what extent the integration policy 'could be qualified as successful.' In particular, this latter question was related to the framing of immigrant integration. The frame of the Verwey-Jonker Institute was manifest in its assumption that 'success in one domain can be of higher importance that in others' (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 196). The 'success in the domain of education appears [to be] the key for the further success of the integration process', meaning the results in this domain are of extra importance. It is based on this assumption that it eventually came to the conclusion that the integration policy had been 'relatively successful' (ibid). Furthermore, it concludes that 'part of the intended goals have been realised (...) especially in the domain of education', as well as in the domain of housing, whereas the goals in the domain of income and labour 'have been less achieved' (ibid.).

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[285] Parliamentary Treaties, TK, 19 September 2002, 3-182.
[286] Parliamentary Document, 2001-2002, TK 28689, nr. 1
[287] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 11: 5.

This stress on education and labour as key domains of integration reveals a universalist framing of the Verwey-Jonker Institute. It thus founded its conclusion about the relative success of the integration policy in achievements in the social-economic domain rather than the social-cultural domain on this particular frame. The institute also put its conclusions in a broader perspective, providing an incentive for critical reflection about this problem frame. It argued that, especially in the social-cultural dimension of immigrant integration, policy was not entirely successful because of the inconsistency of policies. It concludes that 'especially in the social-cultural domain there is a certain gap between formulated objectives and results that have been attained thus far' (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 197). It warns against an 'anachronistic evaluation' of policy results that have accumulated over the past based on policy objectives that have been set only recently; '[R]esults are lagging mainly in areas where only recently new and sharper goals have been formulated' (ibid). It seems that here the Verwey-Jonker Institute legitimises its choice for a universalist frame in the fact that this had been the dominant frame during the past decade. Thereby, it dissociated itself from the new assimilationist frame that emerged in political discourse in that period, although it did raise the question whether, given the 'recent political turbulence, the goals have been always formulated sufficiently broad over the past' (Ibid: 198).

The Blok Committee formulated a definition of 'integration', which it used for determining whether the integration had been successful or not. This definition contained a universalist character, stressing social-economic participation, equality in legal terms and the two-sidedness of the integration. It also contains some elements that may lead either to a more assimilationist framing (respect for common values, norms and patterns of behaviour) or even a multiculturalist framing (integration as a person or a group). However, the committee never elaborated on the definition to such an extent that the relative importance of these various indicators of integration could be established. The committee adopted the following definition of successful integration:

> 'A person or a group is integrated in Dutch society when they have an equal legal position, equal social-economic participation, knowledge of Dutch language and when common values, norms and patterns of behaviour are being respected. Integration is a two-sided process; on the one hand, newcomers are expected to be willing to integrate, on the other hand Dutch society must make this integration possible' (Blok, 2004a: 105).

Based on this definition, the Blok Committee concluded that 'the integration of many immigrants has been a total or partial success, and (...) this is quite an achievement for the involved immigrant citizens as well as for the host society' (Blok, 2004a: 105). How the committee substantiated this conclusion revealed a more universalist framing than its definition of integration may suggest. It founded the success of the integration process especially in the progress that was made in the

domains of education, labour, housing and women's emancipation (ibid: 522). These domains concern mainly individual participation of migrants, regardless of gender, rather than group emancipation as in multiculturalism or social-cultural integration as in assimilationism.

An important difference with the Verwey Jonker Institute was that the Blok Committee did not conclude that the integration *policy* had been successful, but rather that the integration *process* as such had been successful. The committee observed that 'causal relations with the general integration policy are difficult to prove (...)' (ibid: 522). The success of the integration process would have been especially affected by general developments in society and by the efforts of those migrants involved. In this respect too, the Blok Committee seems to have followed a universalist frame in which government had only a supportive role in the integration process.

The Blok Committee and the Verwey-Jonker Institute did what could be expected from evaluation studies of the integration policy, which is evaluating policy effects based on given policy goals. It adopted the universalist problem frame of the integration policy of the 1990s, and based on this frame both actors came to the conclusion that the integration had been rather successful. However, within the context of ongoing policy debates after the turn of the millennium, they also continued to propagate a universalist frame. They pinpointed education and labour as they key sectors of integration. The Blok Committee even concluded that not necessarily the integration *policy*, but rather the integration *process* was relatively successful based on progress achieved in these sectors that were considered vital from a universalist frame of immigrant integration.

7.1.5   Politics and public intellectuals

Finally, political actors and so-called public intellectuals who played a central role in public as well as political and sometimes scientific debates, became more involved in policy-making in this domain. They put immigrant integration on the top of the political agenda of this period (Essed & Nimako, 2006). This task would have a very direct effect on the policy-changes that were made by the two centre-right governments formed in 2002 and 2003.

Two specific actors can be mentioned in this respect as actors that would have a direct effect on policy-making. Firstly, the public intellectual Paul Scheffer triggered a second national minorities debate in 2000, with an article he published in a Dutch newspaper on what he described as 'the Multicultural Tragedy' taking place in the Netherlands. In this article, he adopted a more assimilationist frame, by focussing attention on the relation between social-cultural differences and social-economic deprivation.[288] He defined immigrant integration as 'the social question of this age', and warned for the development of an 'ethnic underclass' in Dutch society,

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[288] Paul Scheffer had a political background (Social Democrat Party) as well as an academic background

characterised by 'unemployment, poverty, school drop-outs and criminality.'[289] He claimed that 'benign multiculturalism' in the approach of cultural differences has been one of the causes of the formation of such an ethnic underclass. To achieve better integration, Scheffer called for a 'civilisation offensive [in which] Dutch language, culture and history should be taken more seriously'. Scheffer believed, 'We say too little about our boundaries, cherish no relation with our past and treat language in an ignorant way (...) a society that repudiates itself has nothing to offer to newcomers.'[290] He warned against the development of an ethnic underclass and the growth of ethno-cultural cleavages in society. Scheffer's analysis of the alleged clash of civilisations played an important role in the debate on 'The Multicultural Tragedy' (Prins, 2002a; Snel, 2003a: 13). The debate that it triggered put immigrant integration back on the public and political agenda in 2000. It sparked a lively polemic in the national media (Scholten & Timmermans, 2004). Also, in parliament a special debate was held with the various political party leaders to discuss the Integration Policy 'in general'.[291]

Fortuyn was another public intellectual, who became heavily involved in politics after 2001. He was already known for his conservative columns in a well-known Dutch magazine ('Elsevier') and for a book he had published in 1997, called 'Against the Islamisation of society' (Fortuyn, 1997). In 2001, Fortuyn chose a political career, which was the beginning of what would become known as 'the long year of 2002' and marked one of the most controversial periods in Dutch post-war political history (Andeweg & Irwin, 2005). Fortuyn, even more so than Scheffer, framed immigrant integration in an assimilationist way. He defined migrants in terms of their social-cultural differences in relation to Dutch society. Generally, this involved a stressing of the religious status of migrants. Also, he framed immigrant integration in terms of compensating the 'social-cultural deprivation' of migrants whose upbringing had not been part of Western Judean-Christian culture.[292] In order to preserve Dutch culture and identity and to compensate the social-cultural deprivation of migrants, Fortuyn argued for a more obligatory approach to integration that also involved adaptation to Dutch norms and values.

The minorities debate triggered by Scheffer did not immediately lead to policy change, but several years later it would be seen as an important turning point in the development of this domain (Entzinger, 2005: 8). The coordinating Minister of Integration and Urban Affairs refuted the claims that there would be a multicultural tragedy, especially by referring to the progress that was signalled in social-economic domains. Based on the prevailing universalist problem framing, this was seen as evidence that the integration policy was rather successful: 'We do not share the feelings of dejection. (...) A warning against an unbalanced idea about the position

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[289] 'Het Multiculturele Drama', Paul Scheffer, in NRC Handelsblad, 29 January 2000.

[290] Ibid.

[291] Parliamentary Document, TK 1999-2000, 27083, nrs 1,2.

[292] Party Political Program of LPF, 2002: 5.

of minorities in Dutch society is surely in place. There are not only problems, but there is also progress. (...) There is no question of a multicultural tragedy. There is no progressive marginalisation of various ethnic groups in the Netherlands. They are (on average) better integrated than in the past' (Van Boxtel, 2000: 12-13).

The rise of Fortuyn had a more immediate effect on policy changes. The 2002 elections brought a new government to power with very different ideas on immigrant integration. The new government coalition also involved the populist Pim Fortuyn Party, and named immigrant integration as one of its top policy priorities. In the coalition agreement of the Liberal Party, the Christian Democrat Party and the Pim Fortuyn Party, the new government coalition emphasised in particular the social-cultural dimension of immigrant integration. It highlighted how ethnic differences in combination with differences in education, labour participation and crime rates contribute to 'divergent powers within society and to physical, social and mental cleavages between communities.'[293] Although it claimed to renounce a politics of assimilation, perhaps in part due to the sensitivity of this concept, it argued for 'approaching religious, cultural and ethnic difference on the basis of respect for fundamental values and norms that are characteristic for Dutch society.' [294]

In this centre-right government, a minister from the Pim Fortuyn Party became responsible for Immigration and Integration (Nawijn). What is more, the coordination of the Integration Policy was taken away from the Home Affairs Department, which had been the coordinating department since the late 1970s. The Department of Justice now became the coordinating department, signalling a more 'law-and-order' approach to immigrant integration (Entzinger, 2003). Also when in 2003, a centre-right government was formed for the second time, with a minister from the Liberal Party (Verdonk), this department remained responsible for policy coordination.

In several policy documents, the new Minister responsible for the coordination of the Integration Policy elaborated a more assimilationist approach to immigrant integration, or the so-called 'Integration Policy New Style'. For the first time, the details of this policy were elaborated in a letter from the Minister that accompanied the 2003 Minorities Report by the SCP, which was simultaneously sent to parliament. Building on observations of the SCP on social-cultural integration, the minister observed in this letter that 'in spite of moderate successes in the sphere of education and labour market, a too great part of the minority population stands at too great [of a] distance from Dutch society' affecting 'social and cultural distance as

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[293] 'Werken aan vertrouwen: een programma van aanpakken', Coalition Agreement of the government coalition of LPF, CDA and VVD, 2002: P. 13.

[294] Ibid: 13. Government remained reluctant to use the concept 'assimilation', possibly because of its alleged negative connotations. In fact, it even repeatedly denounced the concept as such. This in contrast to the SCP that had already embraced the concept assimilation earlier. Nonetheless, based on the operationalisation of assimilation as one possible framing of immigrant integration, it can be reasonably claimed that government did in fact adopt an assimilationist problem frame.

well as economical distance.'[295] Moreover, the letter explicitly speaks of a turning point in the integration policy, which would involve in particular a change from cultivating cultural differences toward 'searching [for] the unity of society in what participants have in common.'[296]

This frame-shift toward assimilationism was further codified in the government Reply Memorandum to the Blok Committee's 2003 report. In this response, government confirmed the new policy contours as had been elaborated in the ministerial letter. It reiterated its stress of social-cultural differences as the incentive for the Integration Policy New Style. Responding to the conclusion of the Blok Committee that the integration would have been relatively successful, government stated that it 'endorses the conclusion that especially in the 1990s progress has been made in various domains (...), but that (government) in it's own analysis of the actual position (of immigrants) puts emphasis on the social, cultural and economic cleavages that persist.'[297] In this context, government expressed its disappointment that the Blok Committee had ignored some important facets of immigrant integration, 'in particular the social-cultural aspects of integration and the disproportionate crime rates amongst some minority groups.' [298] Moreover, government raised doubts about the 'factual meaning' of the conclusion that the integration would have been 'a total or partial success'. In fact, government reframed this conclusion as evidence that the integration had been at least partially unsuccessful, or possibly even a complete failure, and that these observations would guide government policy in this domain.[299]

In sum, various actors involved in the research-policy nexus in this period carried different frames of immigrant integration. The WRR adopted a transnationalist framing, claiming that the Netherlands had become an immigration society. The SCP adopted an increasingly explicit assimilationist problem frame, as illustrated by its open calls for assimilationism and criticism to the concept of multiculturalism. The parliamentary investigative committee and the Verwey-Jonker Institute adopted a more universalist frame, in contrast to the parliamentary motion that had led to the establishment of the committee, which was based on a more assimilationist evaluation of policy failure. Finally, political actors and public intellectuals developed an assimilationist frame in response to the national minorities debate of 2000, and the political entrepreneurship of Fortuyn and the new ministers for Immigration and Integration in particular. This frame-shift coincided with a shift in the departmental responsibility for policy coordination from the Home Affairs Department to the Justice Department.

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[295] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 29203, nr.1: 7.

[296] Ibid, p. 8.

[297] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr.17: 6.

[298] Ibid: 3.

[299] Ibid: 5-6.

These actors also selected and interpreted different contextual evidence for supporting their frames. Whereas universalists selected evidence about the improvement of the position of migrants in 'key' social-economic domains such as education and labour, assimilationists rather selected evidence about persistent differences in terms of social-cultural integration or even 'social-cultural deprivation.' While the WRR interpreted evidence about ongoing immigration and growing cultural diversity as an indication that the Netherlands was becoming an immigration society, actors with assimilationist frames instead interpreted these as indications of a clash of civilisations that demanded a stronger focus on social-cultural adaptation. Furthermore, the attribution of meaning to the focus events that occurred after the turn of the millennium was very important in this period. Actors with assimilationist frames, especially political actors and public intellectuals, played an important role in attributing a meaning to events, such as the murder of Fortuyn, as focus events for an alleged 'clash of civilisations'. For instance, even though Fortuyn was murdered by a leftists animal-rights activist, his death acquired a meaning of someone killed for its opinion on multiculturalism and criticism to Islam in particular (Essed & Nimako, 2006: 304). The same goes for the murder of the film-maker Theo Van Gogh in 2004, which also reinforced the discourse on multiculturalism as a 'dead-end' and the threat that Islam posed to national social cohesion and identity (Hajer & Uitermark, 2007: 7).

7.2 Boundary work and an engineering research-policy nexus

The next step is to analyse the boundary work practices of the various research and policy actors from the actor setting of the research-policy nexus in this period. Subsequently, by examining how boundary work practices of specific actors combined to create a more structural configuration of research-policy relations, the type of boundary configuration in this period can be reconstructed.

7.2.1 The field of scientific research

How did the various research actors that were involved in the research-policy nexus in this period construct research-policy relations, and how can this be explained? To answer this question, I will examine the boundary discourse, relations and role of objects in the social practices of these actors. Furthermore, to explain these boundary work practices, I will put them in the perspective of the structural positions of these actors within the field of immigrant integration research. To do this, I will make an empirical reconstruction, based on interviews, documents and secondary sources, of how the WRR, the SCP and the Verwey-Jonker Institute (the research institute that did the policy evaluation study for the parliamentary investigative committee) coordinated their relations and demarcated their roles in relation to policy-making.

The WRR: Boundary work beyond the boundaries of the national polity

The WRR decided in 1997 to continue its tradition of involvement in the domain of immigrant integration. This led to the report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society*, published in 2001. In contrast to the 1989 report, this time the report was not a response to a formal advisory request from government. Rather, the initiative for this report was taken as a result of the brainstorming of the sixth Council, which was inaugurated in 1997. The success of the earlier reports provided important motivation for the WRR to once more publish a report in this domain. The two prior reports had provided powerful illustrations of the institutional legitimacy of the WRR and it was considered useful for the WRR to continue its tradition of involvement in this domain with approximately one report every decade.[300] A more personal factor involved in this initiative was that one council member had a special interest in this issue. Although immigrant integration was not this council member's academic specialisation, this personal interest was an important motivation for starting this new study.[301]

In the latest report, the WRR did not demarcate its role as developer of an alternative design for the immigrant integration policy. Rather, it proclaimed its role as a reviewer of current policies in this domain, including immigrant integration as well immigration and welfare state policies, in the context of the ongoing process of internationalisation. Internationalisation was one of the thematic focuses of this new council, which also involved several other reports during this period, for instance on the European Union (Scientific Council for Government Policy, 2001a). This thematic program was, however, different from the more substantial policy agenda of the WRR at the time of the 1989 WRR report.

The thematic focus on internationalisation influenced the demarcation of the position of this WRR report in relation to the field of immigrant integration research. The WRR adopted a transnationalist framing in its report. Transnationalism linked immigrant integration to the ongoing process of internationalisation and thereby differed from other frames with a more national perspective. In contrast to previous reports, this time the WRR could not lean on issue-specific experts within its own organisation, which led the authors of this report to spend significant effort in examining scientific literature on the subject.[302] In an initial stage of the report, the authors met with various researchers on immigrant integration. Also, they were supported throughout the project by researchers as Entzinger and Kloosterman, of whom the latter for some time had a part-time position in the WRR. It was in this way that the WRR got acquainted with, amongst others, the transnationalist frame that had developed in this research field in the context of a larger ongoing process of internationalisation in this research

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[300] Interview with project chairman

[301] Ibid.

[302] Ibid.

field.[303] In fact, as we observed, transnationalism had emerged in this field as a consequence of a structural process of internationalisation, and growing involvement of European institutes in particular, that induced researchers to look beyond their national models of immigrant integration and to engage in more international comparative research (Favell, 1998; 2001; Lavenex, 2005).

This demarcation of the role of the WRR involved a deliberate strategy of keeping politics out. The independent and authoritative position of the WRR in this domain enabled it to fulfil such a debunking role. In fact, the Advisory Council of the WRR, in which directors of several other institutes were involved along with the SCP, encouraged the WRR to use its independent position for discussing sensitive issues as immigration and integration. The director of the SCP, who was to become an important entrepreneur in this domain, argued that WRR should make use of its independent position to address this sensitive topic, to which the SCP would be less capable because of its relation to the Home Affairs Department.[304]

When in the midst of the development of the WRR report, immigrant integration emerged in the centre of public and political attention following the second national minorities debate in 2000, the WRR further reinforced its strategy of keeping politics out. It decided not to engage itself in the ongoing debates because the report would be published much later. Furthermore, it also rejected the negative tone toward immigration and diversity that was set in this debate. Eventually the WRR report contained not even a reference to the article of Scheffer that had triggered the second national debate. In a memorandum to the council, the WRR project group argued in reference to the Scheffer debate and claimed a more international perspective:

> 'The article (...) has led to a vivid debate about the success or failure of the integration of 'allochthons' in the Netherlands. It is striking that the positions were little nuanced, that all allochthons were treated as one and that policy responses have an ad-hoc character; several elements were suddenly overemphasized in comparison to others. (...) With our report we wanted to nuance this debate and present a more integral approach and wherever possible and relevant also involve the international debate about immigration and integration.'[305]

Furthermore, the WRR renounced ideas for an advisory request for a report on immigration policy in this period. Although the Minister of General Affairs formally issues advisory requests, there was debate about a potential advisory request with the Justice Department. In consideration of a new immigration law that would be implemented in 2000, the Secretary of Immigration of the Justice Department showed particular interest in a WRR study on this issue and considered issuing an

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[303] Interview Staff member

[304] Minutes of Meeting of Advisory Council of the WRR, B-98/2.

[305] Memorandum from the project group chairman to the Council, 7 March 2000; A-00/4.2

advisory request.[306] The study would have to address questions such as how to distinguish real (political) refugees from bogus (economic) refugees, and what could explain why immigration to the Netherlands is so high.[307] When this advisory request was being discussed, the WRR responded negatively to this idea. First, it considered it too difficult to create an 'objective' idea of the reasons for migration and the choice for the Netherlands. Also, such a report would deviate too strongly from the project, already underway, that focused mainly on cultural diversity.[308] Moreover, it was feared that this topic would not be 'scientifically investigable', in part because of the political nature of distinguishing between economic migrants and political asylum applicants.[309] Council members were fearful of an advisory request that would effectively dispose a political problem with the WRR. [310] Consequently, this advisory request was never issued.

This strategy to keep politics out of the making of the report in spite of the rapid ongoing developments during the making of the report also reflected internal difficulties in achieving the goals set within the WRR. Initially, the WRR had set out to formulate a 'minimum of commonality' [311] that would be required for the functioning of an immigration society. At the beginning of the project it was observed that 'the increase of ethnic diversity in Dutch society raises a lot of questions; (...) [W]e have the impression that an important part of the answer can be found in cultivating specific general conditions.'[312] With this focus, the project group developed working titles as 'cultural heterogeneity', 'multiculturalism' and 'coping with differences'. Later, it narrowed down this problem formulation into a more modest state.[313] Instead of formulating its own normative framework for a minimum of commonality, the morality of core institutions of society was taken as a normative starting point. In other words, a more sociological institutionalist mode of reasoning was adopted, somewhat similar to the 1989 WRR report, with a focus on the 'social state'. This was seen as a way of abandoning the somewhat ill fated way of developing a substantive organising principle (of a minimum of commonality) for a more procedural principle.[314] One of the reasons for this more modest problem formulation was internal disagreement about the broader normative framework. As a sensitive issue, the issue of immigrant integration led to considerable debate and normative disagreement within the WRR, especially surrounding the Scheffer-debate but also surrounding specific issues such as dual nationality and the

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[306] Memorandum from the WRR Chairman to the Council, 16 March 1999 (A-99/6.4).

[307] Ibid.

[308] Minutes of sixth meeting of WRR council, 23 March 1999 (A-99/6).

[309] Minutes of sixth meeting of the Council in 1999, A-99/6.

[310] Ibid.

[311] Memorandum to the council, 18 august 1999 (A99/13.3).

[312] Memorandum to the Council on the progress of the project group, 20 April 1999, A99/8.2.

[313] Minutes of 6th meeting of the Council in 1999, A-99/6.

[314] Interview project chairman.

economic evaluation of costs and benefits of immigration.[315] This made it difficult to agree on a common normative framework, and also to formulate clear policy recommendations on which all members agreed. These internal difficulties were an important reason for why the report did not adopt policy recommendations as strong as those in previous reports.

> 'Looking backward, we could have perhaps gone a bit further in terms of recommendations. That our recommendations were eventually a bit "softer" was also because this is a politically controversial issue, on which it is difficult to reach agreement within the project group and within the Council. (…) You must have a very good argumentation and a good idea about the perverse effects of such an approach.'[316]

By trying to keep politics out, the WRR aimed to 'debunk' or 'demythologise' some of the prevailing national myths about immigrant integration in the context of internationalisation.[317] Rather than a 'report to government' this report was more 'a report to society' containing a new perspective on immigration and integration rather than a new policy plan.[318] It did not contain many concrete policy recommendations, 'but was rather aimed to introduce a change of perspective.'[319]

This debunking involved, firstly, revealing the pervasive effect of migration and diversity as facets of the ongoing process of internationalisation on the structure of national institutions. Also, it involved a 'conceptual debate about concepts [such] as multiculturalism and integration' and a discussion about 'taboo-topics such as differences between groups', including the issue of dual nationality and the relation between immigration and integration.[320] The WRR believed that the notion of multiculturalism had been troubled by normative debates about whether the Netherlands should be a multicultural society rather than a factual debate about what cultural diversity meant for society. Furthermore, debunking meant that the WRR diverged from prevailing policy discourse. It avoided the concept of 'integration' because the notion reflected the dominant national discourse and stressed the deficiencies on the part of immigrants rather than the larger implications of diversity and migration. Instead, more analytical concepts as 'incorporation' and 'participation' were used.[321] Another myth that was addressed concerned the relation between immigration and integration, which had thus far been treated as largely separate policy areas, embedded in different institutional

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[315] Interviews with project secretary and several staff-members.

[316] Interview with project chairman

[317] Minutes of 17th and 19th meeting of the Council in 1998, A-98/17 and A-98/19. Also: Interview project chairman.

[318] Interview with staff members.

[319] Minutes of 13d meeting of the council, 3th July 2001; A-01/13 .

[320] Ibid.

[321] Interviews with project chairman and staff members. Also: Minutes of meeting of the project group, 16 May 2000.

contexts. While it had been accepted that integration policy was conditional upon immigration policy, now the WRR argued that immigration policy would also have to be conditional upon integration policy. In an immigration society, immigration and integration policies would be intimately entwined.

Thus, the WRR dissociated itself in the making of this report from national policies, politics and also from the ongoing national debate on immigrant integration in an effort to debunk some national myths about immigrant integration in the context of the ongoing process of internationalisation. However, the timing of this report turned out to be very unfortunate. Between the time the report was sent to the publisher (August 20, 2001) and the time it was made public (September 24, 2001), the September 11 terrorist attacks occurred. Immediately following September 11, the Council met to discuss whether changes had to be made to the report, but it decided not to modify it.[322] Although the WRR had already chosen to dissociate itself from ongoing developments in public debate by not engaging in the 2000 minorities debate, this unfortunate timing meant that the report was published in a very different problem setting than when the project began. In the words of one of the staff-members, it had already been 'overhauled by problem developments such as the Scheffer debate and 11th September by the time it was published'.[323]

SCP: Boundary work within the boundaries of the nation-state

The SCP had obtained a structural position in the field of immigrant integration research in the 1990s as a data provider on the position of minorities. In this period, it demarcated and coordinated its role in instrumental terms in the context of its involvement in the new structure-induced equilibrium of the universalist approach of the Integration Policy. However, as the position of the SCP was more and more institutionalised in the 1990s, its way of demarcating its role and coordinating its relations to policy also changed.

Although the SCP continued to be a provider of quantitative data, it increasingly demarcated its role in more than just instrumental ways. The growing authority of the SCP in this domain enabled it to make more normative statements about immigrant integration; it became less reserved in its involvement in this domain than in the preceding period.[324] This was manifest in its more open advocacy of an assimilationist policy approach in its 1998 Social and Cultural Report and in the strong engagement of the director of the SCP, Schnabel, in the public debate on immigrant integration (see 7.1.3). This more normative engagement triggered significant criticism, some of a moral nature. According to Schnabel, the director of the SCP:

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[322] Interview Director of WRR and project chairman.
[323] Interview staff-member.
[324] Interview researcher from the SCP.

Schnabel: 'My argument received a somewhat mixed response, because it was a very critical story: there is no multicultural society, nor would it be a good option. Somewhat on purpose, but perhaps also a bit naïve, I used a rather sensitive word: I said that there is no choice but to choose for assimilation. (...) Because I had not been involved in this branch for so long, I did not realise that this was rather hard and unpleasant for some people. (...) I was rather shocked by the fierceness of the responses. (...) You find yourself quickly on situations about moral issues, or moral decency' (cit. in Blok, 2004b: 294).

This new role of the SCP was, in sharp contrast to that of the WRR, strongly coordinated with ongoing developments in public and political debate. In fact, the SCP saw it as its role to respond to shifts in public and political mood (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2005: 7). Furthermore, it coordinated its growing focus on social-cultural integration with actors in the field of policy-making. This coordination took place, amongst others, through the involvement of the director of the SCP in the Ministerial sub-council ('onderraad'), which deals with the topic of immigrant integration.[325] As such, the SCP could directly address the Prime Minister and other involved ministers, in contrast to the WRR, which launches reports to the government but has no formal role in the policy follow-up of its reports. Furthermore, personal relations between the SCP and government seem to have grown in this period. The Director of the SCP had a good working relationship with the Minister responsible for the integration policy until 2002. Also, one of the main authors of the Minorities Reports changed positions from the SCP to government, to the directorate responsible for the coordination of the Minorities Policy, where he became the coordinator of research.[326]

Although the SCP ventured beyond its traditional instrumental role during this period, its role remained being functional to national policy institutes and national politics.[327] Rather than debunking myths about immigrant integration on a national level, its role was to be functional to the development of integration policies on the national level.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute: The boundary work of a private research institute
Another research actor that was involved in this period was the Verwey-Jonker Institute. This institute was asked to do a policy evaluation study based on available scientific sources for the parliamentary investigative committee on the Integration Policy. Later, it was also asked to do additional research on more specific issues, for which also another private research institute (QA+) was selected. However, because of more substantial role of the Verwey-Jonker Institute in the investigative committee and its focus on questions that concerned problem framing (to what

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[325] Interview with director of SCP.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid.

extent has policy been successful or not), I will focus in particular on the policy evaluation study of this institute.

The Verwey-Jonker Institute was selected out of a public offer that had been organised by the Research and Verification Office of parliament. The scientific sources study requested by the Blok Committee would have to evaluate government policies based on an extensive study of available literature on the integration policy and the progress of the integration process. Moreover, the deadline was a mere two and a half months long. The VWJ institute was selected because of the price it offered and because of its expertise in this area.[328] Also, it was argued that this institute had had no interference with government policy in the past (Blok, 2004a: 15-16).

This provides a strong indication of how the role of the Verwey-Jonker Institute was demarcated. Within a short time and based on available scientific sources, it would have to evaluate to what extent policy had been successful in specific areas. Other experts and institutes rejected the request from the Blok Committee because they felt they had been too strongly involved in policy themselves or because they felt that the time period for doing the research was too limited and would not allow for a meaningful scientific examination. This included Entzinger who had been strongly involved in policy developments, through the ACOM, the 1989 WRR report and the Policy Succession Minorities Debate in 1994.[329]

One important aspect for the Verwey-Jonker Institute to partake in this public bid for an evaluation study was that the research assignment was open, without any prior conclusion about policy failure or success.[330] It wanted to safeguard its integrity as a scientific research institute by allowing the research outcomes to vary and avoid providing scientific legitimacy to already formulated political conclusions. Although a parliamentary motion had originally asked for an evaluation of why policy had been so minimally successful, thereby defining policy as a failure, the eventual question that was to provide the basis for the VWJ study was more open. A parliamentary working group that had been established following this motion to make preparations for a research committee, reformulated the research question into a more open and broader question, concerning to what extent policy had failed or not (Director of VWJ Institute, cit. in De Hart & Prins, 2005: 182).

In terms of coordination, the private status of the Verwey-Jonker Institute influenced its relations to parliament. As a relatively young institute in need of assignments to establish its position and reputation, the Verwey-Jonker Institute had an important market-incentive to accept the research questions formulated by the parliamentary working group. The opportunity to be involved in this domain at a time that it was so high on the agenda provided an opportunity for the Verwey-

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[328] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 8-9: 16.
[329] Interview Entzinger.
[330] Interview researcher from the Verwey-Jonker Institute.

Jonker Institute to strengthen its reputation: 'as researcher[s] must always have a particular relation to the dominant discourse. (...) Only if you discuss really cutting problems will people be willing to read the rest of the report' (director of VWJ Institute, cit. in De Hart & Prins, 2005: 185). This also meant that it had to accept the more substantial focus that was implicated in these research questions. As all research questions concerned only social-economic domains of immigrant integration, leaving out social-cultural questions, these questions already contained a specific 'framing' of the issue of immigrant integration. The principle-agent type of relationship between parliament and the Verwey-Jonker Institute obstructed opportunities for this institute to discuss these questions on a normative level. Also, the institute was aware that involvement in this controversial issue domain could involve specific difficulties, but it could not anticipate the severity of the controversies that did follow.[331]

In sum, there were marked differences in the boundary work of these three research actors. The WRR clearly demarcated its role from ongoing developments in public and political debate (keeping politics out), and coordinated its relation to policy-making in terms of debunking prevailing myths about national immigrant integration in the context of internationalisation. In contrast, the SCP demarcated its role more and more in terms of active engagement in ongoing debates about immigrant integration, and coordinated its relation to national politics and policy-making in functional terms. So, whereas the boundary work of the WRR was aimed at reaching beyond the scope of national policy-making, the SCP clearly remained within this scope of national policy-making. Furthermore, the Verwey-Jonker Institute demarcated and coordinated its relations with parliament in terms of a principle-agent relationship, in which it had only limited scope to negotiate the research assignment and in which market-incentives stimulated it to accept the research assignment given by the principle.

7.2.2 The field of policy-making

How did actors involved in policy-making in this period construct research-policy relations, and how can this be explained? Within the context of the dramatic changes in the structure of policy-making in this period, I will examine the boundary work of the parliamentary investigative committee (the 'Blok Committee') that was established following the 'long year of 2002', and the boundary work of the political actors and political entrepreneurs that kept immigrant integration on the political agenda in this period and eventually triggered the development of the Integration Policy New Style.

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[331] Ibid.

The Blok Committee: The boundary work of a committee under pressure

The Blok Committee was established by the parliament that was formed after the controversial elections of 2002. A parliamentary motion was accepted that asked for a parliamentary investigation to examine why the integration policy had been so minimally successful. [332] This motion indicated that parliament regarded the integration policy thus far as a failure. As discussed before, this negative evaluation was based on an assimilationist perspective that stressed in particular the lack of policy results in the domain of social-cultural integration (see 7.1.4). Furthermore, it indicated that parliament wanted to provide a new 'élan' to the Integration Policy. It wanted to create a broad political basis for changes in the integration policy.

The demarcation of the role of this committee gradually became narrower and more specific. An important element in this demarcation was the broadening of the research questions for this committee by a parliamentary working group. [333] It reformulated the research problem in a more open way, allowing for broader conclusions; it made the evaluation of policy success or failure a part of the research problem. The purpose was to enable parliament to make an assessment of the integration policy that had been adapted over the past decades, of the intended policy goals and obtained policy results, and of the consistency and coherence of policy in various domains. The selected domains included housing and recreation, income and labour, and education. Also, the committee would have to provide building blocks for a future integration policy. The assignment to the research committee as eventually formulated by parliament was:[334]

> 'To enable the Second House of Parliament to evaluate the integration policy of Dutch government over the past 30 years, to evaluate the aimed effects and factual results of this policy and to evaluate the coherence of policy on various policy terrains. Moreover, the research should provide building blocks for the integration policy to come. The questions that need to be answered by the temporary committee:
>
> What integration policy has been conducted in the Netherlands over the past 30 years?
> What were the goals and results of this policy in important areas such as housing and recreation, income and labour and education?
> Has there been a consistent and coherent integration policy in the various domains?
> To what extent can this policy, given its goals, be qualified as successful?
> Are there experiences in foreign cities with the integration policy from which our country can learn?'

When the investigative committee was established, parliament provided a further specification of its task. [335] The committee's first task would only be to

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[332] Parliamentary Document, TK 2002-2003, 28600, nr. 24.
[333] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689 nr. 8-9, p. 9.
[334] Ibid: nr. 1.
[335] Parliamentary Document, TK 2002-2003, 28689, nr. 2.

commission a study of available literature or 'sources'. Only after this study was completed, the committee would pursue its further activities. Initially, this study was to be completed in about 7 weeks.[336] The committee decided, however, that this period would be too limited for such a study, and added an additional 7 weeks.[337] In the midst of this, the new centre-right government that was established in 2002 already fell. Following new parliamentary elections, however, the committee was re-established in February 2003, with more or less the same composition.[338]

Thereby, the relation between the committee and the evaluation study of the Verwey-Jonker Institute was coordinated in such a way that the Verwey-Jonker Study would provide the starting point for the evaluation by the Blok Committee. In fact, the VWJ institute was asked to answer the same questions as posed to the committee itself. It was central in that it provided the required information for the fulfilment of the committee's task, but also in that it provided a means for coping with the tremendous political pressure on this committee. Because of the political sensitivity of the issue at hand, the committee stood 'constantly under pressure'.[339] This consisted of political differences among the various political parties represented in the committee and political incentives for proliferation in the media.[340] This posed political threats to the research committee and political opportunities for parties that wished to distinguish themselves from the others.[341] The study of available sources provided a way for coping with this pressure, by first examining 'the facts' that could tame the internal centripetal forces.[342]

Based on the report of the Verwey-Jonker Institute, the committee would formulate its own conclusions during the second phase of the committee proceedings.[343] First, a series of interviews was held with persons that had been involved in the national and local integration policies over the past decades. Two series of interviews were held; one closed and one open. The goals of the closed interviews were to 'test the findings from the sources study', to 'enhance knowledge and insight in the matter concerned', and to 'select persons that would be invited for the open meetings'.[344] In total, 103 meetings were held with 145 persons. The 'primary function' of the open meetings with again a very large range of actors, 86 meetings with 142 persons, was to 'test the findings of the literature study in public.'[345] The interviewees included former ministers, civil servants from the local

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[336] The committee was established on the 18th December 2002 and had to report about its first tasks already on the 23rd January 2003.

[337] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28689, nr. 8-9: 12.

[338] Ibid: 11.

[339] Interview with chairman of Blok Committee.

[340] Interview with chairman of Blok Committee.

[341] Ibid.

[342] Ibid.

[343] Parliamentary Document, TK 2003-2004, 28899, nr. 8-9: 16.

[344] Ibid: 19-20.

[345] Ibid.

and national level, scientists, representatives from minorities organisations and also specific 'successful immigrant women'. Furthermore, public hearings open for participation from all those who were interested were held in Dutch cities. Two large and two medium-sized cities were selected across the country, and participation was open to all. The goal of these public hearings was to provide a voice to the people 'from the street', but primarily to 'test the findings from the literature study', just as had been the goal of the open interviews.[346] This phase was referred to as the 'public conclusion'[347], and served to provide more fundamental input to the committee. Finally, based on the Verwey-Jonker study, the committee decided to commission six more studies on several topics. These topics included; the labour market position of immigrants; the role of self-organisations, welfare organisations and interest groups; the emancipation of girls and women; the policy objectives in the domain of education; experiences in foreign cities with immigrant integration; and finally the role of governments in immigrants' countries of origin. These studies were also commissioned from private research institutes, including QA+ and again, the Verwey-Jonker Institute.

Thus, the establishment of this parliamentary investigative committee was a political initiative to strengthen parliament's control on the integration policy conducted by government. An evaluation of the policy fiasco in this domain would provide a way for parliament to unbound itself in this domain following 'the long year of 2002', and provide a new political élan to the integration policy. However, the political pressure, the time constraints and the research design of the committee seem to have demarcated the role of the committee in a more narrow way. These factors contributed to the central importance of the study, mainly involving scientific sources commissioned to the Verwey-Jonker Institute. The interviews, public hearings and additional studies that were conducted in the second stage mainly served the purpose of testing and refining the VWJ conclusions. The parliamentary effort to set a new political course in this domain was thus eventually based on a study of scientific sources that had been conducted under serious constraints.

Politics: Putting scientific credibility on the line

The parliamentary initiative to provide a new élan to integration coincided with efforts from the new centre-right government coalitions from 2002 and 2003 to develop a new approach to immigrant integration. Immigrant integration had emerged on top of the political agenda following the rise of Fortuyn, a series of focus events and the continuous involvement of public intellectuals such as Scheffer and Hirsi Ali. It was in this politicised context that the centre-right government took charge of the development of an Integration Policy New Style.

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[346] Ibid: 21-22.

[347] Ibid.

Political actors in this period demarcated their role as responders to the strong feelings of anxiety about multiculturalism and about the Dutch democratic establishment in general, which had manifested themselves in 'the long year of 2002' (Pellikaan & Trappenburg, 2003). For Fortuyn, public discontent about multiculturalism and Dutch politics were interconnected (Wansink, 2004). Drawing attention to political ignorance toward 'the voice from the street' was part of his populist agenda against elitism in Dutch politics. According to Fortuyn, but also Hirsi Ali and Scheffer, politics would have ignored the alleged 'clash of civilisations' that was taking place within society out of a benevolent multiculturalism. By avoiding political debates and by maintaining taboos on this topic, politics would have been 'un-democratic' and elitist. Instead, the centre-right government now clearly took up a prominent role in public and political debates on immigrant integration.

In contrast to a politics of avoidance (De Beus, 1998), an articulation function now emerged in politics (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 201), meaning that politics developed a role in naming the problems and feelings of society and articulating these in their actions to ensure the 'voice from the street' is taken seriously. Prins describes this in terms of 'hyperrealism', which in contrast to new realism involves not only that politics aims to eradicate taboos and speak freely of problems of integration, but 'in which the courage of speaking freely about specific problems and solutions became simply the courage to speak freely in itself' (Prins, 2002b: 252).

Furthermore, these political actors and public intellectuals linked immigrant integration to broader concerns about national social cohesion and national identity. The debate about immigrant integration had become more and more philosophical, in part due to the involvement of public intellectuals. It focused attention to matters of principle, such as freedom of expression, as well as the alleged clash of civilisations. Another theme that emerged in this period concerned freedom of religion in relation to principles such as freedom of expression, equality of man and woman and separation of state and church. These matters of principle often emerged in the debate through symbolic events, such as headscarf wearing in public offices, statements about Islam (by Fortuyn, amongst others) and the symbolic event of an Islamic religious servant refusing to shake hands with the Minister of Integration and Immigration.

This demarcation of an 'articulation' role of politics in policy-making brought about a strong national orientation in political debates about immigrant integration. In fact, immigrant integration became one of the central issues in a national debate about societal values and norms, which was formally proclaimed by the Prime Minister. Whereas the universalist approach of the 1990s had contributed to decentralisation, privatisation and Europeanization of elements of the integration policy, now a reverse trend was set in motion that put immigrant integration clearly at the locus of central government, especially in terms of policy formulation (Penninx et al., 2005). For instance, measures were taken to strengthen the role of

national government in civic integration courses, such as standardised national exams and strengthening the symbolic meaning of Dutch nationality acquisition by organising ceremonial festivities and introducing sharper regulations against dual citizenship (De Hart, 2004). Also, a stronger link was established between integration and immigration policies, to use the stricter approach to immigrant integration as a means for restricting further immigration (Penninx et al., 2005).

The changes in how the role of politics was demarcated also had consequences for how the relations within the field of research were coordinated. Politics became increasingly selective in its use of scientific research; it increasingly adopted selective pick-and-choose strategies toward science (Penninx, 2005). Whereas reports of the WRR had marked fundamental policy turning points in the decades before, now it remained largely ignored. Even the main conclusions of the Blok Committee, which had been established by parliament itself, were now ignored. Although parliament accepted no less than 25 out of 27 recommendations of the Blok Committee, it rejected the most fundamental conclusions regarding the success of the integration process. In contrast, government provided a more prominent role to the SCP. This was illustrated amongst others by the fact that, whereas prior policy documents were often directly related to earlier WRR reports, this time the first document in which the Integration Policy New Style was announced was related to the 2003 Minorities Report by the SCP.

The credibility of researchers was discussed more and more in the open. The Blok Committee and in particular the evaluation study that it commissioned from the Verwey-Jonker Institute became object of fierce public and political controversy, even before the Committee had published its findings. Internal disagreement in the committee received public attention when one of the committee members decided, through pressure from his own party (the Socialist Party, which, of significance, had taken the initiative for the parliamentary motion in 2002), to leave the committee. Sparked by media statements and revelations about the progress of the Blok Committee, the abandonment of this committee member triggered controversy over the committee's research approach, in particular about the Verwey-Jonker report and over its conclusion that policy would have been relatively successful. He claimed that the committee should not have commissioned a study from this institute, as experts involved in this institute would have been too closely involved with policy developments themselves in the past.[348] The authority of this institute was further questioned due to alleged political connections of one of its directors and main authors of the study for the Blok Committee. This expert would have been involved with the leftist Green Party, which was now severely criticised because of its multiculturalist bias and support of political correctness and taboos. In addition, the criticism concerned the committee's conclusion that the integration policy would have been relatively successful. This conclusion immediately triggered responses from participants in the public debate, from involved public intellectuals

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[348] Interview with involved parliamentarian, NRC Handelsblad, 20 September 2003, p. 29.

as well as politicians who discarded such a conclusion as 'naive'.[349] Surprisingly little attention was paid to the more critical conclusions about the social-cultural integration of immigrants (director of VWJ Institute, cit. in De Hart & Prins, 2005: 185):

> 'In the study for the Blok Committee we have observed spectacular progress of immigrants in the domains of housing, labor and education. (...) But we also concluded that the integration as a whole cannot be defined as successful. There are after all many other problems. Without the Blok Committee asking us for it, we have put these problems on the agenda, also to make that bridge to the broader debate. Nonetheless, we were attacked most on the positive part of our conclusion. Apparently, one is quickly too optimist[ic] in these gloomy times.'

Following the criticism concerning the role of the Verwey-Jonker Institute in particular, a debate emerged about the entanglement of science and policy in this domain. Politicians overly 'delegated' the development of a political vision in this domain to scientists. A debate that had taken place earlier on a smaller scale, was now revived on a larger scale, criticising the immigrant integration research field for being too policy-oriented.[350] Also, researchers were criticised for having a multiculturalist bias, operating mostly in the interest of minorities.

Also after publication of the committee report, it remained an object of public scrutiny. In parliamentary hearings, debate emerged about whether the Blok Committee had 'measured' what it was supposed to measure. Questions arose about the usefulness of an evaluation study when there is no consensus on the definition of integration. Hirsi Ali, who had now become a Member of Parliament, claimed that because 'there has never been a consensus on a definition of the word integration [and therefore] parliament has given the research committee an assignment that was too vague.'[351] Other parties argued, based on their frame of integration, that the committee report provided a thorough analysis of all the problems, 'but is too reserved when it comes to drawing the proper conclusions from all this.'[352] Based on their frames about integration, various parties point to alleged 'blind-spots' in the committee report, such as the role of religion in general and Islam in particular, criminality and the lack of attention for cultural issues more in general. In addition, a representative from the party that had taken the initiative for this committee asked how the committee could have come to its relatively positive conclusions about policy when it had been given the assignment to investigate why policy had failed.[353] Finally, in the parliamentary hearings following the committee report, criticism continued over the choice for the Verwey-Jonker

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[349] 'Harde kritiek uit Kamer op 'naïef' rapport', NRC Handelsblad, 19 January 2004, p.6.

[350] 'Makelaars in Minderheden', newspaper article by M. Sommer, Volkskrant, 19 September 2003.

[351] Parliamentary Hearings, April 2004, 63-4102

[352] Parliamentary Hearings, 6 April 2004, 63-4094

[353] Parliamentary Hearings, 6 April 2004, 63-4127

Institute for carrying out the study. This criticism was now broadened to the composition of the committee itself, as one member, a former state secretary of Education, helped to investigate to what extent her own policy had been successful.

So, in terms of boundary work by political actors in the period following 'the long year of 2002', the demarcation of the role of politics in terms of articulation of democratic beliefs about immigrant integration, was related to a growing cynicism in relation to scientific research. The use of scientific research became increasingly selective and scientific credibility was more openly discussed.

In sum, within the field of policy-making, there was a clear shift how the role of politics in policy-making was demarcated. Both parliament, by establishing the Blok Committee, and the centre-right governments from 2002 and 2003 attempted to provide a new political élan to the Integration Policy. In terms of coordination of relations with research, there were some differences between the boundary work practices of these two actors. The Blok Committee attributed a primary role to an evaluation study of scientific sources by the Verwey-Jonker Institute. In contrast, the centre-right government took a more cynical attitude toward scientific research. Furthermore, as a response to growing public controversy about the credibility of researchers, the government became very selective in its use of research.

7.2.3   An engineering boundary configuration

Based on the analysis of boundary work practices of various research and policy actors, the next step is to analyse the structure of the interaction between these actors. To what extent was the relation between research and policy either direct or indirect (convergent or divergent) and to what extent did their mutual relations involve either scientific or political primacy?

Selective convergence between research and policy

The interaction between research and policy seems to have been characterised by selective convergence as well as selective divergence in the relations between specific actors.

On the one hand, the boundary work of political actors and the boundary work of the SCP combined in a way that produced a direct form of interaction. The SCP defined its role as responding to shifts in public and political mood, and closely coordinated its activities with actors in the field of policy-making through its personal networks with policy-makers and politicians as well as its direct formal involvement in political decision making. In this respect, it no longer demarcated its role in relation to policy-making in instrumental terms, but also became more directly involved in policy framing. Government and political actors such as the Home Affairs Minister and later the Minister of Justice, also had a more direct relation with the SCP (than for instance with the WRR). As an example, when social-cultural integration became an important issue on the public and political agenda, they negotiated with the SCP that it would attribute attention to the issue of social-

cultural integration in their Minorities Reports. As such, the SCP was not only directly involved in policy-making, but government and politics were also directly involved in the activities of the SCP. This direct relationship between the SCP and policy actors was indicated by the fact that the Minister of Justice for the first time elaborated the contours of an Integration Policy New Style in a letter to parliament that was issued together with the 2003 Minorities Report of the SCP.

Also in the case of the Blok Committee and the Verwey-Jonker Institute, the interaction between research and policy was rather direct. The Blok Committee attributed a primary role to the Verwey-Jonker Institute in the making of its own report. By delegating the same questions to this institute as had been posed to the committee, including an inherently normative question as whether policy has been successful or not, it did not attempt to establish a strong distinction between the role of this institute and its own role as a parliamentary investigative committee. On its part, the Verwey-Jonker Institute also had no difficulties engaging itself so directly in the evaluation of the committee, in part because of the private status of this institute.

On the other hand, this convergence seems to have been only selective, as indicated by the growing political cynicism toward scientific expertise and its selectivity in using scientific research. For instance, the Verwey-Jonker report and the Blok Committee more in general became object of fierce public debates about their credibility. Furthermore, the WRR report from 2001 was largely ignored. In the latter case, the WRR itself also attempted to dissociate itself from ongoing public and political developments. From an enlightenment model of research-policy relations, it attempted to debunk the public and political debates that emerged since 2000, based on a normative perspective of internationalisation that conflicted with the more national mode of policy-making that emerged in this period.

Political primacy

In terms of relative primacy, this period provides indications of political primacy in the mutual relations between research and policy. For instance, the developments in the field of policy-making after the turn of the millennium had an important effect on the research done by the SCP. Furthermore, policy actors were, more than before, able to ignore research when it developed a frame other than the assimilationist frame that became dominant in policy-making in this period. This was manifest in the case of the 2001 WRR report, but also in the case of the Verwey-Jonker report where only the instrumental conclusions were taken over.

This political primacy was related to the politics of articulation that emerged in this period, especially after 'the long year of 2002'. Whereas it would have previously contributed to the legitimacy of policies supported with scientific expertise, now the stress on democratic responsiveness of politics and the growing cynicism toward scientific research meant that political risks could be entailed. This became manifest especially when the Blok Committee, presumably in an effort to

use research for coordinating a political consensus amongst the members of the committee, attributed a primarily role to research in its own activities. Rather than offering a way to resolve political controversy over immigrant integration, the involvement of these scientific researchers instead became object of controversy.

Thus, the selective convergence between the roles of specific research and policy actors, and the indications of political primacy, point at an engineering model of boundary configuration in this period. This involved the engineering of a new assimilationist approach to immigrant integration driven primarily by political developments in this period, making selective use of scientific research that could contribute directly to the framing of such an approach. This engineering approach involved political actors with a primary role in the development of this assimilationist approach since 'the long year of 2002', including the political leadership of the Justice Department that had now become the coordinating department, and including the SCP that clearly stretched beyond its instrumental role to a more open advocacy of assimilationism. It left out other actors that advocated alternative frames, such as the WRR with a more transnationalist frame.

7.3 Engineering and frame-shifts

The final step in analysing the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts in this period is examining the effect of the engineering nexus on the field structures of immigrant integration research and policy, on the rise of assimilationism in policy and the rise of transnationalism in research and, finally, analysing to what extent this role involved critical frame reflection. Did the engineering nexus in this period contribute to the frame-shifts in research and policy by organising critical dialogues between research and policy actors such as the SCP, WRR, Verwey-Jonker Institute and Department of Justice, on the level of frame reflection? Did it contribute to the situated resolution of the controversies over immigrant integration in research and policy?

7.3.1 The structural effects of engineering

First of all, I will examine the structural effects of the engineering configuration on policy and research. What were its effects on the field structures of policy and research? To what extent did it weaken or strengthen the structural positions of specific actors? Has the engineering boundary configuration been a source of either positive feedback or negative feedback?

Engineering and negative policy feedback

In previous periods, as observed, the research-policy nexus was an important source of changes in immigrant integration policy. In this period, the research-policy nexus seems to have played only a marginal role in the positive feedback process that led to the Integration Policy New Style. This positive feedback process was driven primarily by macro-political developments, in particular 'the long year of 2002', and

in this issue domain by developments on the policy-making side of the nexus, such as in the context of the national minorities debate of 2000.

The structure-induced equilibrium of the universalist approach of the Integration Policy persisted at least until 2000, when the second national minorities debate emerged. Until then, immigrant integration did not rank highly on the public and political agenda. This was also manifest when the WRR announced in 1997 that it would develop a new report on immigrant integration. This initiative was received with strong cynicism on the part of the directorate for the coordination of the integration of minorities (DCIM), which saw no need for adapting the current universalist approach. [354] Government held on to its approach, especially in the context of evidence (provided by the SCP, amongst others) that the social-economic position of migrants was improving considerably.

The SCP, also involved in the structural-induced equilibrium of the Integration Policy as a provider of instrumental data, contributed to the softening- up process that eventually led to the developments after the turn of the millennium. Before and during the national minorities debate, it was one of the advocates of a more assimilationist approach. This was a consequence of the institutionalisation of the position of the SCP in this domain, which allowed it to extend beyond its mere instrumental role. In particular, the SCP seems to have reinforced the trend toward assimilationism. This can be explained by the functional role of the SCP within the national government apparatus of responding to shifts in public and political mood.

The WRR did not trigger positive feedback, in contrast to previous reports that marked turning points in the development of immigrant integration policy. Whereas originally the WRR met with cynicism on the part of government that saw no need for policy change, by the time the WRR report was published there was a strong sense of urgency. However, the strongly altered problem context had made the report irrelevant. According to the chairman of the WRR project group, 'this report could have been considered quite critical of policy issues, until nine-eleven [the 2001 terrorist attacks]. Afterwards, it has mostly been regarded as a "too soft" report, because then the discourse had become much harder in a relatively short period. Therefore, the nuance that we had developed in our report was now seen as too nuanced.'[355]

The national minorities debate in 2000 and 'the long year of 2002' in Dutch politics were the most direct causes of the shift in attention from social-economic to social-cultural facets of immigrant integration. It was in this period that the bureaucratic research-policy nexus that had sustained the structure-induced equilibrium of the integration policy in the 1990s was replaced by the engineering research-policy nexus, with political primacy and more convergent roles of research and policy. First, the Minister of Home Affairs organised more systematic attention

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[354] Interview with chairman of WRR project group, and with civil servant of Minorities Policy Directorate.
[355] Interview with chairman of WRR project group.

to social-cultural integration together with the SCP in response to the national minorities debate. Later, the centre-right coalition continued to coordinate research on social-cultural integration, with the SCP, but also several other research institutes.

Engineering thus involved a functional role of scientific research in the development of a more assimilationist policy approach in response to the political developments from after the turn of the millennium. As such, it was a source of negative rather than positive feedback. It contributed to the development of a new structure-induced equilibrium, instead of engineering itself being a cause of the changes in the structure-induced equilibrium from the 1990s.

The engineering of research on social-cultural integration

Engineering involved a selective use of expertise functional to the development of a new structure-induced equilibrium in the policy field. In the field of research, it thus stimulated attention to social-cultural topics, such as social-cultural integration, criminality and social cohesion.

The Department of Justice played a central role in the 'engineering' of research in this direction. This strengthened the position of the SCP, but also involved more research institutes with a functional relationship to the state apparatus. Various institutes now published reports on immigrant integration, including the SCP with its (then biannual) Minorities Reports, the CBS with annual reports 'Allochthonous in the Netherlands' and the ISEO with regular Integration-Monitors. The Justice Department wanted to achieve better integration of these various studies. This led for the first time to an Annual Report of Integration in 2005, which was a combined effort of the SCP, the CBS and the Scientific Research and Documentation Centre (WODC) of the Justice Department.[356] This was to be only a one-year effort because of difficulties in combining the perspectives of the various institutes into a single report. From 2006 onwards, the WODC and the CBS presented an 'Integration Map' in one year, with key indicators of the position of immigrants in various domains. In the following year, the SCP and the CBS issued a more 'policy-oriented scientific [annual] report' (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2006b: 13).

These studies covered traditional social-economic facets of immigrant integration, but also social-cultural facets. For the Minorities Report of 2003 the SCP had already decided, together with the Justice Department, to include the topic of social-cultural integration. The Integration Map that the WODC developed together with the CBS also included themes such as criminality and contacts between immigrants and natives. The 2005 Annual Integration Report of the SCP, WODC and CBS included the themes social-cultural integration, liveability in concentration areas, youth and criminality, position of women and public perception of the multi-ethnic society. In addition, 'traditional' themes were still covered in this report, such

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[356] The ISEO was left out and was also eventually dissolved.

as labour and income, education, language apprehension, civic integration and demography.

Another aspect of the engineering boundary configuration was that it allowed government to selectively interpret or ignore scientific research. This was the case with the 2001 WRR report, because of its transnationalist framing, but also with the Verwey-Jonker Institute's study, because it attributed attention only to the 'traditional' social-economic facets of immigrant integration. Aided by the growing cynicism toward scientific research in general and by public controversies on immigrant integration research in particular, this engineering configuration facilitated government efforts to develop a new policy approach based on political factors, and to ignore scientific claims that contended such a new 'assimilationist' approach.

As illustrated, the engineering boundary configuration did play a role in the frame-shifts in policy and research in this period, but as a source of negative rather than positive feedback. The policy frame shift that occurred after the turn of the millennium was a direct consequence of such political developments as 'the long year of 2002' and the national minorities debate of 2000. The engineering configuration had a functional role in establishing a structure-induced equilibrium around the new assimilationist approach. In the field of research, engineering stimulated research on social-cultural facets of immigrant integration. It contributed in particular to the position of research actors with a direct and functional relationship to government, such as the SCP, but also to new actors as the WODC and CBS.

7.3.2 Engineering, assimilationism and transnationalism

In the policy field, the engineering configuration was mainly a source of negative feedback in establishing the new policy approach that was set by political actors. But did engineering also contribute to the rise of assimilationism in particular? Did it not only alter the structure of the policy field, but also alter this structure in such a way that an assimilationist frame could emerge? In the field of research, we saw that it contributed to the rise of research to social-cultural facets of immigrant integration. However, as we observed in chapter 4, this period also marked the rise of transnationalist research. What was the relation between this engineering configuration and the rise of transnationalist thinking in this period?

The engineering of a national perspective on immigrant integration

The political events following the turn of the millennium connected the issue of immigrant integration to broader concerns about national identity and about national norms and values. For instance, Fortuyn turned immigrant integration into a symbolic issue for a broader populist agenda that was anti-elitist, anti-multiculturalist and anti-Europeanist. This issue linkage on the national level meant that the call for an assimilationist policy approach stood, at least to some extent,

separate from developments in the issue domain itself. Rather, it became a symbol for a populist struggle against the alleged political correctness of the Dutch political elites and against the political ignorance for popular dissent about the effects of immigration and Europeanization on social cohesion.

In the political arena as well as in public debate, this was manifested in the claim often made by public intellectuals but following Fortuyn, also in the political arena, that one has to be able 'to say the things we have all been thinking' (Holsteyn & Irwin, 2003: 62). From this populist perspective, a properly functioning democratic state apparatus should give consequence to popular dissent and not ignore the voice from the street. This has been referred to as the 'articulation function' of politics (Verwey-Jonker Institute, 2004: 201). Indeed, in political debates following the controversies surrounding the Blok Committee, politicians stressed that these controversies had helped politics 'beyond the phase of denial' and that it would have established a general feeling that 'disinterested and lack of commitment should now belong to the past.'[357] Indeed, following the committee report, most political parties presented papers in which they developed their position concerning a reformulation of the integration policy. According to critics, this articulation function involved a sort of hyperrealism 'in which the courage of speaking freely about specific problems and solutions became simply the courage to speak freely itself' (Prins, 2002b: 252). Also, hyperrealism would have replaced the old 'political correctness' with a new political correctness about 'saying something positively about the integration of immigrants, which would be naïve and would mean ignoring the problems.'[358]

This issue linkage to national political issues triggered an assimilationist framing of immigrant integration by drawing attention to social-cultural integration rather than social-economic participation. The engineering boundary configuration allowed government to develop this assimilationist approach in spite of resistance from other actors involved in this issue domain. This resistance involved researchers that often carried different frames, but also, for instance, the Association of Dutch Municipalities, which offered fierce opposition to the assimilationist approach (Municipalities, 2003: 7-8). Adopting a clear political primacy and 'picking-and-choosing' those strands of expertise that supported the new approach allowed government to engineer the assimilationist Integration Policy New Style.

Engineering and frame conflicts in the scientific field

This engineering of an assimilationist approach to immigrant integration in connection with national political developments further reinforced the fragmentation of the research field in terms of problem framing. It contributed to the rise of immigrant integration research with assimilationist frames, such as by the

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[357] Parliamentary Treaties, 31 August 2004, 92-5932.
[358] Parliamentary Treaties, 6 April 2004, 63-4112.

SCP and other institutes with a functional relationship to government, including the WODC and CBS.

Whereas the engineering configuration on the national research-policy nexus was particularly susceptible to research of the assimilationist type, the research-policy nexus on local and European levels seems to have provided opportunities for the development of other research frames. For instance, Penninx, an established researcher in this domain since the 1970s, observed that he (and his research-institute IMES) increasingly relied on local and European research funding (Penninx in De Hart & Prins, 2005: 183). Both the local and the European levels offered opportunities for research with different problem frames. Local governments had obtained a stronger role in the integration policy in the 1990s due to territorial decentralisation. This led to a growing demand for research from these local governments, often oriented at coping with concrete problems of immigrant integration, rather than larger national symbolic issues. An illustration of research in response to such local demand was the growing attention for integration on the level of neighbourhoods, for instance, as funded by the city of Rotterdam (Duyvendak & Veldboer, 2004),.

Furthermore, the growing involvement of European institutes in research funding and the ongoing process of internationalisation of academic research, created a demand for types of expertise other than the national engineering research-policy nexus. The growing involvement of Europe created new opportunities and new 'structures and incentives for researchers seeking to probe these "problems of Europe"' (Geddes, 2005: 266). The European Union had yet little means for international policy coordination, especially in the domain of integration, as the subject remained a resilient national issue. As such, research coordination was a so-called 'soft means for coordination'. The cooperation of researchers could thereby help construct migration and integration as 'problems of Europe'. '[T]he identification of problems of European integration can enhance the perceived relevance of the European dimension and contribute to arguments for closer integration and more power for supranational institutions' (ibid: 267). This often involved international comparative research, which helped extend the debate on immigrant integration beyond the scope of the nation-state (Favell, 2005). The recent expansion of European research funding for issues of migration and cultural diversity in the seventh Framework Program provided an indication that Europe is increasingly trying to co-opt research as a soft measure of policy coordination in these domains.

Frame-conflicts resulted from this fragmentation of the immigrant integration research field. A fierce conflict was triggered when, in response to the 2001 WRR report, one of the leading Dutch journals in this field, *Migrantenstudies*, invited a number of researchers to respond to the WRR report.[359] The WRR report was positively received by various researchers, such as in a publication on the structural

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[359] Migrantenstudies, special issue, 2002, Vol. 18, nr. 2.

relation between immigration on the social welfare state (Entzinger & Van der Meer, 2004) and in a special booklet of the scientific bureau of the social democrat party about 'The Transnational Netherlands' (Becker, Van Hennekeler, Sie Dhian Ho, & Tromp, 2002). However, in the special issue of *Migrantenstudies*, Koopmans, then a senior researcher at the Social Science Research Centre in Germany, wrote an article in which he compared the position of migrants in Germany with that in the Netherlands to illustrate that the WRR provided too positive of an image of Dutch integration policies. According to Koopmans, Dutch integration policy had clearly failed, especially because of its persistent tendency to reify cultural differences (as a legacy of pillarism). In a subsequence issue of *Migrantenstudies* (Böcker & Thränhardt, 2003) and in other journals (Snel, 2003b), this claim was fiercely rejected and denounced as un-scientific because of many methodological problems concerning the comparative design. In Koopmans' reply, he clearly lifted this criticism to the level of problem framing, attributing the fierce rejections to this article to a self-sufficiency amongst Dutch researchers concerning the Dutch multiculturalist and universalist approach and their normative rejection of assimilation (Koopmans, 2003).

Hereby, the controversy over policy failure or success also entered the field of immigrant integration research. It triggered the interest of the Minister of Integration and Immigration of the first centre-right government in 2002 (Böcker & Thränhardt, 2003: 33). Influenced by the controversy surrounding the Koopmans article, the SCP did a comparative study on the labour market position of Turks in the Netherlands and Germany, published in 2006 (Social and Cultural Planning Office, 2006a). In this study, the SCP concluded that indeed the labour market position of Turks was weaker in the Netherlands than in Germany, but that this was due to differences between the Turkish migrant populations of Germany and the Netherlands rather than to different policy approaches.

Thus, the engineering research-policy nexus on the national level contributed specifically to the development of an assimilationist framing in policy as well as research that defined immigrant integration within the national context. The engineering configuration thus contributed to a national framing of immigrant integration. At the same time, the research-policy nexus on the local and wider levels created opportunities for other frames of immigrant integration, that focused either on more local concerns about immigrant integration or that stimulated a more European perspective on immigrant integration beyond the nation-state. Therefore, the engineering configuration on the national level and the emerging research infrastructures on the local and European level contributed further to the fragmentation of the research field in terms of various problem frames.

7.3.3 Engineering and frame reflection?

Finally, an analysis will be made of the extent to which the role of the engineering boundary configuration in problem framing in research and policy involved critical frame reflection. Did 'engineering' contribute to critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing by making these dialogues open, empathic, reflective, pragmatic and trustful?

Opportunities and constraints for frame reflection

One factor that could have contributed to frame reflection in this period was the broad expansion of the scale of debate. More than ever, an open debate on immigrant integration emerged in the media and in politics. This drew in many new actors into this issue domain, in the political arena as well as in public debate that in principle stood open for participation to all. On the one hand, the engineering boundary configuration seems to have contributed to this openness by enabling a political primacy that expanded the scale of debate beyond that of the researchers and policy-makers who were involved in the prevailing policy monopoly. On the other hand, it also constrained the scale of debate by ruling out specific actors from the scientific field. The fact-value dichotomy served to delegitimise the involvement of researchers in the debate on problem framing, as researchers would have to stick to the facts.

Another condition that could have contributed to frame reflection concerned the multitude of frames present in this issue domain during this period. Whereas in the 1980s there had been one dominant paradigm, which was rivalled by at least one alternative paradigm in the 1990s, now there were actors that carried universalist, multiculturalist, transnationalist and assimilationist frames. The engineering configuration contributed at least to some extent to the rise of the assimilationist frame, in policy but also in research. The other frames were sustained by research-policy relations, amongst others, on local and European levels.

In spite of the presence of various frames, there were few instances of 'empathy' or where actors tried to put themselves in the shoes of actors with different frames. This is illustrated by the controversy over policy failure or success, which had raged in the policy field as well as in the research field. This controversy decayed into a 'dialogue of the deaf' rather than promoting empathy in terms of understanding how and why other actors evaluated policy differently based on different frames. In the debate surrounding the Blok Committee such a dialogue of the deaf was present in the public and political debate about its conclusion about the success of the integration process. Actors involved in these debates selected different data and also interpreted data differently based on different frames; actors with a universalist frame concluded that policy had been successful, whereas actors with an assimilationist frame concluded that it had failed. This debate never achieved the level of problem framing that could have offered a way out of the dialogue of the

deaf. Similar dialogues of the deaf emerged surrounding the 2001 WRR report and the Dutch-German comparison made by Koopmans.

In addition to the limited openness and lack of empathy, there seems to have been only minimal critical reflection. In spite of the many instances in this period that different frames collided, it rarely led to a critical examination of the consistency and coherence of the frames themselves. Often, frame conflict led to controversy about the involved actors, questioning their credibility or even their morality. For instance, the frame conflicts surrounding the report of the Verwey-Jonker Institute and the WRR led to a public questioning of the scientific credibility and authority of these institutes and the persons involved within them. The fierce boundary struggles that increasingly took place in the open during this period seemed to contribute to this lack of critical reflection. The controversies over science-policy boundaries seemed to conceal the underlying controversy over problem framing. The engineering boundary configuration also formed an impediment to critical reflection. It selected evidence that could support the assimilationist frame, and ignored possible counterevidence. The stress in boundary discourse on a fact-value dichotomy further inhibited critical frame reflection, by constraining the task of scientists to 'the facts' and inhibiting their influence on the level of problem framing.

Furthermore, reflection was inhibited by the lack of pragmatism, or the absence of willingness on the part of actors to adapt their frames in response to confrontation with other frames. The politics of articulation, or according to others, hyperrealism, legitimised the dominance of the assimilationist frame. This lack of pragmatism was also caused by the strongly symbolic issue linkage between immigrant integration and populist concerns about elitism and Europeanization. As such, the debate about immigrant integration was, at least to some extent, separated from developments in the problem situation itself and connected instead to larger symbolic issues. This was also illustrated by the absence of concern for policy practice and policy implementation, leading to a growing 'gap', especially between national and local policies (apart from several local governments, such as Rotterdam).

Finally, trust between actors in the scientific research and policy fields in this period was constrained to only a limited number of actors that shared a similar problem frame. Further, it was confined to actors that had a functional relation to the state apparatus, such as the SCP, CBS and WODC. It was only in terms of relations between these state-associated actors with similar frames that there was convergence in science-policy relations. Other actors, sometimes associated with other levels of government, were left out of the small network of trust that sustained the engineering approach. In fact, the discursive fact-value dichotomy seems to have served mainly to rule out actors in the scientific field with different values than the dominant policy values, regardless of the fact that the 'data providers' involved in the engineering of assimilationism clearly also adhered to specific values. As

such, the fact-value dichotomy also marked a value-laden division between networks of trust and distrust.

The Blok Committee and Verwey-Jonker Institute: Missed opportunities for frame reflection?

The proceedings surrounding the Blok Committee and the study of the Verwey-Jonker Institute offer a clear illustration of how and why frame reflection failed in this period. In the research design and the way the proceedings in which the parliamentary investigative committee actually enrolled, there were at least several missed opportunities for frame reflection.

The motivation of parliament for establishing this investigative committee, which was providing a new political élan to the integration policy, may in itself have been an indication of willingness to reflect upon policy framing. However, this opportunity for frame reflection seems to have been missed already in the early stage of formulating the research problem. In the parliamentary motion, empathy and critical reflection toward alternative frames were subdued by including a reference in which it was concluded that policy had been 'insufficiently successful.' This substantive conclusion indicates that there was already a particular problem framing on the basis of the parliamentary initiative for establishing the committee; it was based on this implicit frame that the committee would have to examine why policy had failed and become such a fiasco and how 'building blocks' for a new policy could be developed.

There was, in this respect, an inherent tension between this parliamentary initiative and the new centre-right government established sometime after this parliamentary motion had been accepted. In its attempt to improve its relative information position toward government, parliament went beyond organising its information position to taking a more substantial initiative in terms of policy development. On the one hand, this provided an indication of the broad parliamentary commitment to policy change in this domain. On the other hand, it created a tension with the new centre-right government, which included parties that had strongly proliferated on immigrant integration during the elections, and also presented new substantial plans for policy development.

Furthermore, the parliamentary working group that reformulated this motion into formal research questions for the Blok Committee further constrained opportunities for critical frame reflection. Although it broadened the research questions in terms of allowing for an evaluation of policy success or failure, it also adopted an implicit problem frame in its selection of mainly social-economic domains that should be involved of the parliamentary investigation. As observed earlier, this selection of domains revealed a universalist frame, leaving out the social-cultural issues that had become prominent in public and political debate at that time, revealing a more assimilationist frame. This selective formulation of the research questions showed that the committee was not established to reflect on

alternative frames, but instead to evaluate policy and contribute to policy development based on a specific (universalist) frame.

Another element of the research design that constrained the opportunities for frame reflection concerned the study of scientific sources commissioned from the Verwey-Jonker Institute. As observed above, the Blok Committee delegated all questions to the VWJ Institute, including the selective questions and the normative question concerning policy success or failure. Based on its frame (also universalist), the VWJ Institute examined scientific sources and concluded that policy had been relatively successful. The exclusive role of the VWJ meant however that only one frame was included in the analysis of sources and the evaluation of policy success or failure. Had the Blok Committee asked advice from several institutes, or from one institute with the explicit instruction to use various alternative problem frames, it would have been able to reflect upon these alternative frames within the committee. Furthermore, the role of scientific research would have been to facilitate frame reflection within the politically constituted Blok Committee. The broad political position of the committee would thus have been enabled to frame reflection by a type of scientific involvement that did choose a specific frame, but instead articulated diverse possible frames.

The immense political pressure on the Blok Committee formed a further impediment for frame reflection. This political pressure involved the sharp political differences on immigrant integration as well as the political incentives for the party representatives to seek publicity for themselves. Asking for expert advice first seemed to offer a way for coping with this political pressure, but eventually appeared to be at odds with the growing questioning of scientific authority and expert involvement in problem framing. Furthermore, this political pressure contributed to the immense time pressure on the committee in general and, more specifically, for the scientific sources study. These time constraints clearly limited the possibilities for including more frames in the sources study.

Thus, as the case of the Blok Committee illustrated, the frame-shifts in this period were not purely products of frame reflection. In spite of the prevalence of various frames (especially in research) and the expansion of the scale of the debate, most other conditions for frame reflection were not met. The engineering boundary configuration contributed to keeping the scale of debate, and also trust, confined to a limited network of actors, who generally shared a similar frame and were closely associated to the state apparatus. Also, it did not contribute to empathy. Frame conflicts (such as the controversy over policy success or failure surrounding the Blok Committee) often decayed into dialogues of the deaf in which actors with different frames selected different data or interpreted data differently, rather than leading to a critical debate on the level of problem framing. Furthermore, critical reflection was inhibited by selectively picking-and-choosing evidence for the assimilationist policy framing (such as from the SCP) and ignoring counterevidence

(such as from the WRR). The fierce boundary struggles associated with the engineering configuration also shifted attention from the involved frames to the credibility of involved actors. Finally, the politics of articulation and the increasingly symbolic nature of the debate on immigrant integration diminished the willingness of actors to adapt their frames. In fact, as the case of the Blok Committee showed, actors often relentlessly held on to their frames. This was illustrated not only by reluctant responses to the Blok Committee, but also the committee and even the VWJ Institute's persistence in holding on to a specific problem frame.

7.4   Conclusion

Around the turn of the millennium, new frames emerged in immigrant integration research as well as policy. This chapter contains an empirical analysis of the role of the research-policy nexus in this period (2000-2004) in these frame-shifts in research and policy. In research, transnationalist frames emerged, which focused on the formation of transnational communities, on the normative process of internationalisation, and the development of transnational forms of citizenship. Assimilationist frames emerged in research as well, focusing on immigrant integration in a national setting and on social-cultural issues such as norms and values, criminality and social cohesion. In immigrant integration policy, an Integration Policy New Style was developed that contained an assimilationist problem framing, meaning it focused on common citizenship of migrants and on social-cultural adaptation within a normative perspective of preserving social cohesion on a national level.

   The actor setting of the research-policy nexus involved various actors in this period, with different frames of immigrant integration. The WRR, which published a third report on immigrant integration, adopted a transnationalist frame. It claimed that the Netherlands had become an 'immigration society'. Parliament established a parliamentary investigative committee (the 'Blok Committee') in 2002, which eventually concluded that the integration process was relatively successful because of progress in such key areas as education and labour. It based this conclusion on an evaluation study by the Verwey-Jonker Institute, which came to same conclusion based on the observed progress in these areas. Their focus on these areas in particular revealed a universalist problem frame. Political actors of the time that became more involved in this domain and took a strong political leadership on policy developments stressed rather social-cultural facets of integration. In response to political developments around the turn of the millennium, such as the rise of Fortuyn and 'the long year of 2002' in Dutch politics, these actors adopted a more assimilationist frame of immigrant integration. Finally, by the end of the 1990s, the Social and Cultural Planning Office also already adopted a more assimilationist frame. Based on these different frames, the actors tended to stress very different problem developments. At the same time that some actors, such as the Blok Committee and the Verwey-Jonker Institute, claimed that the integration process

was successful because of the progress in social-economic areas, other actors, such as political actors and the SCP, claimed that it was not so successful because of insufficient social-cultural integration or even an alleged 'clash of civilisations'.

Based on their positions and frames, these actors developed very different boundary work practices. The WRR demarcated its role from ongoing developments in public and political debate so as to coordinate its relation to these developments in a way that would allow it to debunk national myths about immigrant integration from an internationalisation perspective. Both the Blok Committee and the political actors involved in the making of an Integration Policy New Style clearly demarcated their role as providing a new political élan to the Integration Policy in response to the political developments in this period. However, they coordinated their relations to scientific research differently. The Blok Committee attributed a primary role to a study of scientific sources in its evaluation of the Integration Policy. In contrast, political actors only made selective use of scientific research when it fit the established political preferences in this period, under the belief that scientific research should not interfere with the articulation function of politics. The Verwey-Jonker Institute defined its role and relation to policy in terms of a principle-agent relationship, in which it has limited scope to negotiate problem framing and had commercial incentives to accept the research assignment as it was. Finally, the SCP no longer demarcated its role in mere instrumental terms but in broader functional terms, and coordinating its role closely with ongoing developments in public and political debate.

The interaction between research and policy in this period involved a structural combination of the boundary work of political actors and the SCP. This relation was direct in the sense that the SCP was directly involved in policy framing and would directly respond to ongoing public and political developments. Furthermore, this relation involved a clear political primacy, which was illustrated by the strong influence of political developments on the research of the SCP but also by the selectivity of the use of scientific research in political decision-making. Hence, the boundary configuration in this period was described in terms of the engineering model.

Finally, this engineering boundary configuration seems to have inhibited frame reflection, or critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing. Rather, it was strategically designed for establishing an assimilationist policy frame by coordinating research functional to this aim and ignoring research with alternative frames. Thereby, engineering contributed to the development of a structure-induced equilibrium for the assimilationist policy approach. It enabled government to promote and make selective use of research on social-cultural integration within a national context, and ignore research that challenged such a national perspective on immigrant integration. In the field of research, the national research-policy nexus contributed to a further fragmentation in terms of problem framing, which was also stimulated by the emergence of

alternative research-policy nexus on local and European levels. Finally, by confining the debate across the research-policy nexus to a small group of actors that shared a similar problem frame (assimilationism), that ignored alternative frames (selective use of research, cynicism toward science), who were not pragmatic but instead followed a logic of articulation (in response to political developments in this period) and who confined trust to a small group of actors, this engineering approach obstructed critical frame reflection.

Thus, the engineering boundary configuration seems to have inhibited rather than promoted frame reflection. However, the boundary configuration was not structurally designed to promote reflection, but rather to establish the assimilationist frame that had emerged in this issue domain in response to macro-political developments from around the turn of the millennium.

Table 7: Summary of findings of the role of the research-policy nexus in research and policy frame-shifts in this period

	Indicators	Findings
Frame-shifts*	-*Policy*: formulation of an Integration Policy New Style aimed at social-cultural adaptation of migrants in the perspective of preserving national social cohesion. -*Research*: rise of research to social-cultural facets of integration in a national context, as well as rise of research that takes a perspective beyond the nation-state.	Frame-shift from universalism to assimilationism in immigrant integration policy. Rise of assimilationist and transnationalist frames in research (2000-2004).
Actors and context	-*Policy*: Parliament establishes an investigative committee ('Blok Committee') on the integration policy. Political actors and public intellectuals keep integration on the agenda and develop an Integration Policy New Style. -*Research*: WRR publishes a third report on immigrant integration, the SCP obtains a stronger position in the research field and the Verwey-Jonker Institute makes an evaluation study for the Blok Committee.	Actors with different frames: transnationalist (WRR), universalist (Verwey-Jonker, Blok Committee), or assimilationist frames (SCP, Political actors). Based on these frames, contextual evidence was selected and interpreted differently.
Boundary work and field structures	-*Policy*: Both the Blok Committee and political actors demarcate their role as providing a new political élan to the integration policy. However, the Blok Committee coordinates a primary role for research in this respect, whereas political actors make selective use of research based on political preferences. -*Research*: WRR demarcated and coordinated its role as debunking of national policy myths from an internationalisation perspective. SCP demarcatee its role in terms of functionality and closely coordinated its role with government. Verwey-Jonker Institute demarcated and coordinated its relation with government in principle-agent terms.	Boundary work of both political actors and the SCP was aimed at the development of an assimilationist approach following the political developments in this period.
Boundary configuration	-Direct relation between SCP and political actors in the growing attention to social-cultural integration: SCP also more directly involved in policy framing. Direct relation between Verwey-Jonker Institute and Blok Committee -Political primacy in policy-making but also in determining what scientific research is utilised and what research is ignored.	Convergence of roles of research and policy actors + political primacy = engineering boundary configuration.
Role in frame-shifts, framing and frame reflection	-Engineering source of negative feedback in the construction of an assimilationist 'structure-induced equilibrium' in national immigrant integration policy. -Engineering contributed to research and policy framing in a national perspective, in contrast to research that was produced by local and European research-policy nexus. -Conditions for frame-reflection (openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust) were not met.	Engineering was an obstacle to critical frame reflection. It was designed to establish one dominant frame in response to macro-political developments rather than in response to frame reflection.

* From chapter 4

PART III

CONCLUSION

8

CONCLUSION

In spite of decades of scientific research and policy-making, immigrant integration has remained an issue that defies a clear definition. There has been constant, growing disagreement about what immigrant integration actually means. Does it mean integration, emancipation or adaptation? Does it involve minorities, 'allochthonous', or foreigners? Does it refer to social-economic factors or social-cultural factors and what would be relation between these factors? Does it mean that the Netherlands has become a multicultural society, or does it rather mean that such a prospect of multiculturalism has to be averted? Different ways of defining and understanding immigrant integration have led to different types of research and various policies over the past decades. However, controversy has persisted on the question of what immigrant integration actually means. Various research and policy paradigms have come and gone, but no single paradigm has been so convincing that it persisted for more than a decade or so. This makes immigrant integration an intractable controversy (Rein & Schön, 1994) or a 'wicked problem' (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

The roles of research and policy in resolving this intractable controversy have become more and more contested. Does the controversial nature of this issue mean that it should be left to be resolved rationally by researchers, or precisely because of this controversial nature, should it instead be resolved by policy-makers and politicians? Should there be a direct relationship between research and policy in order to jointly resolve this controversy, or should there be more distance between research and policy so that the autonomy of research and the democratic responsiveness of policy are respected? These topics have given rise to fierce 'boundary struggles' on the nexus between research and policy in this domain. As with the absence of a clear paradigm regarding immigrant integration, neither did a clear paradigm exist in research-policy relations.

The aim of this research was to unravel the relationship between the boundary struggles on the research-policy nexus and the controversies over the framing of immigrant integration in research and policy. It was not a study of how immigrant integration should be framed, or how research-policy relations should be structured. Rather, it sought to unravel how actors involved in this domain structured research-policy relations, and how this affected their way of defining and understanding immigrant integration. Also, this study did not seek to explain the framing of immigrant integration in research and policy as such. Rather, the goal was to unravel the ways that the research-policy nexus played a role in the framing of this issue in policy and research, and how this can role was explained.

A structuralist-constructivist perspective was adopted for examining the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing. This perspective provided the theoretical basis for the empirical analysis of, firstly, how structures of research-policy relations were constructed, and secondly, how these structures of research-policy relations affected the social construction of problems. It reached beyond objectivist and relativist perspectives, through an empirical focus on the practices of social actors within specific structural settings. The structuralist-constructivist perspective was elaborated with insights from the sociology of sciences about how actors produce and reproduce structures or research-policy relations in boundary work practices. Furthermore, it was elaborated with insights from the sociology of social problems about how actors 'frame' social issues in a way that is inherently selective and normative. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, this combination of literatures allows us to examine how different structures of research-policy relations may contribute to or inhibit critical reflection on the framing of immigrant integration, or 'frame reflection'. According to Rein and Schön, such critical frame reflection could contribute to the situational resolution of intractable controversies such as immigrant integration (Rein & Schön, 1994).

The central question of this research was: What was the role of the research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts in immigrant integration in research and policy in the Netherlands over the past decades, how can this role be explained, and to what extent did the research-policy nexus contribute to critical frame reflection? This was analysed in several steps; first by describing the frames and frame-shifts in immigrant integration research and policy, then analysing actor involvement in research-policy relations in the periods that frame-shifts occurred, subsequently reconstructing the boundary work practices of these actors and the structural configuration of research-policy relations that were produced, and finally examining the role of this structural research-policy nexus in the frame-shifts and the extent to which this role did in fact involve frame reflection.

8.1   Immigrant integration as an intractable controversy

First of all, a reconstruction was made of how immigrant integration has been defined and understood in immigrant integration research and policy. This reconstruction was made with the frame-concept originally developed by Goffman (1979), later developed further by Rein and Schön (1994). *What frames have emerged in policy and research over the past decades, and what frame-shifts can be identified.* Framing refers to how actors make sense of problems by 'naming' the relevant aspects of a problem situation and 'framing' these into a consistent, intelligible and convincing answer to the question 'what is going on here'. According to Rein and Schön, this framing process involves discursive or linguistic elements, as well as cognitive and normative beliefs. Framing not only defines social reality, but also connects 'is' to 'ought' by directing specific ways of acting upon a problem situation. Based on international literature on immigrant integration (Castles & Miller, 2003; Koopmans

et al., 2005), several theoretical frames of immigrant integration were distinguished – assimilationism, multiculturalism, universalism, differentialism and trans/postnationalism – that were used for describing the frames and frame-shifts in immigrant integration policy and research.

Based on this frame perspective, strong variation was observed in how immigrant integration has been framed in policy as well as research. Several frame-shifts took place over the past decades that involved not just different ways of perceiving the problem situation of immigrant integration, but rather 'reality-shifts' in terms of different ways of making sense of what immigrant integration meant in the first place.

In policy, these frame-shifts marked a strong discontinuity in terms of understanding immigrant integration. On the level of problem framing, one must speak of several immigrant integration policies over the past decades rather than one immigrant integration policy. Until the 1970s, immigrant integration was framed in a differentialist way, defining integration as a temporary topic concerning specific temporary migrant groups ('guest labourers', 'Surinamese') and framed in terms of 'integration with retention of identity' to facilitate return migration and avert the prospect that the Netherlands would become an immigration country. In the 1980s, the Minorities Policy contained a more multiculturalist frame, aimed at emancipation and participation of 'ethnic minorities' in social-cultural and social-economic domains, within the perspective of a multicultural society. In the 1990s, the Integration Policy named immigrant integration in universalist terms of promoting 'active citizenship' amongst 'allochthonous', with a focus on improving the social-economic participation of migrants within the context of ongoing welfare state reforms. Finally, after the turn of the millennium, the Integration Policy New Style framed immigrant integration in more assimilationist terms, such as promoting 'common citizenship' amongst migrants with different cultural backgrounds, and aimed at social-cultural adaptation within the context of national social cohesion and national norms and values.

These different policy frames involved more than just varying perspectives on immigrant integration, but also encompassed 'reality shifts' in terms of ways of providing meaning to immigrant integration. For instance, whereas immigrant integration in the 1980s meant emancipation of ethnic minorities in the multicultural society, in the 1990s it instead meant participation of 'allochthonous' in the welfare state. Furthermore, the different frames in various periods also conflicted on various occasions. For instance, whereas policies in the 1970s were aimed at preserving cultural identities to facilitate return migration, since the 1980s policy was instead aimed at integration in Dutch society, and since the turn of the millennium the preservation of cultural identities was even regarded an obstacle to integration.

Of importance is that this frame analysis of policy discontinuity concerns the level of problem framing more than concrete policy practices. It was based on an analysis of policy documents and secondary sources that contain indicators of the

more fundamental level of how problems are framed. Although problem framing will generally be related to policy practices, this does not mean that frame-shifts will always lead to shifts in policy practices as well. In fact, there are indications that institutional path-dependency has constrained the effect of frame-shifts on policy practices (De Zwart, 2005; Entzinger, 2005; Poppelaars & Scholten, forthcoming).

In research, a growing diversity was observed in terms of problem framing. Until the 1970s, minimal research existed, and most studies done in this period contained a differentialist problem frame. In the late 1970s and during the 1980s, most research contained a multiculturalist frame, focusing on the emancipation of ethnic minorities in social-cultural and social-economic domains within the perspective of a multicultural society. In the 1990s, this 'Minorities Paradigm' was challenged by a universalist 'Integration Paradigm' that named and framed immigrant integration in terms of citizenship of 'allochthonous' within the context of the welfare state. Finally, around the turn of the millennium, the multiplicity of frames in immigrant integration research increased further. On the one hand, assimilationist research emerged that focused on social-cultural facets of immigrant integration or 'adaptation' within the context of national social cohesion and values and norms. On the other hand, transnationalist research emerged that framed immigrant integration in the context of the social process of internationalisation.

From a frame-perspective, this analysis shows that immigrant integration research also involved selective and normative ways of making sense of problems, which have changed over the past decades. For instance, whereas the Minorities Paradigm focused on the position of ethnic minorities within a multicultural society, the Citizenship Paradigm focused on the position of individual migrants within the welfare state. Furthermore, this analysis shows growing disagreement within immigrant integration research about problem framing. Whereas there was a dominant research paradigm in the 1980s, the Minorities Paradigm, now it was challenged by alternative research perspectives, based on universalist, transnationalist as well as assimilationist frames.

The frame-analysis of immigrant integration research and policy shows that immigrant integration has evolved into an intractable controversy in both policy and research. In both fields, the issue of immigrant integration is not only contested on an instrumental or theoretical level, but also on the fundamental level of problem framing. Such frame controversies may create difficulties in relations between research and policy, as there is no general way of framing immigrant integration. This creates a risk that research-policy relations would only generate 'dialogues of the deaf' (Van Eeten, 1999) on the level of problem framing. This research is aimed not at resolving the frame controversies by developing a new problem frame, but rather at analysing the role of the research-policy nexus in these frame controversies and examining how this nexus could contribute to the situated resolution of these controversies by promoting a frame-critical dialogue between research and policy.

8.2   The evolution of research and policy as fields

The reconstruction of the role of the research-policy nexus in problem framing starts with an empirical analysis of actor involvement on this nexus, and of how this actor setting has evolved over the past decades. From a structuralist-constructivist perspective, the structural shape of the research-policy nexus is determined by social practices of the actors involved in this nexus. In order to understand how the research-policy nexus is shaped, we must thus first understand the actor setting of this research-policy nexus. This includes actors from both research and policy, with specific positions within these fields. From a perspective on research and policy as fields, the social practices of actors in these fields will reflect their structural positions within these fields. Thus, an analysis of the actor setting involves an identification of relevant actors from both fields and an analysis of their positions within the fields of research and policy. *What actors were involved in specific frame shifts and what structural positions did they hold in either the research or policy field?*

Field of immigrant integration research

The field analysis of immigrant integration research revealed that important changes have occurred in the structure of this field. A trend was discerned from a strongly coherent field structure in the 1980s to a more fragmented structure since the 1990s. In the late 1970s, the Advisory Committee on Minorities Research (ACOM) contributed to the development of an immigrant integration research field. It had a rather exclusive position within the then still relatively small network of researchers, and provided an important stimulus to research in this field by its role in government research programming. However, since the early 1990s, after the ACOM was discontinued, there was no central actor in maintaining the coherency of the field. Important in this respect is the absence of a government advisory body specific to the Integration Policy, as there is for instance with Health Policy and Education Policy. Also, the Home Affairs Department was one of the few departments without an advisory body that was closely associated to this department that was responsible for the coordination of the Minorities Policy and the Integration Policy, which could have contributed to the structural coherence of this research field.

Furthermore, the field analysis shows that, especially in terms of interaction with the field of policy-making, there was a strong involvement of general advisory bodies, such as the Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) and the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP). The WRR provided advice to government on long-term policy developments that involve various policy sectors and multiple research disciplines. It developed a tradition of involvement in the domain of immigrant integration, with three reports (1979, 1989, 2001), of which at least two marked important turning points in policy developments and, to some extent, the development of research. The making of the WRR's reports was coordinated with other actors in the field of research, in diverse ways, for instance through the

involvement of experts from this research field. However, the position of the WRR as a multisectoral and interdisciplinary organization also meant that it could dissociate itself from dominant frames in the field of immigrant integration research, for instance in the case of its 1989 report that punctuated the dominant Minorities Paradigm and anthropological tradition in this field. To some extent, the WRR took the place of a specific advisory body for the Integration Policy, which was appropriate because of its multi-sectoral and multidisciplinary character.

Another general advisory body, whose involvement in the domain of immigrant integration became institutionalised in the 1990s, was the SCP. Although founded in the early 1970s, the SCP would not become structurally involved in this field until the early 1990s, to respond to government demand for quantitative analyses. Because of its focus on policies in the social-cultural domain, its central position in relation to government departments and its growing reputation in media, politics and other policy domains, the SCP obtained a more central position in this field in the 1990s. It did, however, not have a structurating effect in this field like the ACOM.

Especially since the late 1990s, there has been a hausse of new research institutes that became involved in this domain. In general, this involved institutes that had a functional relation to the state apparatus, such as the WODC and the CBS. Also, private institutes such as the Verwey-Jonker Institute and the ISEO (created in late 1980s) were more commonly involved in this domain.

Finally, the structure of this research field also, especially in its early period, involved a strong position of specific experts. Often, these experts had a close relation to government departments. This included Köbben, one of the founding fathers of research in this domain who was chairman of the ACOM, but had also been involved in various government committees. Furthermore, Entzinger had been an administrator at the Department of CRM, secretary of the ACOM, one of the authors of the 1989 WRR report and the 1994 report together with Van der Zwan and had an advisory role in the 2001 WRR report. Thirdly, Penninx had been a researcher in the 1970s, he wrote a preparatory study for the 1979 WRR report and was observer in the ACOM on behalf of the Department of CRM where he worked during most of the 1980s.

Field of immigrant integration policy-making

The field analysis of the immigrant integration policy-making also showed distinct developments over the past decades. In this field too, a trend was discerned from a relatively coherent policy structure in the 1980s, a more fragmented structure in the 1990s, and after the turn of the millennium, also a more politically driven policy structure.

Until the 1970s, there had been (deliberately) no unified coordination structure for policy toward immigrants, because of the framing that the Netherlands should not be a country of immigration and should therefore not have a policy of

immigrant integration. Different groups fell under the responsibility of different departments, depending on the specific traits of the group involved (guest workers under the Social Affairs Department, Surinamese and Moluccans under the Department of CRM).

When the Minorities Policy was developed in the late 1970s and the 1980s, a strong, unitary and centralised coordination structure was erected, replacing the fragmented institutional structure of the 1970s. The Home Affairs Department became the coordinating department, with a special Minorities Policy Directorate, led by director Molleman, which had a strong coordinating role. This unitary and centralised policy structure played a central role in the institutionalisation of the specific field of immigrant integration policy-making (a 'policy domain', or 'policy subsystem').

Beginning in the late 1980s, and especially during the 1990s, the unitary and centralised policy structure loosened due to functional and territorial decentralisation. The Home Affairs Department and a new 'Directorate for the Coordination of the Integration of Minorities' obtained a much weaker coordinating role. In contrast, various departments that carried responsibility for sectors that were closely related to immigrant integration, such as education, housing and labour, obtained a more independent role in this period. Furthermore, local governments increasingly became the locus of integration policies. This way, the institutional structure of Integration Policy as a distinct field (policy subsystem, policy domain) gradually weakened.

Finally, in the new millennium, politics adopted a more prominent role in policy-making in this domain. Following the national minorities debate of 2000 and especially following 'the long year of 2002', a strong political leadership emerged in this domain. The centre-right governments formed in this period adopted a politics of articulation, meaning that it was considered the role of politicians to articulate and respond to democratic ideas and beliefs about immigrant integration. The responsibility for the coordination of the integration policy shifted to the Department of Justice, where it became more closely associated with immigration policies. Furthermore, in a rare event to influence policy development, parliament engaged in policy-making when it established a parliamentary investigative committee in 2002 to evaluate why the integration policy had failed and to provide building blocks for a new integration policy.

8.3   Boundary work and the research-policy nexus

The empiricist approach to the research-policy nexus involves a reconstruction of how actors constructed the research-policy nexus through boundary-work practices. Boundary work refers to how involved actors demarcate the roles of research and policy, and coordinate their mutual relations in discourse, social relations and with the use of objects. When patterns of boundary work in both fields are mutually reinforcing, they will have a structuring effect on the interaction between both

fields. Hence, the structural correlates of boundary work have been defined as 'boundary configurations', referring to the configuration of relative primacy and convergence or divergence of research and policy roles in their actual mutual relations. Four theoretical models of boundary configurations were distinguished and used as tools for describing the configuration of research-policy relations in practice: enlightenment, engineering, technocracy, bureaucracy. Thus, the third and fourth research questions that were posed are: *How did the actors construct the relationship between research and policy, and how can this be explained?* and *What structural configuration of research-policy relations was thus produced?*

The analysis of boundary work and boundary configurations shows that the research-policy nexus clearly did not align with just one model over the past decades. A trend was recognized from a nexus, in which the fields of research and policy were strongly entwined (considered by some to be a 'technocratic symbiosis') to a differentiated relationship between both fields. The result was a more selective or even antithetical relationship between research and policy. Whereas the research-policy nexus was initially a central factor in the development of policy as well as research, this 'co-evolutionary' relationship was replaced by a more autonomous development of both fields and a more selective mutual relationship.

Technocracy

The first period in which the role of the research-policy nexus in frame-shifts was analysed concerns the period from the end of the 1970s to the early 1980s, when a more multiculturalist frame emerged in both research and policy. In this period, the boundary work of specific research and policy actors reinforced each other in a way that produced a technocratic boundary configuration. In research, the ACOM demarcated its role as producer of specific knowledge on ethnic or cultural minorities based on mainly anthropological methods and research ethos, and coordinated its role closely with the ongoing policy developments to produce policy-relevant knowledge about minorities. In the same period, the WRR also became involved in this domain. It demarcated its role in close relation to the ACOM, and also coordinated its policy role in a way that expressed a strong policy orientation, for instance in its choice to advise rather than just inform. This policy-oriented boundary work from these research actors matched with the boundary work of specific research and policy actors that showed a special interest for policy-relevant knowledge and expertise. The Department of CRM demarcated a specific interest for research to minorities, for instance by establishing the ACOM, and coordinated this research interest with its strategic aim of convincing other departments of the need for a general Minorities Policy. Furthermore, the Minorities Policy Directorate also demarcated a specific interest for policy-relevant knowledge to minorities, and coordinated this knowledge with the development of the Minorities Policy to enable rational policy development without politicization.

The boundary work of these actors configured the interaction between research and policy in a way that created a very direct relationship between research and policy, and attributed primacy to scientific research in the development of the Minorities Policy. This involved a direct relationship in terms of strong research engagement with policy developments vice versa, but also a direct relationship in terms of personal networks between experts and policy makers. Furthermore, scientific primacy was indicated by the central role of the ACOM and WRR in the development of the Minorities Policy; in fact, the Minorities Policy was developed as a direct response to the 1979 WRR report on 'ethnic minorities', which in turn was closely related to the ACOM's research in this period.

This led to the establishment of a technocratic research-policy nexus in this period. This was based, on the one hand, on a sense of social engagement and a strong policy-orientation amongst researchers. Because of their specific involvement with the position of minorities, researchers, amongst others, became important advocates of a Minorities Policy in this period. On the other hand, it was based on a belief amongst actors in the field of policy-making that this new social problem could be effectively resolved, if approached rationally with the aid of policy-relevant knowledge and expertise. Politicization was avoided, as this could threaten the development of a consistent and rational policy approach.

Enlightenment

The technocratic research-policy nexus formed an important structural component of the structure-induced equilibrium between the Minorities Policy and the Minorities Paradigm during the 1980s. The research-policy nexus would once more play an important role in research and policy developments in a second period in which frame-shifts took place; the end of the 1980s and early 1990s. However, in this period the boundary work of actors outside this structural equilibrium combined in a way that caused a reconfiguration of the research-policy nexus.

Once again, the WRR became involved, demarcating its role from established Minorities Policy and minorities research in a strategic attempt to provide a structural breakthrough in both fields. This entrepreneurial kind of boundary work was driven by the WRR's substantial policy agenda on welfare state reform. In response to the debate triggered by this report, politicians also became more involved in policy-making. Political actors increasingly demarcated immigrant integration as a political issue, and coordinated their relation to research in a way that involved a selective use of research and expertise that served the purpose of creating a breakthrough in established minorities policy. The boundary work of the WRR and political actors reinforced each other in a way that allowed for a breakthrough in the established research-policy nexus. As a consequence of this breakthrough and the resulting change in the coordinating role of the Home Affairs Department, the boundary work of this department was altered as well. It now showed a growing interest in more evaluative research, which it used for the

interdepartmental coordination of the Integration Policy. The SCP played a central role in the provision of quantitative data with an instrumental role in the coordination of the Integration Policy in particular. In this period, the former-WRR experts Entzinger and Van der Zwan were also involved, with a report in 1994 concerning the translation of the new perspective that the WRR had put on the agenda into concrete policy proposals.

The boundary work of the WRR and political actors was mutual reinforcing in its dissociation from established minorities policy and research and its coordination of the role of research in punctuating the established structural equilibrium in these fields. This involved the development of an enlightenment configuration aimed at punctuating the technocratic symbiosis of the 1980s. The relation between research and policy-making was indirect as the WRR's research influenced first public and political debate, and only then, affected the policy-changes in the early 1990s. Furthermore, the research of the WRR obtained a primary role in the 'enlightenment' of politics and eventually policy-making, because the scientific research of the WRR offered a legitimate and acceptable venue for raising a new perspective in a setting that was still characterized by de-politicization and taboos. After the successful enlightenment of politics and policy, the research-policy nexus acquired a more instrumental role in the development of a new structure-induced equilibrium in the policy field, especially with the instrumental role of the SCP. In the research field, following the dissolution of the ACOM in 1992, no new structural equilibrium evolved.

The enlightenment configuration of this period shows another role that the research-policy nexus can have in research and policy developments. It shows that a reconfiguration of the research-policy nexus can provide strategic opportunities for the reconfiguration of the research and policy fields themselves. In this period, the scientific status and authority of the WRR allowed it to strategically reconfigure research-policy relations to punctuate the established structural equilibrium in this domain. Furthermore, its success in punctuating this equilibrium also affected the field of research as it ended the structural symbiosis between minorities research and policy and created opportunities for the rise of an alternative research paradigm.

Engineering

Finally, in the third period in which policy and research frames changed, around the turn of the millennium, the research-policy nexus was reconfigured once again. However, in this period, it did not contribute to a co-evolution of research and policy, but rather to a growing discrepancy between both fields.

Macro-political developments after the turn of the millennium played a central role in the reconfiguration of research-policy relations. In response to a national minorities debate in 2000 and 'the long year of 2002' surrounding the rise of Fortuyn in Dutch politics, political actors started to demarcate and coordinate their relation

to research in a different way. The strong political leadership of the coordination of the Integration Policy under centre-right governments formed after 2002, involved a demarcation of a clear political primacy in this domain (politics of articulation) and coordinated research-policy relations in functional terms, involving a selective use of scientific research that was functional to the development of a new policy approach. In this context, the SCP obtained a particularly strong role, as it demarcated its task as responding to shifts in public and political mood, and coordinated its relation to policy in terms of functionality to the national state apparatus. Parliament than also demarcated a political primacy in developing a new policy approach, such as in its initiative for a parliamentary investigative committee, but coordinated its relations with research in a different way. It commissioned a study from the Verwey-Jonker Institute, which obtained a primary role in the evaluation of the committee itself. However, within the sharply politicized context of this period, this choice became fiercely contested, and made this committee part of the ongoing controversies over immigration rather than a solution for it.

This led to the construction of an engineering type of research-policy nexus, in which politics and government selected research that was functional to the development of the new policy approach developed in response to the political developments from after the turn of the millennium. This nexus involved a clear political primacy in mutual relations and a direct relationship between research and policy to ensure that the research that was produced was functional to ongoing policy developments. At the same time, this engineering involved the selective exclusion of other scientific research. Under the influence of a rising local and European research-policy nexus, other types of research emerged that did not demarcate and coordinate their role in functional terms to the national state apparatus. This involved, for instance, a third report from the WRR that clearly dissociated itself from ongoing political and policy developments and coordinated its relation with policy in terms of debunking myths about immigrant integration on a national level from an internationalization perspective.

8.4   The research-policy nexus and frame-shifts

Finally, based on the empirical reconstruction of the research-policy nexus, an analysis was made of the role of the different structural shapes of this nexus in the frame-shifts in research and policy. *What were the structural effects of the nexus on the fields of research and policy, what were its effects on the rise and fall of specific research and policy paradigms, and to what extent did this role involve critical frame reflection?* The aim of this analysis of frame reflection was to unravel to what extent the research-policy nexus did or did not contribute to what Rein and Schön describe as the situated resolution of the controversies in this domain.

The technocratic nexus of the early 1970s and 1980s created a structural symbiosis between specific actors in the fields of research and policy. Thereby it

strengthened the position of these specific actors within the fields of research and policy, especially that of the ACOM and the WRR in research and that of the minorities policy directorate in the field of policy. These actors shared a similar multiculturalist framing of immigrant integration, involving a specific focus on the position of ethnic or cultural minorities. The symbiosis between these actors reinforced their claims for a more multiculturalist approach, and contributed to their success in punctuating the differentialist equilibrium from the 1970s. Furthermore, by confining the interaction between research and policy to a limited network of actors that showed a specific concern for the position of minorities, it contributed to 'logic of minorities' within both fields, insulating the debate about minorities from broader scientific and political debates. Therefore, the technocratic boundary configuration in this period did not contribute to critical frame-reflection. Rather than being aimed at the articulation and critical confrontation of alternative frames, the technocratic nexus was designed to establish the multiculturalist frame in research and policy. It was aimed at transitioning from differentialism to multiculturalism, rather than at reflection about differentialism, multiculturalism and possible alternatives.

The enlightenment configuration of the late 1980s offered opportunities for frame reflection by breaking open this technocratic symbiosis, offering an acceptable venue for putting an alternative frame on the agenda, and forcing involved actors to reflect upon universalism as an alternative to multiculturalism. In research, this enlightenment configuration punctuated the leading position of the Minorities Paradigm and its dominant (anthropological) focus on ethnic and cultural minorities, thereby creating opportunities for the introduction of a new (broader) perspective on immigrant integration. In policy, it ended the relative insulation of this domain from broader political developments, such as the politics of welfare state retrenchment. In terms of structural effects, it thus weakened the position of the ACOM and the minorities policy directorate, and strengthened the position of, amongst others, the WRR and political entrepreneurs in this domain. In terms of problem framing, it punctuated the specific focus on minorities, contributing rather to logic of equity in which the specifics of minorities were driven to the background and their commonalities with other citizens emerged more prominently. However, the enlightenment configuration also constrained opportunities for frame-reflection because of its strategic aim of punctuating the established technocratic symbiosis, in a sphere of confrontation and distrust, rather than creating a setting in which to critically reflect on alternative frames.

Finally, the engineering configuration from after the turn of the millennium seems to have been a consequence rather than a cause of the frame-shift to assimilationism in policy. This boundary configuration was aimed at the engineering of an assimilationist policy with the selective use of research that could be functional to the development of such a policy approach. It created a structural relation between research and policy actors that framed immigrant integration

within a national setting, in particular between national politicians for whom immigrant integration had become an important part of a the national political agenda, and research institutes that had a functional relation to the national state apparatus, such as the SCP. This also involved the selective exclusion of research that framed immigrant integration beyond such a national setting. As such, the engineering configuration did not contribute to critical frame reflection, but rather established the structural conditions in research and policy for a national framing of immigrant integration. As such, it was designed to establish assimilationism rather than to promote critical reflection about alternative frames.

This analysis shows that the configuration of research-policy relations has mostly been part of the ongoing controversies in research and policy rather than promoting critical reflection about the frames involved in these controversies. Boundary configurations were part of the controversies on immigrant integration, rather than a source for a situated resolution. A shift can be observed from a positivist belief in a technocratic configuration of research-policy relations to resolve immigrant integration in a rational way based on scientific insights, to a growing political cynicism toward the involvement of research in this domain and a more selective use of research that is instrumental or functional to policy-making. Thus, from a belief in the scientific framing of this problem, there was a trend of increasing cynicism toward scientific problem framing and a strongly politicised approach to problem framing.

8.5 Structural constructivism: Beyond relativism and objectivism

The structuralist-constructivist perspective that was adopted in this research involved an empirical focus on how the research-policy nexus was structured in actual social practices of research and policy actors and how this influenced the inherently selective and normative ways in which actors framed immigrant integration. Rather than a theory of the research-policy nexus or a theory of immigrant integration as a social problem, this perspective focuses on the construction of structural research-policy relations in practice and on the structuring of problem framing in practice.

This perspective enabled us to perceive the structural variation in the research-policy nexus in this domain. These structural relations between both fields did not accord to the objectivist model of scientific exceptionalism. The relations between research and policy appeared strongly variable as a consequence of different patterns of boundary work in both fields. Policy and research actors were, as this research showed, actively involved in the construction of the research-policy nexus in distinct ways. For instance, institutes such as the WRR did not just 'speak truth to power', but also adopted specific strategies for connecting research and policy in specific ways. Neither did the research-policy nexus comply with the relativist model of scientific nihilism. Actors often had specific structural interests in constructing research-policy relations in specific ways. Changes in the structure of

research-policy relations had a real structurating effect on developments in policy and in research. For instance, the technocratic configuration of the 1980s had an important effect on the dominant position of the Minorities Paradigm in research and on the development of the Minorities Policy. These structural effects of the research-policy nexus also meant that once established, the structural interests associated with a specific nexus tended to resist change; every nexus develops its own structure-induced equilibrium. From this structuralist-constructivist perspective, it was thus observed that research-policy relations should be neither nullified nor objectified, but rather considered as products and structures of social relations between actors from both fields.

Furthermore, the structuralist-constructivist perspective enabled us to study the relation between the structure of the research-policy nexus and the framing of immigrant integration as a social problem. It enabled us to reach beyond objectivist perspectives on social problems, which considered problems definable in a value-free way based on scientitific findings, as well as to look past relativist perspectives, which stress primarily the discursive production of problems. Rather, this research has shown that problem frames were embedded in specific structural settings. Different structural settings tended to produce different types of problem frames. For instance, the technocratic symbiosis in the 1980s constrained the dialogues between research and policy to a limited circle of actors with a specific focus on ethnic or cultural minorities and created a 'logic of minorities' in problem framing, contributing to the rise of a multiculturalist frame. Later, the enlightenment configuration in the end of the 1980s created a more structural link between immigrant integration and broader concerns in society, leading to a 'logic of equity' in problem framing, which contributed to the rise of universalism. Problem framing in research and policy was thus clearly related to the structural setting in which the framing took place.

Based on the findings of this research, we can conclude *that* the research-policy nexus has been structured in variable ways by actors involved in this domain and *that* various structures of the research-policy nexus led to the rise of multiculturalism, universalism and assimilationism in specific periods. Thereby it supports the claim that if we want to understand how policy-makers as well as researchers make sense of social problems as immigrant integration, we must also look at the structure of their mutual relations and at how and why these actors shaped these relations in their actual social practices. In Gusfield's terms, in order to understand the culture of public problems, we must also understand the structure of public problems (Gusfield, 1981). However, the single case-study design of this research does not support any general conclusions about what types of research-policy nexus would lead to specific frames of immigrant integration. It does not support any universal law of the relation between the structure and the culture of immigrant integration, nor did this study set out to discover such law or does structural-constructivism claim that such universal laws could exist. Rather, it states

that in the situational settings of research and policy-making in the Netherlands and within the specific periods that were examined, specific ways of structuring research-policy relations (technocracy, enlightenment, engineering) supported the rise of specific problem frames (multiculturalism, universalism, assimilationism). International comparative research could lead to more generalisable conclusions about the relation between the structure and the culture of immigrant integration.

The relations found between the research-policy nexus and problem framing in this research seem to refine the hypothesis of Guiraudon (1997), based on Freeman (1995), that constraining the scale of debate would facilitate the extension of migrant rights, whereas an expansion of the scale of debate could lead to political risks in extending migrant rights. Thereby, the scale of debate would influence the rise of specific problem frames. Guiraudon and Freeman mention scientific experts and advisory committees as actors that contribute to constraining the scale of debate. Hence, technocratic policy structures would contribute to the rise of multiculturalism. The relation between technocracy and the rise of the multiculturalist Minorities Policy in the early 1980s seem to support this claim. Also in Great-Britain, a technocratic policy structure with a strong involvement of social scientists, the so-called British race-relations industry, contributed to the rise of multiculturalism in policy as well as research (Favell, 1998).

However, the Dutch case also shows that scientific involvement in policy-making does not always have to lead to constraining the scale of debate. In fact, the relation that was found between the enlightenment configuration of research-policy relations and the rise of universalism in the early 1990s provides evidence of how scientific policy advice can trigger an expansion of the scale of debate. This showed how the field of scientific research also provides venues for putting issues on the public and political agenda. Furthermore, it showed, seemingly in accordance with the hypothesis of Guiraudon, that an expansion of the scale of debate promoted a reframing into a tougher approach to immigrant integration; it substituted a logic of minorities, with a focus on what made minorities specific, with a logic of equity, with a focus on what migrants had in common with other citizens.

8.6   Toward the resolution of intractable social problems?

The Dutch case of immigrant integration research and policy showed that research-policy dialogues over the past decades were rarely designed to promote critical reflection on the level of problem framing. One of the reasons for this seems to be the unawareness amongst policy-makers that research too involves inherently selective and normative ways of problem framing. Especially in the 1970s and 1980s, there was a persistent belief amongst policy-makers that with the aid of social science research the problem of immigrant integration could be rationally resolved, with no recognition of the inherent normative nature of research nor of the problem of immigrant integration itself. Furthermore, the growing manifestation of different 'frames' in research since the 1990s contributed to a growing political cynicism

toward research. Instead, the growing manifestation of alternative frames in research could have been used for stimulating critical reflection amongst policy makers about alternative frames. For instance, the normative controversy caused by the Blok Committee's conclusion that integration was relatively successful could have been averted if the committee had articulated its universalist frame and confronted it with alternative frames that could have led to different conclusions. Thereby, the committee would not have provided a normative evaluation of policy success or failure, but would have facilitated policy makers and politicians in making their own evaluation based on different frames.

Another constraint on frame reflection was the unawareness on the part of researchers of their own selective and normative problem frames. This research has shown that, within immigrant integration policy as well as research, there have been various frames over the past decades that not only 'named' a problem situation in different ways, but also framed it in different normative ways. For instance, whereas some researchers framed immigrant integration in terms of the emancipation of minorities in a multicultural society, while others framed it in terms of social-cultural adaptation of individual migrants in the context of national norms and values. This does, of course, not mean that researchers should not be involved in trying to find the best way of framing a problem situation. Rather, it means that researchers involved in research-policy relations should be aware that their frames are inherently selective and normative and that alternative frames can exist as well. As with policy makers, researchers too would have to abandon the models of scientific exceptionalism and nihilism, by recognising that their problem conceptions cannot be taken as value-free depictions of problem situations, but that their contribution to problem framing can nonetheless be relevant by promoting critical reflection on the level of problem framing. The articulation of alternative frames rather than hiding the fact that research does not just speak 'the truth' but instead has several 'truths' could be an important contribution on the part of researchers to the development of critical dialogues between research and policy.

The structuralist-constructivist perspective revealed that the structural interests associated to specific problem frames formed an impediment to critical frame reflection between research and policy. For instance, the structural symbiosis among actors with multiculturalist frames in the late 1970s and 1980s created structural interests for the actors involved in this symbiosis not to engage in critical frame reflection. The development of more structural autonomy in the relations between these fields could contribute to removing such structural impediments for frame reflection. Structural autonomy of both fields in their mutual relations does not mean falling back the standard model of scientific exceptionalism, reifying the boundaries between science and politics. It should not result in the impossibility of mutual relations, but rather to relations between both fields structured in a way that is independent of interlocking structural interests. The WRR seems to have come close to such a role when it (apart from its agenda on welfare state reform)

contributed to frame reflection in a way that was independent from structural interests within both fields. In this respect, structural autonomy means that if science and politics are to engage in critical dialogues on the level of problem framing, such dialogues must not be disturbed by structural relations between specific research and policy actors that privilege a specific problem frame. This way, autonomy can create checks and balances in the relations between both fields, with science articulating various problem frames without privileging one specific frame based on policy interests, and politics making a choice from the various frames based on democratically determined values and norms without privileging one frame through its involvement in research.

The lack of critical dialogues between research and policy on the level of problem framing provides an explanation for why immigrant integration could evolve in such an intractable controversy in the Netherlands. Structural factors in the both the fields of scientific research and policy-making hampered reflection on the level of problem framing. The articulation and confrontation of various frames of immigrant integration, in research as well as policy, could have contributed to such frame-reflective dialogues. More structural autonomy in the relations between both fields may be one of the factors to contribute to such dialogues. Another factor lays more in the cultural sphere of how actors perceive the roles of scientific research and policy. To allow for critical research-policy dialogues, both researchers and policy-makers have to reach beyond the opposition between relativist and objectivist models of their relations. Rather, they should focus on how the structure of their mutual relations can be organised in such a way that critical dialogues can emerge on the inherently selective and normative ways in which researchers and policy-makers frame problems. Pardoxically, the role of scientific research in resolving intractable controversies such as on immigrant integration may become more valuable when we leave not only the nihilistic view of science but also the exceptionalist view on science as truth-tellers.

CONCLUSION

9

APPENDICES

A. Research methods and method of analysis

In the construction of a valid and reliable chain of evidence from the questions to the conclusions of this research, several research methods were used. This chain of evidence consisted of several steps (see table 1): (I) the identification of research and policy frame-shifts, (II) the identification of actors and contextual setting, (III) the analysis of boundary work of these actors, (IV) the analysis of structural boundary configurations, and (V) the analysis of the role of these boundary configurations in the frame-shifts and frame-reflection. For making these steps, various methods were used to ensure that the chain of evidence is both valid and reliable (see 3.2.3). This involved interviewing, document analysis and the study of secondary sources.

In this appendix, I will discuss the craft of the empirical approach to the study of research-policy relations as was adopted in this research. From a structural-constructivist perspective, the structure of research-policy relations has to be established empirically, rather than based on ex-ante theoretical models. This means that we have to study how and why actors constructed the research-policy nexus, rather than deducing the structure of the research-policy nexus from a theoretical model. It is therefore that I will give more specific attention to the craft of empirical research methods and analysis as used in this research.

Interviewing

Interviewing was one of the main methods for analyzing the boundary work of actors, the structure of boundary configurations and the role of these configurations in frame-reflection. The selection of interviewees was based, first, on the identification of relevant actors in a specific period of research-policy relations. For every period, a different set of actors was selected, involving mostly organizations as the WRR or the ACOM. The persons from these organizations that had been primarily responsible for research-policy relations in a specific period, for instance in the making of a specific advisory report, were selected for the first interviews. This involved for instance, in the case of the three WRR reports, the chairmen and the secretaries of the project groups for making these reports. Subsequently, a method of snowballing was used for the selection of further interviewees. Especially when the availability of alternative sources was low, a series of additional interviews were held to ensure that sufficient data was gathered. For instance, in the case of the ACOM, the absence of primary records meant that various interviews had to be held, besides with the chairman and secretary.

The selected interviewees involved policy-makers as well as scientific researchers and advisors. Only by interviewing actors from both sides of the science-policy boundary could a valid analysis be made of how the research-policy nexus was structured. The aim was to achieve an equal spreading of interviewees from both fields, but eventually more researchers were interviewed than policy-makers. The main reason for this was that whereas policy-makers were often centrally located in the policy field, which meant that a relatively small number of interviews was required for obtaining sufficient data, the field of research was much more dispersed, which meant that interviews were required with more actors. Furthermore, it turned out that some interviewees could not be exclusively categorized in one of both fields. Some actors had maintained positions in both fields. Eventually, 16 actors were interviewed with a position primarily in the field of immigrant integration research, 6 persons with positions in both fields and 8 persons with positions primarily in the field of policy-making.

The interviews were semi-structured. This means that they were structured by an interview guide with a number of issues to be covered in an interview, but also open so as to allow the interviewee to discuss what her or she considers important as long as it fits with the issues from the interview guide (R. Weiss, 1994: 48). An important reason for doing only semi-structured interviews was that this could reduce the risk of bias being introduced by posing specific questions that go beyond the interviewees' recollection of past events and thus create the risk of triggering incorrect or biased responses. This risk of bias is especially pronounced in this research because of the long time period that was examined. The interviewees were as much as possible stimulated to bring up their own recollections of past events. The questions were as much as possible formulated to trigger open descriptions of occurrences in specific periods. Why?-questions were avoided as these could trigger subjective interpretations. Instead, the questions were mostly formulated as What?- or How?-questions. Furthermore, to refresh the historical recollection of the interviewees, other sources were occasionally used in cases when the accounts of specific interviewees did not seem to match with other findings. For instance, during most interviews I took relevant documents, such as records of past meetings, with me to show them to the interviewee in cases of uncertainty. Finally, to reduce bias being introduced by myself as interviewer, I made sure that the interview questions were in no way infected by the theoretical concepts of my research perspective (boundary work, boundary configurations, frame reflection). In practice, this often required a crafty balancing work between steering the interviewee toward talking about what I wanted to know (my units of analysis), and not infecting the interviewee with my theoretical perspective.

This interview guide was developed based on the research questions of those steps of the chain of evidence for which the interviewing method was used. For the analysis of boundary work, the interviews had to reveal how the actors perceived, acted and what they used (boundary discourse, relations and objects) in specific

episodes of research policy relations. For instance, persons from the WRR were asked how a specific report came on their agenda, how they organized the making of the report, how they selected specific strands of scientific expertise, and what they tried to achieve with the report. For the analysis of boundary configurations, different questions were posed to reveal not so much the boundary work of specific actors but rather the structural configuration of research-policy relations. For instance, policy-makers were asked about the impact of scientific reports on policy developments and the contacts they maintained with researchers. Finally, for the analysis of frame reflection, the interviews had to reveal what the role of the boundary configurations was in frame-shifts and problem framing, and in particular to what extent the various conditions for frame reflection were met. For instance, researchers and policy-makers were asked about what actors were involved in a specific period and whether specific actors were left out, what alternative frames were present, whether there was critical debate about these frames, whether a boundary configuration led to fundamental changes in the thinking of researchers and policy-makers and to what extent they felt they could engage in open debate about alternative frames.

As a general rule, all references and quotes to the interviews were made anonymous. For the aim of this research, the names of the interviewees are not relevant because immigrant integration is a case-study from which analytical generalization is achieved. Therefore, there was no need to mention the names specific to this case. However, in a small number of cases it appeared that the personal biographies of specific actors were relevant to take into account. This did not concern these persons themselves, but rather the fact that these actors had backgrounds in several fields. Especially for an empirical analysis of boundary work and boundary configurations, this constitutes in itself already a relevant finding. Anonimization by reference to function rather than to person would veil such relevant pieces of information. Therefore, in three cases the decision was made not to anonomize the references and quotes to the interviews with these persons. All references and quotes, anonimized or not, were approved by the interviewees before publication of this interview.

Document analysis and secondary sources
Another research method involved the analysis of primary documents. For various steps in the chain of evidence, different sources were selected. For the first step in the chain of evidence, policy documents and secondary literature were used as sources for the identification of frame-shifts in research and policy. In the Dutch administrative system, these memoranda are valid and reliable sources of policy frame shifts, as they contain the main policy contours and are thus most likely to provide indicators of problem framing. Those memoranda were selected that directly concerned immigrant integration policy. As for the field of immigrant integration research there are no such central documents in which frame-shifts

would be codified, I made a study of secondary literature to identify the frame-shifts in this field. A scan was made of the literature in this field to select those studies that discussed the development of immigrant integration research. Also, I asked around amongst researchers in this field about what studies to use.

For the second step in the chain of evidence, I studied literature that provides general information about how these changes in research and policy took place. Within this general setting of policy and research changes, I selected those research and policy actors that were involved in these changes, as it is the research-policy nexus that I am specifically interested in rather than in these changes more in general. For every period in which, according to the first step, frame-shifts took place in research and policy, I selected the most relevant policy and research actors, who would constitute the objects of analysis of the empirical analysis of research-policy relations in the following steps. Furthermore, I made a study of those sources that could provide information about the structural positions of these actors in either the field of research or policy-making. For instance, I studied secondary literature about the position of the WRR (Hirsch-Ballin, 1979) and about the establishment of parliamentary investigative committees as the Blok committee (Andeweg & Irwin, 2005). Also, I looked into primary documents from these actors themselves, for instance the annual reports and working programs of the SCP and the WRR for those periods in which they were involved in the domain of immigrant integration.

For the empirical analysis of research-policy relations and the role of these relations in frame reflection, the third, fourth and fifth steps in the chain of evidence, I made use of primary as well as secondary sources to reconstruct the boundary work practices of involved actors, the structure of research-policy relations and the role of these relations in frame reflection. As far as available, primary documents were used that contain records of the social practices of these actors. For instance, extensive minutes and notes were available from meetings of the WRR and from the Interdepartemental Committee for Minorities Policy that was led by the Home Affairs Department. Both documents sources could be openly retrieved from the National Archives in The Hague. The records from the Home Affairs Department were openly available only until 1991. From later periods, records were retrieved from the Home Affairs Department and the General Affairs Department (who coordinated the reply memoranda to WRR reports), but as these sources were confidential they were only used indirectly. Extensive use was also made of an (internal) analysis made by civil servants from the Minorities Policy Directorate of policy developments and political debates from 1945 to 2003, which was originally meant as input for the parliamentary investigative committee on the Integration Policy; '*Integratiebeleid in de Tijd*' (Koolen, 2003; Koolen & Tempelman, 2003). Other sources that were used for reconstructing boundary work practices include the media records that were kept by the State Information Service (Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst) in bundles of 'Beleid Beschouwd'. This involved theme-

specific selections of media articles. A selection was made from these bundles of those issues that directly concerned issues of immigrant integration. Also, parliamentary hearings surrounding the policy memoranda about immigrant integration policy were analysed as a source of boundary work practices of actors in the policy field. Finally, secondary scientific literature was used for reconstructing boundary work in the selected periods. In fact, there were many instances where researchers that were involved in these periods themselves also produced literature about research and policy changes. In such cases, these sources could even be considered as primary sources.

Method of analysis

The method of triangulation was used for integrating these sources – interviews, primary and secondary documents – into coherent accounts in a way that reduces bias and enhances reliability (Yin, 1994: 90). This involved a combination of data triangulation and methodological triangulation (ibid: 92), as the answers to the research questions had to be formulated based on different data sources as well as with different research methods. This form of triangulation diminishes the risk of bias being introduced through a specific data set or research method, for instance, in this case, by interviewing about periods that are relatively long ago and that involve issues that may be considered sensitive. Furthermore, as the research findings are founded on multiple sources of information and obtained through multiple methods, the reliability and convincingness of the findings is enhanced.

A first step in this triangulation was to code and sort the data obtained from interviewing and document analysis according to the central variables and attributes of this research (R. Weiss, 1994: 154-156). This coding was done according to the sets of variables and attributes, and the sets of indicators that were distinguished in section 3.2.3. (see overview in table 1). In the analysis of frame-shifts in the identification of relevant actors (step 1 and 2), the documents were coded for references to frames (terminology, social categorization, causal stories, norms and values) and for references to specific actors involved in research-policy relations. These were subsequently sorted according to the periods in which the frame-shifts took place, resulting in three periods in which frame-shifts took place (1978-1983, 1989-1994, 2000-2004) and for each period a specific set of research and policy actors. In the empirical analysis of research-policy relations, the interviews and documents were coded for references that involve a specific way of demarcating and coordinating research-policy relations (boundary work), for references to the distribution of primacy in research-policy relations and the convergence or divergence of field structures (boundary configurations) and the effect on field structures and positions of specific actors in these fields and on openness, empathy, critical reflection, pragmatism and trust in the research-policy dialogues on the level of framing (frame-shifts, problem framing, frame reflection). These were then sorted according to the various periods in which frame-shifts

occurred. As such, the data from the interviews and documents is converted in a database for these periods, providing the basis for the theoretical analysis that eventually ended up in the empirical chapters of this research.

Following the coding and sorting of these datasets, the theory-led interpretation of this data involved first so-called 'local integration' (R. Weiss, 1994: 158) of the data for every step in the chain of evidence, or in other words, for every central theoretical concept. This local integration had to be achieved separately for all three periods in which the frame-shifts took place. This means that for every period, an account was made of what frame-shift had taken place in research and policy (step 1), what actors were involved (step 2), how the boundary work practices of these actors could be described (step 3), how this resulted in a specific boundary configuration (step 4) and to what extent this did or did not lead to frame reflection (step 5).

Finally, these locally integrated accounts of the central theoretical concepts were subsequently integrated into coherent accounts about the relations between these concepts. This is what Weiss describes as 'inclusive integration' (ibid: 160). It combines the various steps that were taken into a coherent 'chain of evidence'. The empirical chapters, from chapter 4 to 7, are the products of this inclusive integration.

This theoretical analysis of the data was by no means a linear process. Indeed, the coding, sorting and integration of the data on frame-shifts and the research and policy actors involved in these frame-shifts had to be done first, as it provided the basis for empirical analysis of research-policy relations. However, this empirical analysis of research-policy relations (steps 1 to 3 in the chain of evidence) involved a more recurrent process between data gathering, coding, sorting and integration. This means that the theories about the role of the research-policy nexus in the different periods were built during the empirical research rather than afterwards. Already after the first interviews and document analysis, I started to integrate the data into mini-theories (R. Weiss, 1994: 161) of what happened in a specific period. Whilst doing further research, I constantly tried to test my own mini-theories and discard or refine them if necessary. For instance, already relatively early it occurred to me that the 1989 WRR report seemed to have enlightened public and political debate with its new problem perspective, but it was only after rigorous further research that I discovered that this enlightenment role was a result of a deliberate strategy of the WRR itself and of specific political actors. In this manner, I developed theoretical explanations for the role of boundary configurations in frame-shifts, without having formulated any ex-ante hypotheses about this relationship. In other words, by this recurrent approach to data analysis and data gathering, I have tried to develop 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In some cases, this meant documents were analyzed at least several times, and that some interviewees were interviewed twice.

B. Interviewees

Albeda, Willem	Minister of Social Affairs from 1977 to 1981; chairman of the WRR Council between 1985 and 1990; chair of the WRR project group for the 1989 report *Immigrant Policy.*
Bletz, Frans	Deputy director of the WRR from 1983 to 1995, Director of the WRR from 1995 to 2000; involved in the making of the WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society* (2001).
Blok, Stef	Chairman of the Temporary Parliamentary Research Committee on the Integration Policy (also called the Blok Committee); Member of parliament since 1998.
Bovenkerk, Frank	Chairman of the ACOM between 1987 and 1992. Involved in minorities research since the 1970s.
Broeders, Dennis	Staff member of the WRR since 1999; involved in the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society.*
Choenni, Chan	Member of the ACOM until 1987; Temporary member of the WRR for the project group of the 1989 WRR report *Immigrant Policy*; later, civil servant at the Home Affairs Department and the Justice Department at the coordinating department for the integration policy.
Den Hoed, Paul	Staff member of the WRR since 1973; involved in the making of the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as an Immigration Society.*
Donselaar, Jaap van	Deputy Secretary of the ACOM from 1981 to 1984; Secretary of the ACOM from 1984 to 1992.
Duyvendak, Jan-Willem	Professor of Sociology, Amsterdam University. Director of the Verwey-Jonker Institute from 1999 to 2003. Involved in the 2004 study by the Verwey-Jonker Institute for the Temporary Parliamentary Research Committee on the Integration Policy.
Entzinger, Han	Professor of Migration and Integration Studies, Erasmus University of Rotterdam. Secretary of the ACOM until 1984; staff-member of the WRR and a main author of the 1989 WRR report *Immigrant Policy*; Co-author of 'Policy Succession Minorities Debate' (1994), together with Van der Zwan.
Fernandes Mendes, Hugo	Member of the ACOM between 1987 and 1990; From 1990 to 2000, director of the minorities policy coordination department at the Home Affairs Department.

Hemerijck, Anton	Deputy Director of the WRR from 2001 to 2003, Director of the WRR since 2003.
Hessels, Thomas	Senior policy officer at the Ministry of Justice, Citizenship and Integration Department, involved in the preparation of the government Reply Memorandum to the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society*.
Kapsenberg, Han	Civil servant at the Department of Culture, Recreation and Social Work until the early eighties; later, civil servant at the Home Affairs Department and at the minorities policy department; also one of the main authors of the Minorities Memorandum (1983).
Köbben, André	Chairman of the ACOM from 1978 to 1987; involved in research on ethnic minorities since the 1970s.
Koolen, Ben	Director of the NCB until 1982; then, until 2003, civil servant at the Home Affairs Department and later the Ministry of Justice in the coordinating department for integration policy; was responsible for research coordination in the 1990s .
Kraaijestein, Martin	Staff-member of the WRR; involved in the 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities*.
Kronjee, Gerrit	Staff member of the WRR since 1979; project secretary of the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society*.
Meurs, Pauline	Professor of Management and Organization in Health Care. Member of the WRR Council since 1998; chair of the project group for the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society*.
Molleman, Henk	Director of the directorate for the coordination of the minorities policy, at the Home Affairs Department, from 1978 to 1990.
Penninx, Rinus	Professor of Ethnic Studies, Amsterdam University. Member of the ACOM from 1976 to 1978; author of preparatory study for the 1979 WRR report, *Ethnic Minorities*; representative of the Department of CRM in the ACOM from 1978 to 1988; director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies (IMES) from 1993 to 2005.
Quené, Theo	Chairman of WRR Council from 1978 to 1985; Also chairman of the WRR project group surrounding the 1979 report *Ethnic Minorities*.

Rath, Jan	Professor of Sociology and in particular ethnic and cultural diversity in the city, Amsterdam University. Published extensively on research-policy relations in the field of migration and integration studies in the Netherlands(Rath, 1991); director of the Institute for Migration and Ethnic Studies since 2005.
Schnabel, Paul	Director of the Social and Cultural Planning Office since 1998; one of the participants in the public debate about the Multicultural tragedy in 2000.
Schoonenboom, Jan	Staff-member of the WRR from 1973 to 2006; project secretary of 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities*; also involved in the 1989 WRR report *Immigrant Policy*; council member of the WRR from 2005 to 2007; civil servant at the Department of Social Affairs from 1967 to 1973 and Head of the division Special Groups from 1971 to 1973.
Van Dalen, Harry	Senior researcher at the Netherlands Interdisciplinary Demographic Institute and the Economics Departement of the University of Tilburg. Staff member of the WRR from 1999 to 2002; involved in the 2001 WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society."*
Van Kuik, Frank	Civil servant at the minorities policy directorate from 1978 to 1990, also specifically involved in the preparation of the Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR report
Van Praag, Carlo	Researcher at the Social and Cultural Planning Office (SCP) from 1973 to 2003; responsible for research to ethnic minorities as part of the regular Social and Cultural Reports.
Van Putten, Nico	Civil servant at the Home Affairs Department, amongst others as research manager ethnic minority studies; observer in the ACOM on behalf of the Department of Home Affairs from 1988 to 1992.
Veenman, Justus	Professor of Economic Sociology, Erasmus University Rotterdam. Director of the Institute for Sociological and Economical Research (ISEO) of Erasmus University from 1986 to 2005.

C. Document sources

Source	Documents	Location
Home Affairs Department	Contributions to the Reply Memorandum to the 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* (1979-1980).	Home Affairs Department
	Contributions to the Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR report *Immigrant Policy* (1989-1990).	Home Affairs Department
	Analysis by civil servants of the Minorities Policy Directorate of policy developments and political debates from 1945 to 2003; - Koolen, G. M. J. M. (2003). *Integratiebeleid in de Tijd: Analyse van de ontwikkeling van het gecoordineerde minderheden-/integratiebeleid met betrekking tot etnische minderheden, 1945-2003.* - Koolen, G. M. J. M., & Tempelman, S. G. (2003). *Integratiebeleid in de Tijd: Feitelijk overzicht van de ontwikkeling van het gecoordineerde minderheden-/integratiebeleid met betrekking tot etnische minderheden.*	Home Affairs Department
General Affairs Department	Interdepartmental coordination committee for the preparation of a Reply Memorandum to the 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* (1979-1980); minutes and notes.	National Archives
	Interdepartmental coordination committee on Minorities policy. Minutes and notes of meetings held for the preparation of the government Reply Memorandum to the WRR report *Immigrant Policy*, 1989-1990.	National Archives
	Contributions to the Reply Memorandum to the 1979 WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* (1979-1980).	General Affairs Department
	Contributions to the Reply Memorandum to the 1989 WRR report *Immigrant Policy* (1989-1990).	General Affairs Department
Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR)	WRR report *Ethnic Minorities* (1978-1979); minutes of council meetings, staff-meetings and notes.	National Archives
	WRR report *Immigrant Policy* (1987-1989); minutes of council meetings, staff-meetings and notes.	National Archives
	WRR report *The Netherlands as Immigration Society* (1998-2001); minutes of council meetings, staff-meetings, notes and project-group meetings.	WRR
Parliament	Parliamentary hearings	National Archives / Internet

10

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11

NEDERLANDSE SAMENVATTING

1. Inleiding

De integratie van immigranten in de Nederlandse samenleving heeft zich ontwikkeld tot een weerbarstige problematiek, zowel in onderzoek als in beleid. Het integratievraagstuk heeft geen eenduidige betekenis. In discussies over integratie bestaat vaak onenigheid over fundamentele vragen. Wat betekent integratie? Hoe moeten de betrokken migranten worden gedefinieerd? Hoe kan integratie worden bewerkstelligd? En, wat zegt het integratievraagstuk over de samenleving als geheel? In beleid en onderzoek zijn over de voorbije decennia sterk wisselende antwoorden op deze vragen geformuleerd. Dit heeft geresulteerd in wisselingen in beleidsbenaderingen en ook in verschillende onderzoeksperspectieven.

De dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid is over de voorbije decennia vaak intensief geweest. Echter, ook de relatie tussen deze twee werelden lijkt in toenemende mate weerbarstig. Recentelijk nog laaide naar aanleiding van een parlementair onderzoek integratiebeleid, discussie op over de juiste rolverdeling tussen onderzoek en beleid. In hoeverre mogen onderzoekers zich met beleidsvorming bemoeien? Wanneer moeten beleidsmakers en politici onderzoek aanvragen? In hoeverre moet er sprake zijn van distantie en/of nabijheid in de relatie tussen onderzoek en beleid? De wijze waarop invulling is gegeven aan de relatie tussen onderzoek en beleid inzake integratie lijkt sterk aan verandering onderhevig te zijn geweest. Waar aanvankelijk nog sprake was van een zeer hechte relatie, lijkt aan het begin van het nieuwe millennium een zeker cynisme in de relatie te zijn geslopen. In ieder geval heeft de dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid vooralsnog niet geleid tot een oplossing van de weerbarstige controverses over het integratievraagstuk.

De centrale vraag die in dit onderzoek gesteld is luidt als volgt: *Welke rol heeft de relatie tussen minderhedenonderzoek en -beleid gespeeld in de verschillende manieren waarop het integratievraagstuk is gedefinieerd in beleid en onderzoek in de voorbije decennia, en hoe kan deze rol worden verklaard?* Aan de hand van het integratievraagstuk poogt het onderzoek tot meer algemene inzichten te komen over welke rol de dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid speelt in weerbarstige controverses, en hoe deze dialoog wellicht kan bijdragen aan de oplossing van dergelijke controverses. Het is dus niet een onderzoek over het integratievraagstuk 'an sich', maar een onderzoek over onderzoek-beleidsrelaties en weerbarstige controverses aan de hand van het integratievraagstuk.

2. Onderzoek, beleid en de 'framing' van het integratievraagstuk

Het onderzoek neemt een stap terug van de controverses over het integratievraagstuk om te analyseren hoe en waarom het zo'n weerbarstige thematiek heeft kunnen worden. Daarbij richt het zich zowel, naar het onderscheid van de socioloog Gusfield (1980), op de 'cultuur' als de 'structuur' van dit vraagstuk. De cultuur betreft de wijze waarop actoren betekenis verlenen aan het integratievraagstuk. De structuur betreft de wijze waarop de relaties tussen de actoren betrokken bij dit vraagstuk zijn vormgegeven. In dit onderzoek wordt in het bijzonder gekeken naar de structuur van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties.

Vanuit het structuralistisch-contructivistische gedachtegoed van onder meer Bourdieu (1977, 1992, 2004), wordt een relatie verondersteld tussen deze structuur en cultuur van het integratievraagstuk. Dit betekent dat om te kunnen verklaren hoe en waarom in beleid en onderzoek een bepaalde betekenis wordt verleend aan integratie, men niet alleen moet kijken naar probleem ontwikkelingen. Juist bij weerbarstige controverses spreken feiten zelden voor zichzelf, omdat actoren vaak verschillende feiten selecteren en deze ook wisselend interpreteren. Een structuralistisch-constructivistisch perspectief richt zich, ten eerste, op hoe de vormgeving van structurele relaties tussen actoren van invloed kan zijn op de betekenisverlening van deze actoren. Het kijkt naar de structurele setting waarin de sociale constructie van problemen plaats vindt in beleid en onderzoek. Ten tweede richt het zich op hoe actoren niet alleen betekenis verlenen aan problemen maar ook hoe zij zelf betekenis verlenen aan structurele relaties.

De wijze waarop actoren betekenis verlenen aan het integratievraagstuk is bestudeerd aan de hand van het 'frame' concept (Rein en Schön, 1994). Framing refereert aan de inherent selectieve en normatieve wijze waarop actoren betekenis verlenen aan bepaalde vraagstukken. Rein en Schön omschrijven 'frames' als 'onderliggende structuren van opvattingen, waarnemingen en waarderingen' die als basis dienen voor het 'selecteren, organiseren, interpreteren en begrijpen van een complexe realiteit' (1994, 23, 32). Verschillende attributen van frames zijn onderscheiden; specifieke terminologie om het probleem te duiden, een sociale categorisering van betrokken groepen of categorieën, een causale duiding van het vraagstuk en een bepaald breder normatief perspectief waarbinnen het vraagstuk geproblematiseerd wordt.

Op basis van de integratieliteratuur kan een vijftal typen frames worden onderscheiden. Een multiculturalistisch frame focust op de sociaal-culturele emancipatie van etnische of culturele groepen (minderheden) binnen een multiculturele samenleving. Assimilationisme behelst meer sociaal-culturele aanpassing van migranten in het perspectief van behoud van identiteit en cohesie in de natiestaat. Een universalistisch frame heeft een meer sociaal-economische lens op integratie waarbij de nadruk ligt op participatie van individuele migranten als burgers in maatschappelijke instituties. Differentialisme benadrukt culturele en structurele verschillen tussen groepen en kent ook een meer gedifferentieerd

perspectief op de samenleving. Trans- en postnationalisme, tenslotte, benadrukken de grensoverschrijdende en grensoverstijgende aspecten van trans- of postnationaal burgerschap van migranten en de veelal beperkende invloed hiervan op de rol van de natiestaat.

Rein en Schön benadrukken dat het framen van problemen altijd plaatsvindt binnen een structurele setting die in verschillende mate ontvankelijk kan zijn voor specifieke frames. In dit onderzoek is gefocust op de structurele setting van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties en de invloed hiervan op frame-wisselingen. Met behulp van de theoretische notie 'grenswerk' (Gieryn, 1985, 1999: Jasanoff, 1995: Halffman, 2003) is gekeken naar hoe actoren invulling geven aan de relaties tussen onderzoek en beleid, door de rollen van beide velden op een bepaalde wijze te onderscheiden (demarcatie) en door de relaties tussen beide velden op een bepaalde wijze te structureren (coördinatie). Deze demarcatie en coördinatie zijn twee zijdes van dezelfde medaille, omdat de wijze waarop actoren beide velden onderscheiden veelal gerelateerd zal zijn aan hoe ze de velden aan elkaar proberen te verbinden. Dit betekent dat geen ex-ante theoretisch model van onderzoek, beleid en hun wederzijdse relaties wordt gehanteerd. Beide worden beiden gedefinieerd als velden van structurele relaties met eigen spelregels en verdeling van posities (Bourdieu, 2004). Grenswerk behelst een wijze waarop actoren vorm kunnen geven aan deze veldstructuren door ze op een bepaalde wijze te onderscheiden en te verbinden met andere structuren, in dit geval de structuren van het onderzoek- en beleidsveld.

Wanneer het grenswerk van verschillende actoren elkaar aanvult of versterkt, ontstaan 'grensconfiguraties', of een min of meer structurele vormgeving van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. Vier typen grensconfiguraties kunnen worden onderscheiden (Wittrock, 1991: Hoppe, 2005), die in meer of mindere mate een onderscheid wordt aangebracht tussen onderzoek en beleid (demarcatie) en die het primaat in de relaties tussen beide velden op verschillende manieren structureren (coördinatie). In het *verlichtingsmodel* bestaat een scherpe rolverdeling tussen onderzoek en beleid en worden onderzoekers geacht de 'waarheid' te spreken die vervolgens beleidsvorming beïnvloedt. In het *bureaucratiemodel* bestaat ook een divergentie tussen de rollen van onderzoek (feiten) en beleid (waarden), maar ligt het primaat meer aan de zijde van beleid en politiek. In het 'engineering' of *ingenieursmodel* bestaat er ook een politiek primaat, maar lopen de rollen van onderzoek en beleid meer door elkaar heen bij het ontwerpen van een specifieke beleidsbenadering. Tenslotte is er in het *technocratiemodel* sprake van een wetenschappelijk primaat waarbij onderzoekers niet alleen geacht worden de waarheid te spreken maar ook worden geacht een actieve rol te spelen in beleidsvorming.

Figuur 1: Theoretische modellen van grensconfiguraties, gebaseerd op Wittrock (1991) en Hoppe (2005)

		Coördinatie van relatie onderzoek-beleid	
		Wetenschappelijk Primaat	Politiek Primaat
Demarcatie van rollen van onderzoek en beleid	Divergentie	**Verlichtings Model**	**Bureaucratisch Model**
	Convergentie	**Technocratie Model**	**Ingenieurs Model**

Grensconfiguraties kunnen framing op verschillende manieren beïnvloeden. Baumgartner en Jones (1993) spreken in dit kader van de interactie tussen beleidsbeelden en institutionele structuren. Veranderingen in grensconfiguraties kunnen spelregels en de posities van bepaalde actoren in het onderzoeks- of beleidsveld veranderen, wat kan bijdragen aan frame verschuivingen. Echter, een dergelijke interactie tussen frames en grensconfiguraties betekent niet noodzakelijk dat een oplossing wordt gevonden voor weerbarstige controverses. Juist wanneer sprake is van verschillende frames over een bepaald vraagstuk, kan een dergelijke interactie afglijden tot een 'dialoog van de doven' (Van Eeten, 1999). Rein en Schön (1994) wijzen erop dat voor een oplossing van dergelijke weerbarstige controverses, kritische reflectie nodig is op het niveau van probleem framing. Dit betekent dat actoren zich bewust worden van hun gewoonlijk impliciete frames en dat ze in staat zijn hierover rationele discussies te voeren. Rein en Schön onderscheiden verschillende structurele factoren die tot frame reflectie kunnen leiden; openheid van het debat over een vraagstuk, de capaciteit van betrokken actoren om zich in de schoen van andere actoren met andere frames te plaatsen, de capaciteit om kritisch te reflecteren op het niveau van probleem frames, een pragmatische houding waar het gaat om eventuele aanpassing van een frame en, tenslotte, een zekere mate van vertrouwen tussen betrokken actoren. Wanneer een grensconfiguratie bijdraagt aan deze factoren, kan een dialoog van de doven worden verkomen en kan een kritische dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid tot stand worden gebracht op het frame-niveau, waarmee een bijdrage kan worden geleverd aan de oplossing van weerbarstige controverses.

3. Onderzoeksontwerp

In dit onderzoek is gekozen voor een empirische benadering van de framing van problemen en onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. Het is niet gebaseerd op een specifiek frame van integratie en ook niet op een bepaald theoretisch model van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. Het is een empirische studie van de framing van het integratievraagstuk en van grenswerk, in plaats van een studie die zelf aan framing en grenswerk doet.

Het onderzoeksontwerp behelst een ingebedde, enkelvoudige casus-studie (Yin, 1994). De casus die in het onderzoek behandeld wordt betreft het integratievraagstuk als weerbarstig controverse in minderhedenbeleid en -onderzoek in Nederland in de periode tussen 1970 en 2004. Het betreft een ingebedde casus-studie, omdat het onderzoek zich richt op grensconfiguraties en probleem frames als de ingebedde eenheden van analyse. Op basis van de analyse van de relatie tussen deze grensconfiguraties en frames probeert het onderzoek uiteindelijk tot uitspraken te komen ten aanzien van de centrale eenheid van analyse, het integratievraagstuk als weerbarstige controverse.

De keuze voor de integratie-casus is niet willekeurig. Juist omdat op dit terrein in Nederland de framing van het vraagstuk en de structuur van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties zo omstreden zijn geweest over de voorbije decennia, valt te verwachten dat deze casus inzichten kan verschaffen over de invloed van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties op probleem framing. Het is een zogenaamde 'show-casus' of 'onthullende casus-studie.' Echter, generalisatie op basis van een enkelvoudige casus-studie is, volgens critici, problematisch. In dit onderzoek zal alleen sprake zijn van analytische generalisatie, dat wil zeggen generalisatie naar theoretische proposities. Door middel van een techniek van 'gegronde theorievorming', probeert dit onderzoek bij te dragen aan het formuleren van theoretische proposities over de rol van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties in weerbarstige controverses.

De centrale onderzoeksvraag is opgesplitst in een vijftal onderzoeksvragen. Deze corresponderen met een vijftal stappen in de bewijsvoeringsketen. De eerste vraag betreft: *Welke frame-wisselingen hebbenzich gedurende de voorbije decennia voorgedaan in minderhedenbeleid en –onderzoek?* Met behulp van de typen frames die zijn onderscheiden is een analyse gemaakt van relevante beleidsdocumenten en van migratie en integratieliteratuur om te bepalen welke frames zijn ontwikkeld en wanneer zich frame-wisselingen hebben voorgedaan. Ten tweede is de vraag gesteld: *Welke actoren waren betrokken bij deze frame-shifts, wat waren frames van deze actoren en welke posities hebben ze bekleed in het onderzoeks- of beleidsveld?* Hierdoor ontstaat een beeld van de actoren (de objecten van analyse) op wie de empirische analyse van grenswerk en framing zich dient te richten.

De derde vraag betreft; *Hoe hebben de actoren de relatie tussen onderzoek en beleid vorm gegeven en hoe kan dit worden verklaard vanuit hun frames en structurele posities?* Middels interviews, documenten analyse en literatuur onderzoek is een reconstructie gemaakt van de grenswerk-praktijken van de betrokken actoren. De vierde vraag betreft vervolgens; *Welke structurele grensconfiguraties kunnen worden geïdentificeerd als het product van deze grenswerk-praktijken?* Hierbij wordt gezocht naar patronen in het grenswerk van verschillende actoren die hebben geleid tot een meer structurele configuratie van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. Tenslotte is de vraag gesteld: *Welke rol hebben deze grensconfiguraties gespeeld in de frame-wisselingen en in hoeverre was hierbij sprake van kritische frame reflectie?* Dit vestigt de aandacht op de invloed

van deze grensconfiguraties op ontwikkelingen in het onderzoeks- en beleidsveld en op de mate waarin een kritische dialoog mogelijk werd gemaakt tussen beide velden.

4. 'Frame'-wisselingen in minderhedenbeleid en –onderzoek

De eerste stap in het onderzoek omvat de identificatie van frame-wisselingen in minderhedenbeleid en –onderzoek. In het beleidsveld werd een sterke mate van discontinuïteit bevonden in termen van hoe het integratievraagstuk werd geframed. Tot in de jaren '70 overheerste een *differentialistisch* frame dat eigenlijk voorkwam dat een op integratie gericht beleid werd gevoerd. De overheersende gedachte was dat migranten tijdelijke gasten waren, dat Nederland geen immigratieland was en behoorde te zijn en dat daarom beleidsmaatregelen voornamelijk gericht dienden te zijn op behoud van de eigen identiteit en groep structuren. Begin jaren '80 kwam met de vorming van het Minderhedenbeleid een meer *multiculturalistisch* frame op, waarbij migranten werden erkend als permanente etnische minderheden en de Nederlandse samenleving werd gedefinieerd als een multiculturele samenleving. Met de vorming van het Integratiebeleid verschoof het beleidsframe meer richting *universalisme*, waarbij meer de nadruk kwam te liggen op burgerschap en participatie. Tenslotte deed zich aan het begin van het nieuwe millennium een verschuiving voor in de richting van een meer *assimilationistisch* frame. Dit kwam in het bijzonder tot uiting in het zogenaamde Integratiebeleid Nieuwe Stijl dat de nadruk legde op meer sociaal-culturele aspecten van integratie en het integratievraagstuk nadrukkelijk koppelde aan bredere kwesties omtrent nationale waarden en normen en sociale cohesie.

Ook in minderhedenonderzoek lijkt sprake te zijn van een ontwikkeling in de richting van toenemende diversiteit in termen van de framing van het integratievraagstuk. Tot in de jaren '70 deelden veel onderzoekers het *differentialistisch* frame dat de aandacht afleidde van de positie van migranten in de Nederlandse samenleving. In de jaren '70 en de jaren '80 was er echter een scherpe toename van onderzoek naar de positie van etnische minderheden en hun emancipatie in zowel de sociaal-economische als sociaal-culturele sfeer. Met een focus op etnische minderheidsgroepen, emancipatie in Nederland en op het multiculturele karakter van de Nederlandse samenleving, valt deze eerste ontwikkeling van het onderzoeksveld als voornamelijk *multiculturalistisch* te typeren. Dit vestigde zich in de jaren '80 in een sterk dominant Minderheden Paradigma (Rath, 1991). Eind jaren '80 en begin jaren '90 kwam een alternatieve onderzoekslijn op die een meer universalistisch perspectief hanteerde. Hierbij lag de nadruk meer op participatievraagstukken in de sociaal-economische sfeer met minder nadruk op sociaal-culturele aspecten en het groepsniveau van minderheden. Deze ontwikkeling past in de internationale ontwikkeling van wat het 'Integratie Paradigma' genoemd wordt (Favell, 2001). In de jaren '90 en later zien we een verdere fragmentatie in termen van probleem framing in het onderzoeksveld.

Enerzijds is sprake van een opkomst van *trans- en postnationalistisch* onderzoek. Anderzijds is ook sprake van onderzoek dat zich nadrukkelijk binnen de natiestaat positioneert en een meer *assimilationistisch* perspectief hanteert.

Deze grote diversiteit in frames in onderzoek en beleid draagt bij aan het weerbarstige karakter van het integratievraagstuk. Door de sterke wisselingen in beleidsframes is het moeilijk te spreken van een consistent beleid. Maatregelen die in een bepaalde periode vanuit een bepaald frame zijn genomen werden niet zelden vanuit een ander frame juist weer negatief geëvalueerd, bijvoorbeeld de nadruk op minderheidsgroepen die later bleek te conflicteren met een meer op individueel burgerschap gerichte benadering. Ook heeft de veelvoud aan frames de dialoog over het integratievraagstuk niet zelden bemoeilijkt. Zo ontstond er recent nog controverse rond de vraag of de integratie nu wel of niet gefaald was, waar enerzijds actoren betoogden dat verbeterde onderwijsprestaties een indicatie vormde van een succesvol integratieproces terwijl anderzijds actoren betoogden dat de geringe mate van aanpassing op een aantal sociaal-culturele thema's juist het falen van het integratieproces aantoonde.

5. Technocratie en multiculturalisme (1978-1983)

Uit de analyse van frame-wisselingen blijkt dat eind jaren '70 en begin jaren '80 zich een verschuiving voordeed in beleid en onderzoek van een overheersend differentialistisch naar een multiculturalistisch frame. De volgende stappen in het onderzoek behelzen het identificeren van betrokken actoren, het analyseren van grenswerk van deze actoren en de grensconfiguratie die daaruit volgt en de rol van deze grensconfiguratie in reflectie op het niveau van probleem framing. Hoe was de relatie tussen onderzoek en beleid in deze periode gestructureerd, en welke rol speelde dit bij de opkomst van multiculturalisme in beleid en onderzoek?

In het beleidsveld waren in de jaren '70 verschillende actoren die vasthielden aan een differentialistische, groep-specifieke benadering. Dit betrof onder meer het ministerie van sociale zaken (om economische redenen), welzijnsorganisaties (opgezet voor specifieke groepen), politici (om politieke redenen) en aanvankelijk ook het ministerie van cultuur, recreatie en maatschappelijk werk (CRM). Zij vormden een zogenaamde 'ijzeren driehoek'. Midden jaren '70 deed zich echter een omslag voor in het denken van het ministerie van CRM. Deze ging meer aandacht vragen voor de positie van culturele minderheden en poogde deze problematiek op de agenda te plaatsen. Dit sloot aan bij een groeiend netwerk van onderzoekers dat eveneens een meer multiculturalistisch perspectief hanteerde. Dit netwerk werd uiteindelijk bijeengebracht in de Adviescommissie Onderzoek Minderheden (ACOM), dat een belangrijke rol zou spelen in advisering over onderzoeksprogrammering maar ook in beleidsadvisering. Daarnaast mengde de Wetenschappelijke Raad voor het Regeringsbeleid (WRR) zich in dit domein middels een rapport aan de regering dat op een heel directe wijze de beleidsvorming beïnvloedde. Tenslotte ontstond een nieuwe actor in dit veld toen

het ministerie van binnenlandse zaken uiteindelijk de coördinatie van het Minderhedenbeleid op zich nam, met een speciale directie voor de coördinatie van de integratie van minderheden.

Er was sprake van een sterke mate van convergentie in het grenswerk van de onderzoeks- en beleidsactoren die vanuit een multiculturalistisch frame de ijzeren driehoek van de jaren '70 trachtten te doorbreken. Enerzijds zochten beleidsactoren als het ministerie van CRM en binnenlandse zaken naar wetenschappelijk onderzoek dat de vorming van een Minderhedenbeleid kon ondersteunen. CRM stimuleerde wetenschappelijk onderzoek, onder meer door de instelling van de ACOM, als een soort politieke manoeuvre om aandacht te vragen voor het minderhedenvraagstuk (Entzinger, 1981: Penninx, 1988). Binnenlandse zaken zocht eveneens nauwe aansluiting bij onderzoek als basis voor een rationele wijze van beleidsvorming zonder de algemeen als ongewenst geachte partijpolitieke politisering van dit vraagstuk. Anderzijds bestond er onder onderzoekers in dit domein een sterke beleidsoriëntatie, betrokkenheid met de positie van minderheden en wens om maatschappelijk relevante kennis te produceren. De ACOM speelde een belangrijke rol in dit kader. Ook de rol van de WRR kenmerkte zich door een sterke beleidsoriëntatie met een rapport dat niet alleen informeerde maar ook adviseerde over de vorming van een Minderhedenbeleid. Dit resulteerde in een grensconfiguratie die valt te omschrijven als een '*technocratische symbiose'*, waarbij onderzoek verregaand betrokken was bij en ook een sterke invloed had op beleidsontwikkeling. In feite legde de WRR met haar rapport dat in nauwe samenwerking met de ACOM was ontwikkeld, direct de basis voor het Minderhedenbeleid.

Deze technocratische symbiose was gericht op het doorbreken van de ijzeren driehoeken rond de differentialistische benadering en het vestigen van een multiculturalistisch frame. Enerzijds droeg deze symbiose bij aan de vestiging van het minderhedenparadigma in het onderzoeksveld. Anderzijds zette het de vorming van een Minderhedenbeleid op de beleidsagenda zonder de als ongewenst beschouwde politisering. Door een structurele setting te creëren waarin vooral actoren betrokken waren met een specifieke belangstelling voor minderheden, droeg het voorts bij aan een 'minderhedenlogica' in probleem framing. Echter, de mate van frame reflectie was beperkt in deze periode. Zo was de openheid van het debat beperkt, onder meer als gevolg van depolitisering, en werden alternatieve paradigma's uitgesloten. De technocratische symbiose was vooral gericht op het doorbreken van de status quo en het vestigen van multiculturalisme, meer dan het reflecteren op alternatieve frames.

6. Verlichting en universalisme (1989-1994)

Eind jaren '80 begin jaren '90 deed zich vervolgens een frame-wisseling voor van multiculturalisme naar universalisme in het beleidsveld. Ook in het onderzoeksveld

kwam in deze periode naast het multiculturalistisch frame een op een meer universalistisch frame gebaseerde onderzoekslijn op.

Verschillende actoren waren betrokken bij deze frame-verschuiving. In het beleidsveld had men allereerst nog te maken met een directie minderheden die aanvankelijk vasthield aan de benadering van het Minderhedenbeleid. Tegelijkertijd was er begin jaren '90 in toenemende mate sprake van actieve bemoeienis van de politiek met het integratievraagstuk, in tegenstelling tot de depolitisering van voorheen. Hierbij werd veelal een meer universalistische optiek gehanteerd. Zo poogde de regering het integratievraagstuk steeds meer te betrekken in haar politiek van bezuinigingen en verzorgingsstaathervormingen. Ook laaide in 1992 een breed nationaal minderhedendebat op waarin veel aandacht bestond voor burgerschap van migranten maar ook voor sociaal-culturele kwesties. In het onderzoeksveld raakte de rol van het ACOM steeds verder uitgespeeld. Wel speelde de WRR opnieuw een sleutelrol met een tweede rapport dat veel nadrukkelijker dan het eerste rapport een universalistisch perspectief hanteerde. Dit rapport valt te plaatsen in een bredere agenda van de WRR in deze periode op het gebied van de activerende verzorgingsstaat. In navolging van het minderhedendebat, speelden experts die betrokken waren geweest bij de WRR rapporten eveneens een belangrijke rol in de ontwikkeling van het inburgeringsbeleid als een van de centrale componenten van het Integratiebeleid. Tenslotte kreeg het Sociaal en Cultureel Planbureau (SCP) in toenemende mate en centrale rol in dit domein, vooral met de voorziening van informatie over de participatie van migranten op voornamelijk sociaal-economische terreinen.

Het grenswerk van betrokken actoren was in deze periode opnieuw gericht op het verschaffen van een belangrijke rol van onderzoek in beleidsverandering. Echter, in deze periode was minder sprake van convergentie in de rollen van onderzoek en beleid; de wisselwerking tussen beide velden was minder direct. Hoewel het WRR rapport dit keer formeel was aangevraagd door de regering, leidde het niet direct tot beleidsverandering maar wel tot een expansie van het debat over integratie. De WRR distantieerde zich opzettelijk van het heersende beleidskader om zo een fundamenteel nieuw perspectief op integratie te ontwikkelen. Het doorbrak de dominante status van het minderhedenparadigma en speelde een belangrijke rol in de politisering in het kader van het minderhedendebat. Door deze ontwikkelingen in de politieke en maatschappelijke context werd het rapport uiteindelijk alsnog in belangrijke mate als uitgangspunt genomen voor de formulering van het Integratiebeleid. In deze vertaling van het WRR rapport in concrete beleidsmaatregelen speelden voormalig onderzoekers van de WRR opnieuw een rol. Deze grensconfiguratie waarbij onderzoek op een indirecte wijze (via maatschappelijk en politiek debat) een central rol speelde in beleidsverandering kan het best omschreven worden aan de hand van het verlichtingsmodel. Tegelijkertijd ontstond op het niveau van meer concrete beleidsontwikkeling ook een andersoortige vraag naar wetenschappelijk onderzoek

van een meer evaluatief karakter. Dit was een van de redenen waarom de ACOM uiteindelijk werd ontbonden en waarom het SCP een meer centrale rol ging spelen in de voorziening van data over de participatie van minderheden. De data van het SCP diende ook als middel voor de interdepartementale coördinatie van het integratiebeleid. Op dit niveau kan dan ook gesproken worden van een meer bureaucratische structuur van onderzoek- beleidsrelaties.

Het verlichtingsmodel van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties doorbrak in deze periode met de gevestigde structuren in zowel onderzoek als beleid. Waar deze gevestigde structuren een beperkte groep van actoren omvatten met een specifieke focus op minderheden, relatief afgezonderd van bredere maatschappelijke en politieke ontwikkelingen, werd door ondermeer de WRR en politici juist een verbinding gelegd met bredere thema's zoals de hervorming van de verzorgingsstaat. In plaats van te benadrukken wat de situatie van minderheden specifiek maakte werd nu juist de nadruk gelegd op wat migranten gemeen hadden met andere burgers. Dit leidde aanvankelijk tot felle reacties vanuit het onderzoeksveld zowel als het beleidsveld, maar droeg uiteindelijk bij aan de vorming van een universalistisch beleid en een meer universalistische lijn in onderzoek. Tot op zekere hoogte forceerde het verlichtingsmodel reflectie op het niveau van framing door het debat meer open te maken, door een alternatief frame te lanceren en door kritisch te reflecteren op het gevestigde frame. Echter, het verlichtingsmodel lijkt opzettelijk te zijn geconstrueerd door onder meer de WRR en politici om met behulp van wetenschappelijk onderzoek een alternatief frame op de agenda te zetten, meer dan het doel zelf was om op frames te reflecteren. Bovendien getuigen de felle discussies met soms een sterk moreel en persoonlijk karakter dat de dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid in deze periode niet gebaseerd was op sterk vertrouwen. De dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid droeg in deze periode tot op zekere hoogte bij aan frame reflectie, maar het verlichtingsmodel was duidelijk niet opgezet met frame reflectie als doel.

7. Ingenieursmodel en assimilationisme (2000-2004)

In de periode vlak na het begin van het nieuwe millennium deed zich opnieuw een frame-wisseling voor in beleid. Daar kwam met de formulering van een Integratiebeleid Nieuwe Stijl een meer assimilationistische benadering op. Tegelijkertijd lijkt in het onderzoek de diversiteit in framing verder toe te nemen, onder meer met de opkomst van trans- en postnationalistisch onderzoek maar ook onderzoek vanuit een meer assimilationistisch perspectief.

De politiek speelde in deze periode meer dan tevoren een sturende rol in beleidsontwikkelingen. Verkiezingen waarin integratie een van de centrale thema's was bracht verschillende centrum-rechtse regeringen aan de macht in deze periode. Ook speelde een aantal publieke intellectuelen een belangrijke rol in het oplaaiende debat over integratie. Daarbij verschoof de aandacht voornamelijk naar sociaal-culturele kwesties en een meer assimilationistische framing. Vanuit dit frame

constateerde het parlement dat het integratieproces gefaald moest zijn, en stelde in dit kader een parlementaire onderzoekscommissie in. Deze onderzoekscommissie concludeerde echter, onder meer door toedoen van een onderzoek van het Verwey-Jonker Instituut, dat de integratie relatief succesvol was. Zij baseerde deze conclusie voornamelijk op een universalistisch frame, waarbij onderwijs werd gezien als een sleutelsector in de integratie. Tegelijkertijd continueerde de WRR haar traditie van betrokkenheid bij dit vraagstuk met een derde rapport die een meer transnationalistisch perspectief hanteerde. Tenslotte mengde het SCP zich ook in toenemende mate in het publieke debat over integratie, waarbij ze veelal een meer assimilationistische benadering ondersteunde.

Door toedoen van politieke ontwikkelingen was er in deze periode ook sprake van een toenemend politiek primaat in onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. In het maatschappelijk debat werd onder meer het verwijt gemaakt dat politici teveel de ontwikkeling van een visie op het integratievraagstuk zouden hebben uitbesteed aan onderzoekers. Daarbij zouden zij onvoldoende oog hebben gehad voor de stem van de straat. Er bestond eveneens een toenemend cynisme ten opzichte van wetenschappelijk onderzoek op dit terrein, ondermeer omdat onderzoekers een multiculturalistische vooringenomenheid werd verweten en omdat ze te zeer met het beleid dat nu werd afgewezen verweven zouden zijn geweest. In dit kader werden de bevindingen van de parlementaire onderzoekscommissie en het Verwey-Jonker Instituut in twijfel getrokken. Tegelijkertijd maakte de nationale overheid van onderzoek dat vanuit eenzelfde framing bij kon dragen aan beleidsontwikkeling. In dit kader kreeg vooral het SCP een belangrijke rol, vanwege haar aandacht voor sociaal-culturele integratie en haar openlijke steun voor assimilationisme; zij had haar rol verbreed buiten alleen de productie van kwantitatieve informatie. Waar de SCP haar rol vooral op een functionele wijze binnen de nationale overheid vorm gaf, maakte de WRR juist een verbinding met de bredere thematiek van internationalisering. Binnen deze politieke context was dit perspectief echter niet opportuun, waardoor het WRR rapport dit keer niet de impact had als de vorige rapporten. De grenzen tussen onderzoek en beleid werden in deze periode geconfigureerd op een wijze die sterke gelijkenis vertoont met het ingenieurs model, met een sterk politiek primaat en een selectieve benadering van beleidslegitimering met behulp van wetenschappelijk onderzoek.

Het ingenieursmodel bood een manier om onderzoek-beleidsrelaties zo te organiseren dat deze functioneel zouden zijn voor de ontwikkeling van een meer assimilationistische beleidsbenadering op nationaal beleidsniveau. Daarbij sloot het andere kennisclaims uit die integratie in een meer internationaal kader plaatsten of die juist uit bleven gaan van een meer universalistisch frame. Deze grensconfiguratie was dus nadrukkelijk niet gericht op kritische frame reflectie. In tegenstelling tot eerdere episodes werd onderzoek dit keer geen rol toebedeeld in probleem framing, onder meer vanwege de nadruk op politiek primaat ('articulatie functie van politiek') een groeiend cynisme ten opzichte van wetenschappelijk

onderzoek. De dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid was dus selectief in plaats van open, er werd geen ruimte gelaten voor alternatieve frames, het assimilationistische frame werd niet ter discussie gesteld (getuige de afwijzing van de bevindingen van de parlementaire onderzoekscommissie) en er was zeker geen sfeer van vertrouwen en pragmatisme in wederzijdse relaties. Tegelijkertijd ontstond er in het onderzoeksveld een toenemende behoefte om invulling te geven aan onderzoek-beleidsrelaties op andere niveaus dan het nationale, bijvoorbeeld op lokaal niveau maar ook in toenemende mate op Europees niveau in relatie tot Europese instituties.

8. Conclusies

Het onderzoek richt zich op de vraag welke rol de relatie tussen minderhedenonderzoek en -beleid heeft gespeeld in de verschillende manieren waarop het integratievraagstuk is gedefinieerd in beleid en onderzoek in de voorbije decennia. Was er sprake van een kritische dialoog tussen onderzoek en beleid op het niveau van hoe het integratievraagstuk gedefinieerd en geïnterpreteerd dient te worden? En in hoeverre heeft dit bijgedragen aan het oplossen van deze weerbarstige controverse?

Het onderzoek heeft aangetoond dat de relatie tussen minderhedenonderzoek en –beleid in verschillende periodes heel verschillend is vormgegeven. Waar aanvankelijk een sterk technocratische configuratie van relaties bestond zien we later wisselende modellen van grensconfiguraties en uiteindelijk een ingenieursmodel opkomen. Er lijkt daarbij sprake niet alleen van een sterker politiek primaat dan voorheen, maar ook een groeiend politiek cynisme ten opzichte van onderzoek. Dit zagen we onder meer rond het onderzoek van het Verwey-Jonker Instituut en het laatste rapport van de WRR. De toenemende diversiteit in termen van framing in het onderzoeksveld lijkt alleen verder te hebben bijgedragen aan dit cynisme. Dit weerspiegelt een verschuiving van een positivistisch geloof in de maakbaarheid van het integratievraagstuk met behulp van wetenschappelijke kennis naar een toenemende erkenning van de onzekerheid van kennis en de beperkte mate waarin men nog in staat is om dit soort sociale problemen te kennen en te beheersen.

Het structuralistisch-constructivistische perspectief is van waarde geweest bij het onthullen van de empirische variatie in onderzoek-beleidsrelaties. Het laat zien dat deze relatie in de praktijk zeker niet overeenkomt met een universeel standaardmodel. Beleids- en onderzoeksactoren waren op verschillende manieren vaak heel actief in hun grenswerkpraktijken om deze relatie wisselend vorm te geven. Bijvoorbeeld, de WRR bleek op verschillende momenten duidelijk meer dan een instituut dat wetenschappelijke kennis verwerkt tot beleidsadviezen maar ook een instituut dat zich actief inspant om zich op een bepaalde wijze te positioneren ten opzichte van beleid en soms ook onderzoek. Hiermee wordt Goffman's stellingname bekrachtigd dat actoren zich niet alleen direct bezig houden met het framen van problemen, maar de framing van problemen ook indirect proberen te

beïnvloeden door op een specifieke wijze vorm te geven aan de structuur van problemen.

Het laat ook zien dat de verschillende manieren waarop onderzoek-beleidsrelaties zijn geconfigureerd weldegelijk invloed had op de wijze waarop het integratievraagstuk is geframed. Zo creëerde de technocratische grensconfiguratie van eind jaren '70 een symbiose waarin een beperkt aantal onderzoekers en beleidsmakers met een specifieke focus op minderheden elkaar vond binnen een setting die politisering en verbinding met bredere thema's voorkwam. Daarmee legde technocratie de basis voor een multiculturalistische framing. Het verlichtingsmodel van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties van begin jaren '90 creëerde juist de mogelijkheid om deze specifieke setting te doorbreken en het integratievraagstuk aan bredere thema's te verbinden. Daarmee legde het de basis voor een meer universalistische framing. Het ingenieursmodel van het begin van dit millennium, tenslotte, creëerde een setting waarin de nationale overheid in reactie op een breed debat waarin integratie verbonden werd met thema's als nationale identiteit, waarden en normen en sociale cohesie. Daarmee vormde het een belangrijk instrument in de ontwikkeling van een op assimilatie gerichte politiek. Hier liggen belangrijke aanknopingspunten voor verder internationaal vergelijkend onderzoek naar of de in Nederland gevonden relaties tussen structuren en culturen van het integratievraagstuk ook in andere landen te vinden zijn.

Hoewel er duidelijk sprake is geweest van een intensieve dialoog tussen minderhedenonderzoek en –beleid, lijkt deze dialoog slechts in beperkte mate te hebben bijgedragen aan kritische frame reflectie. In plaats van bij te dragen aan de oplossing van deze weerbarstige thematiek, lijkt de vormgeving van onderzoek-beleidsrelaties veeleer deel uit te zijn gaan maken van deze controverses. Aan de zijde van beleidsmakers lijkt een positivistisch geloof in wetenschap plaats te hebben gemaakt voor cynisme ten aanzien van de rol van wetenschap in beleidsvorming. Slechts in beperkte mate heerst er onder beleidsmakers het besef dat weerbarstige controverses gekenmerkt worden door meerdere waarheden, meerdere 'frames', en dat onderzoek een rol kan spelen bij het verduidelijken van deze frames. Aan de zijde van onderzoekers bestaat ook slechts een beperkt bewustzijn dat de rol van onderzoekers juist kan liggen in het articuleren van diverse frames. Dit betekent dat onderzoekers die weerbarstige thema's als object van studie hebben, niet slechts proberen het probleem op een objectieve wijze te beschrijven (objectivisme) en ook niet slechts een mogelijke subjectieve interpretatie leveren (relativisme), maar dat ze een actieve rol kunnen spelen bij het oplossen van weerbarstige controverses door betrokken actoren aan te zetten tot kritische frame reflectie. Vaak bestaan er voor onderzoeks- en beleidsactoren structurele belangen bij een bepaald frame, dat bijvoorbeeld aansluit bij een bepaald beleidsprogramma, institutioneel belang of specifieke disciplinaire achtergronden. Zelden ziet men dat actoren daadwerkelijk in staat waren om een stap terug te doen van hun eigen

frames en hierop kritisch te reflecteren. Onderzoek speelde vaak een belangrijke rol in frame-wisselingen, maar niet in frame-reflectie.

Juist omdat bij weerbarstige controverses de cultuur en structuur van deze controverses nauw met elkaar verweven blijken te zijn, vergt de oplossing van dergelijke controverses aandacht voor de framing van een kritische dialoog over het probleem zowel als voor de framing van het probleem. Bij het integratievraagstuk bleek dat structurele relaties tussen onderzoek en beleid vaak gebaseerd waren op een gemeenschappelijk frame. Meer structurele autonomie in relatie tussen beide velden kan een kritische dialoog bevorderen die ruimte laat voor verschillende frames. Structurele autonomie betekent niet dat geen dialoog meer mogelijk is tussen beide velden, maar juist dat deze dialoog niet verstoord wordt door gemeenschappelijke belangen omtrent een frame. Daarnaast vereist een kritische dialoog dat men een stap terug kan doen van de controverse om te reflecteren op de betrokken frames. Enerzijds vereist dit dat beleid ruimte laat voor verschillende frames in haar relaties met het onderzoeksveld, zonder dit op te vatten als een indicatie van de betrekkelijkheid van onderzoek maar juist als een inherent kenmerk van weerbarstige controverses. Anderzijds vereist dit dat ook onderzoekers zich bewust worden van hun rol in de framing van problemen, en juist een bijdrage leveren aan het articuleren van verschillende frames. Enigszins paradoxaal betekent dit dat het belang van onderzoek in de oplossing van weerbarstige controverses juist kan worden ingezien wanneer men standaard modellen, als zou onderzoek de objectieve waarheid spreken of dat onderzoek juist betrekkelijk zou zijn, zou verlaten.