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The local dimension of migration policymaking. Introduction

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Introduction

Maren Borkert and Tiziana Caponio

1 From the nation state to the city: the emergence of local integration as a European policy issue

Whereas international migration primarily concerns the territorial sovereignty of nation states, being defined as persons crossing national borders, integration touches upon the social boundaries of nations. These geographic and social boundaries constitute the nation state as a collective agent. Immigrants moving into the nationalised territories and societies raise questions about the permeability of established boundaries. Thus, immigration and the integration of newcomers are a national concern in most member states of the EU and abroad.

Lately, however, it has become increasingly accepted that the majority of immigrants, particularly in Europe, are living in cities and small towns in rural areas (Penninx et al. 2004). Consequently, the awareness that migrant integration takes place at the local level has entered current political and scientific discourses on integration.¹ In fact, the acceleration of international migration movements after World War II and increasingly since the mid-1980s, has pressured municipalities throughout Europe to adopt pragmatic solutions to emerging migration-related needs (Castles & Miller 2003: 4). However, not all local actors involved share the same experience and history in migrant integration: while non-governmental actors such as the German AWO or the Italian Caritas have a long-standing record in migrant-related social work, the issue has entered the political agendas of most European city councils more recently. Facing the local effects of globalisation, the transnationalisation of labour markets and an increase in international mobility, municipalities throughout Europe have turned to questions of social cohesion and the sustainable development of local markets and communities. Likewise, addressing key questions of today's societies, local integration strategies have increasingly attracted the attention of European institutions, particularly the European Commission. But emphasis on the creative power of local actors in matching migration policies with economic and social needs, though in line with the principle of subsidiarity, seems to be motivated also by hegemonic structures inside the European Union.

In this section we will first analyse local integration as a European policy concern, reconstructing the timeline of political events and publications that might shed new light on the emergence of this issue on the European agenda. Secondly, we will retrace the main developments in the scientific research dealing with local-level policymaking on migration-related issues. In the third section we will introduce the new contributions of this book to the existing literature on local policy and policymaking.

In recent decades, international migration movements have become a major political concern worldwide (see e.g. Thränhardt 2003). Simultaneously, these migration movements are a consequence and a sign of the increase in international interdependence provoked by processes of globalisation. Both globalisation and migration are putting nation states to the test. As Hollifield formulates it, modern states are currently facing a severe dilemma between globalised markets and national civil rights. The so-called liberal paradox stands at the very basis of most migration debates in contemporary Europe: While economic interests have a lasting effect on the opening of national borders, the international political order and internal political system are built upon differentiation and the exclusiveness of power (Hollifield 2003: 35).

The question of integration, i.e. who needs to be integrated into what and how, refers to the core of self-perception and self-identification of societies that are at the destination of persisting migration movements towards Europe. But how do Europeans identify themselves?

One of the most explicit statements on immigration was made by the European Council within the context of the 2000 Lisbon Strategy. Within the Lisbon Program, the Council expressed its intention of 'making the European Union the most competitive economy in the world and achieving full employment by 2010', identifying immigration as one potential approach to compensate for the negative impact of demographic ageing and labour-force shortages that the labour markets of many European member states continue to experience. The Open Method of Coordination (OMC) was introduced to enable the development of national action plans. But the OMC caused the European Council objectives to become muddled, and the results achieved by the national action plans did not satisfy the expectations (COM (2005) 24 final; SCADPLUS 2007). A local approach appeared to be more promising. In 2006, Rotterdam mayor Ivo Opstelten invited policymakers and practitioners acting at local and European levels to the conference *Integrating Cities: European Policies, Local Practices*. The stated aim of the conference was 'to find ways for better cooperation'. *Integrating Cities* was realised in close collaboration with European Commission vice-president and head of the Directorate-General Justice, Freedom and Security Franco Frattini. Representatives from EURO-CITIES, a

network of 130 municipalities with the Commission members. The list of sub-national experts for the Migration Policy Group position paper in 2006 and challenges for new residents. A first 'integration is essential'. *Integrating Cities* was the conference *Integrating Cities II* on implementing the common goal of cities on immigration, signed on 5 May 2007.

The Milan Declaration on the attention of European cities of local migration strategies are considered new integration measures. European member states apparent among the nation state agents for integration at EU level display, downwards to the cities. Yet, if we look at the

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network of 130 major European cities, attended the conference along with the Committee of Regions and other European High Commissioners. The list of participants showed a mixture of European and sub-national experts and practitioners. Following the conference, Migration Policy Group (MPG) director Jan Niessen elaborated a common position paper in which he highlighted opportunities for innovation and challenges for EU cities posed by the arrival of large numbers of new residents. A fundamental thesis of his position paper affirms that 'integration is essentially a local process' (Niessen & Engberink 2006). Integrating Cities was considered so successful it was followed up by the conference Integrating Cities II, held one year later in Milan.² Integrating Cities II explicitly addressed the city level as a major arena for implementing the 2005 European Common Agenda for Integration. The common goal of strengthening the city's voices in European policies on immigrant inclusion culminated in the so-called Milan Declaration, signed on 5 November 2007 (see Milan Declaration 2007).

The Milan Declaration and the conferences indicate the emergent attention of European institutions towards processes, practices and policies of local migrant integration. Local solutions and management strategies are considered crucial for identifying, developing and diffusing new integration models across Europe. Thus, specific funds are introduced to promote benchmarking and policy-learning processes across European member states and municipalities. Here, a pattern becomes apparent among European institutions: they address simultaneously the nation state and sub-national-level entities as implementation agents for integration and innovation. Some political statements at the EU level display, indeed, the aptitude to move integration matters downwards to the city level (and outwards to civil society associations). Yet, if we look at policy action, this trend appears to be far less definite.

With the beginning of 2007, a new Framework Program on Solidarity and Management of Migration Flows was established by the European Commission (COM (2005) 123 final), which was designed to improve management of migration flows at the EU level and to strengthen solidarity between member states. This Framework Program has four dimensions. The first one concerned the integrated management of external borders and was accompanied by the establishment of an External Borders Fund applicable from 1 January 2007. The second dimension pertained to asylum policy and prolonged the European Refugee Fund. The third related to the social, civic and cultural integration of third-country nationals and established the European Integration Fund. The fourth dimension concerned the fight against illegal immigration and the return of so-called third-country nationals who reside illegally in the EU, setting up a European Return Fund (see DG Justice and Home Affairs 2008).

The European Integration Fund (EIF), of special relevance for integrating so-called third-country nationals in Europe, is based on previous experiences made with the Integration of Third Country Nationals (INTI) programme. INTI was a funding programme for activities concerning the integration of people who are not EU citizens. On the basis of these (fruitful) experiences with INTI, the European Commission launched the idea of an European Integration Fund during the Dutch presidency aimed at: 1) facilitating the organisation and implementation of admission procedures for migrants, 2) contributing to the organisation and implementation of introduction programmes and activities for third-country nationals, 3) increasing civic, cultural and political participation of international migrants in the host society, 4) strengthening the capacity of national organisations for accommodating the needs of different immigrant groups, 5) strengthening the host society in managing increasing diversity and 6) increasing the capacity of member states to develop and evaluate integration policies. In total, financial resources allocated to the EIF amounted to € 825 million over the time period 2007-2013.³ Basically, the EIF is implemented in annual programmes laid out by the beneficiary member states⁴ (see DG Justice and Home Affairs 2008), while 7 per cent of the total annual resources are assigned to Community Actions, directly pursued by the EU Commission.

At first it seems that this implementation procedure contradicts the political affirmations that integration takes place at the local level, and reinforces the nation state as the main actor for integration concerns. Are we observing a discrepancy between political claims and policy programming at the European level? To answer this question we take a closer look at the establishment of the European Integration Fund. Before the current structure of the EIF was institutionalised, some regional governments, among them the Italian region of Emilia-Romagna, developed diverging ideas for managing integration in Europe. Their sketch of an integration model for Europe was strongly oriented towards the sub-national level and addressed regional and local authorities as main actors for implementing integration policies.⁵ However, these attempts were unsuccessful; instead the beneficiary member states designated national authorities as responsible for the European Integration Fund. But other factors – the process of European integration and the role that member states assume in it – may also have had an impact on integration policymaking in Europe. In the area of immigration policies the situation of individual member states has been marked by a shift of responsibilities up to the level of the EU. Indeed, Europe's external borders are officially managed and controlled in a joint effort with shared facilities (e.g. FRONTEX). But while member states experienced a net sovereignty loss with regard to the protection

of their own borders within national integration policies concerning the perception of migration (Brubaker) experiences highlight similarities in the and services in trends challenging instead ask for known as Cities European Four Conditions, structural areas of housing religious dialogue, CLIP shows that ing successful l failed integration ally, however, n European fram integration.

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of their own borders, labour market concerns and social cohesion stay within national competence (see also Geddes 2007). Today's integration policies continue to be defined largely by national traditions and the perception of the 'imagined community' (Anderson 1983) of the nation (Brubaker 1992; Soysal 1994). However, local needs and experiences highlight some trends of convergence in Europe: There are similarities in the challenges that migration poses to local governments and services in the receiving communities throughout Europe. These trends challenge nation-bound policy programmes on integration and instead ask for local input on integration policymaking. The project known as Cities for Local Integration Policies (CLIP), financed by the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions, studies concrete integration measures and projects in the areas of housing, diversity management, intercultural and inter-religious dialogue, ethnic entrepreneurship in over twenty European cities. CLIP shows that the cities themselves have a great interest in developing successful local integration practices as they often pay the price for failed integration (Bosswick, Heckmann & Lüken-Klaßen 2007). Legally, however, municipalities largely depend on regional, national and European frameworks, each of which constitutes the basis for local integration.

Even if the nation state as integration policy actor has been recently strengthened by European institutions, regional and local activities on integrating migrants and on setting up dialogues structures at the sub-national level continue. On 13 and 14 March 2008, the European Regional and Local Authorities for the Integration of Migrants (ERLAIM) project, led by authorities of the Emilia-Romagna region, invited regional and local policymakers and practitioners to a conference intended to improve information flow from the EU to the sub-national level. During the EU Policy and Funding for the Integration of Migrants conference, ERLAI⁶ members reaffirmed the relevance of regional and local experiences in integrating migrants, pointing out the lack of detailed and structured information on the part of EU institutions.

2 The study of local integration policy in Europe: where are we and where we are going?

Throughout the 1990s, immigration scholars in Europe focused on the nation state as the key dimension for understanding processes and policies of immigrants' integration. Various typologies have been developed to describe national immigrant policies. From a juridical perspective, for instance, *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* citizenship models have been distinguished (see Brubaker 1992); from an economic perspective,

Gastarbeiter systems have been opposed to *settlement-oriented* systems; and from a socio-political perspective, at least three different models of integration have been put forward: assimilationist, multiculturalist and pluralist (Soysal 1994).

However obvious these typologies of European integration models may seem, they have been criticised for being too simplistic (Favell 2001), with the risk of overshadowing how integration actually takes place in the different contexts where immigrants happen to live and work. When it comes to local integration practices and policies, these typologies certainly have to be treated with caution: They neither explain the variation in integration measures between different municipalities of the same nation state, nor elucidate observed trends of convergence and divergence in integration practices across European cities (Penninx & Martiniello 2004: 156). As a consequence, the local dimension of immigrant policy has emerged to the fore, attracting the attention of an increasing number of European researchers working in different countries.

Yet, not to throw the baby out with the bathwater, one has to acknowledge that typologies still represent a reference point in the debate on immigrant policy and policymaking, as well as in the emerging literature on its local dimension, as pointed out by most of the contributions collected in this book. This is why in the first part of this section we shall start by elucidating the main conceptual categories underlying research in this field, both classic concepts and new notions that have been emerging in local-level studies. In the second part, we will present the main lines of development of the existing literature on local immigrant policy and policymaking. A general trend can be highlighted, beginning with descriptive case studies (often collections of case studies) focused on policy content, to more recent theoretically oriented comparative research designs, addressing mainly issues of policymaking. However, being still at an early stage, the analysis of local policy processes on immigration-related issues reveals a number of gaps and inconsistencies. Critical nodes for future research in the field are also considered in the third part of this section, in an attempt to contribute to the further development of a promising perspective for the study of immigrants' contexts of daily integration in Europe.

2.1 *The debate on policy models: relevance for today's research on local policy and policymaking*

The phenomenon of migration is a rather complex discipline to study. Thus, in the course of time researchers have developed more or less complex models to compare and identify different social realities and to test empirical findings. With regard to integration, Anglo-American

researchers were studying the effects of migration. In the 1920s, the Chicago School of migration research adapted to the predominantly Western European migration context and Znaniecki's model would equalise national differences. This model is likely to last for a long time. The Chicago School is a research tradition destined to last for a long time and space.⁸

While the urbanisation and the evolution of migration in Europe developed in a different way, Europe developed a different model. The model started to rise in the transformation of the social ties that we live in. Their subsequent evolution in the 1950s and 1960s in states such as Italy, 'emigration', which movements in the world are destined to be (Miller 2003: 7f).

In response to the European reality and adapted successively over, national policies influenced by cultural structure or 'national' these models differ more appreciatively. Member states can model as more 'a cultural (United German *Gastarbeiter*

The assimilationist model which newcomers on the soil (*ius soli*) rules (*ius domicili*) model has been a process of adaptation. The model defines the

researchers were particularly influential in investigating and interpreting the effects of migration in receiving countries. As early as the 1920s, the Chicago School started theorising the process of how migrants adapt to a mainstream American society imagined as being predominantly White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP).⁷ Focusing on European migration in American cities, scholars such as Park, Thomas and Znaniecki recognised that the process of 'assimilation', which would equalise newcomers to the standards of the majority population, is likely to last for more than one generation. With this assertion, the Chicago School introduced two basic aspects to modern migration research destined to animate scientific debates even today: the matter of time and space.⁸

While the urban context has been a prominent one for studying the evolution of migration societies in the US, integration research in Europe developed in a different way. The level of immigration to Europe started to rise sharply after World War II and contributed to the transformation of European societies into the culturally diverse societies that we live in today. In fact, the immigration of workers and their subsequent settlement in Northern and Western Europe in the 1950s and 1960s was succeeded by the rising of Southern European states such as Italy and Spain, considered to be 'classic countries of emigration', which became the destinations of international migration movements in the 1980s. Today, Central and Eastern European states are destined to become Europe's new immigration lands (Castles & Miller 2003: 7f).

In response to the socio-political awareness that migration is a European reality and therefore needs to be managed,⁹ scientific tools were adapted successively to identify and reveal migration-related data. Moreover, national policy models on migration and integration developed, influenced by country-specific peculiarities such as the overall political culture or 'national' position on migration. Within migration research, these models differ from one another in being more assimilationist or more appreciatory in recognising ethnic-cultural differences. European member states can then be clustered according to their applied policy model as more 'assimilationist' (usually identified with France), multicultural (United Kingdom, Netherlands) or functionalist-pluralist (the German *Gastarbeiter* policy) countries.

The assimilationist model defines the nation as a political community which newcomers enter by will or by birth. Thus, whoever is born on the soil (*ius soli*) or willing to adopt the national culture and political rules (*ius domicili*) is admitted into the community. The assimilationist model has been criticised, however, as a policy based on a one-sided process of adaptation. On the other hand, the multicultural or pluralist model defines the nation as a political community constituted by cul-

tural-ethnic heterogeneity. This entails that newcomers be granted equal rights in all spheres of society, and by implication that they respect certain key values while keeping their cultural-ethnic heritage and autonomy (Han 2000: 287; Castles & Miller 2003: 249-252; Treibel 1999: 83-102). Castles and Miller identify two main variants of the multicultural model: the 'laissez-faire approach' typical of the US, where cultural diversity and ethnic communities are accepted, while it is not seen as a genuine task of the state to sustain and protect ethnic cultures and equality among ethnic groups. The second variant refers to multiculturalism as a government policy based on a societal consensus to accept cultural differences as well as on state policy to secure equal opportunities and rights for all. Castles and Miller attribute this variant particularly to Australia, Canada and Sweden (2003: 251). Last but not least, the guest worker policy model reflects, according to Castles and Miller, Germany's classic approach to immigration based on matching immigration with labour-market demands and needs. Nationhood is defined on the basis of birth and descent (*ius sanguinis*) and, as a consequence, naturalisation of newcomers is regarded as exceptional and dependent upon a difficult and demanding process.

It is questionable, however, how far these policy models actually reflect and display the reality of everyday interethnic interactions in societies. While this typology is an instrument for identifying and distinguishing ideological discourses at the national level, it shows certain limitations in distinguishing between nation states and sub-national actors in admitting and incorporating newcomers (Alexander 2004; Ireland 2007; Money 1999). In fact, as it has never been proved that the French model is more assimilationist than the British one, neither can we possibly verify how far these models have been implemented in their country of reference as such studies are largely missing (see also Borkert 2008). Here, research on the local dimension of migration policy and policymaking can help to reassess both concepts and models against the background of new empirical findings, referring not to macro-institutional structures but to policies and services implemented and carried out at a regional, provincial and/or city level.

This book provides some interesting examples of how traditional, state-level concepts can be revised and applied to the study of policymaking at a local level. For instance, Vermeulen and Stotijn (this volume), in order to make sense of policy practitioners' implementation strategies for immigrant youth employment, refer to De Zwart's (2005) dilemma of recognition. According to De Zwart, general policies aimed at combating group inequalities do not recognise groups as being relevant to policymaking, while targeted policies may run the risk of perpetuating differences and inequalities among groups. Assimilationism ('denial' in De Zwart's terms) and multiculturalism ('accommodation'),

are regarded as one another, as a result of this approach, replacing policies in such a way as to achieve official redistribution.

Another attention is given to local policymaking (ch. 2) of grassroots policy recognition can be conceived as an instrument to cope with perceived diversity. The background are the basis of a political strategy to address migration challenges.

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2.2 Where we

First attempts to policies for immigration in the context of international policies and Modes and the OECD *Links* (OECD 1999). Local policy is more narrowly, administrations should be addressed to the Italian government at reviewing local

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are regarded as alternative strategies which do not necessarily exclude one another, as pointed out by De Zwart's third proposed policy approach, replacement, which constructs the targets of redistributive policies in such a way as to avoid recognition while still allowing for beneficial redistribution among the groups.

Another attempt to revise 'old' concepts in relation to the analysis of local policymaking is provided by Caponio's discussion (this volume ch. 2) of grassroots multiculturalism. Apart from official discourse on policy recognition, this contribution points out how cultural mediation can be conceived more prosaically by street-level bureaucrats as an instrument to cope with the everyday challenges of immigrants' perceived diversity. Community workers and operators with an immigrant background are hired by Italian municipalities, not necessarily on the basis of a political programme open to cultural recognition, but rather as a strategy to avoid the stress of dealing with diversity and to minimise challenges to established bureaucratic routines.

As is clear, the particular aim and achievement of this book is that of turning a new eye on processes of policymaking at the local level, and exploring what we have called the local dimension of migration policies. The models debate lies in the background, setting the main terms of reference in the analysis of local policy trajectories. Yet, such terms of reference are neither static nor established once and for all: the examples provided clearly point out how the investigation of the local dimension of migration policymaking can provide interesting inputs for the rethinking and reformulation of classic concepts.

2.2 *Where we are: Local integration policy between networks and politics*

First attempts to collect systematic information and data on local-level policies for immigrants were carried out in the mid-1990s in the context of international projects such as the UNESCO Multicultural Policies and Modes of Citizenship in European Cities (MPMC), in 1996,¹⁰ and the OECD report *Immigrants, Integration and Cities. Exploring the Links* (OECD 1998), including cities in Australia, the US and Canada. Local policy is essentially identified with city-level policy and, even more narrowly, with the interventions carried out by local/municipal administrations. To this list, the later *Ethnobarometer* programme should be added. Launched in 2001 with a contribution from the Italian government and of a number of European foundations, it aimed at reviewing local policies in nine cities in Europe.¹¹

The main common feature of these studies was their promotion of large-N comparisons across cities in different national – European and non-European – contexts. To this end, each project devoted considerable effort to the specification of the main dimensions and/or variables for

data collection and analysis. Yet, the results hardly met such an ambitious goal; descriptive case studies adopting a vague comparative perspective prevailed. The main exceptions were the comparative studies carried out by Alexander (2003, 2004, 2007) who, based on the UNESCO MPMC programme, built up a comprehensive typology of European cities' different attitudes and policies towards their foreign population. However, his focus is on cities' official policy priorities, with little attention to implementation and policymaking processes.¹²

Still within the context of the programme, a number of small-N comparisons were also carried out.¹³ These studies yielded a far more complex picture, showing the interplay between official/formal local policy priorities and the various actors dealing with immigrant integration. Moreover, along with the UNESCO MPMC programme, other research studies have been undertaken in different local contexts, not only in cities but also in neighbourhoods and regions, thus contributing to the accumulation of an increasing corpus of data and knowledge on local policy for immigrants in Europe.

In this emerging literature, two research streams can be identified: the first is essentially concerned with bottom-up policymaking processes on immigrant integration, in order to account for the actors involved and the networks mobilised on the issue; the second looks at top-down implementation of legislative provisions on immigration, with particular attention to the practices adopted by the local branches/agencies of national/regional institutions such as the Home Office, the Labour Ministry, etc.

As for the first stream, two different approaches to the study of local policymaking on immigrants' integration can be identified: a pluralist approach, emphasising issues of immigrants and civil society participation; and a power approach, looking more closely at the role of politics and political actors. The pluralist approach actually began to develop in the early 1990s, when a few pioneering researchers questioned the primacy of national-level politics and argued for the increasing relevance of local governments in promoting institutional arrangements aimed at providing opportunities for immigrants' participation and inclusion (Joly 1992; Rex & Samad 1996; Vertovec 1996; Leggewie 1993). According to Mahnig (2004), these studies implicitly assumed that local governments are more inclined than national ones to pragmatically respond to immigrants' needs.

This pragmatic attitude of local policymaking has been also noted by more recent studies such as those carried out by Marques and Santos (2004) on immigrants' participation in Oeiras, a suburb of Lisbon, and by Moore (2004) on conflict mediation in Marseille, Toulouse and Manchester. Both studies show how immigrant policies are more the result of local-level mediation practices, than of official – national or local –

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policy models. Moore (2004) illustrates how French cities, in their attempts to come to terms with immigrant-origin youth unrest, do not act much differently from English ones: if recruiting mediators in order to link up immigrant groups is officially pursued in the UK, in France it represents an established informal practice. In Oeiras, on the other hand, town hall policy does not officially recognise immigrant or ethnic-particularistic demands. Yet existing neighbourhood, sport and leisure associations are composed mainly of immigrants and actually represent the interests and channel the needs of the African resident groups.

Meanwhile, research studies on Southern European cities have also pointed out the crucial role played by autochthonous NGOs, charities and civil movement associations that provide various services and offer political support for immigrants' rights claims (Campomori 2005; Zincone 1998; Esteves 2008; Morén-Alegret 2002). A 'crowding out' effect has been noted wherein native associations mobilising on behalf of immigrants actually become the main recipients of municipal funding and partners in policymaking, thus preventing immigrants from forming their own organisations (Caponio 2005).

In contrast with pictures emphasising mediation and local-level negotiation, a number of studies have focused on power relations in the development of immigrant policies in European cities. A case in point is the research study carried out by Mahnig (2004) on Paris, Berlin and Zurich that looks at how the presence of immigrants became a political issue in these cities forcing the issue of integration onto the political agenda. According to this analysis, the first local initiatives on immigration were aimed essentially at responding to the emerging perception of immigrants as a threat to social peace and public order by the local society. A similar perception can be found in the cases of Nanterre and Champigny (De Barros 2002, 2004): immigration became an issue as early as the 1960s, after French residents' protested against the *bidonvilles* where Maghrebians and Portuguese immigrants lived. Local authorities and, in particular, the communist party governing the two cities, responded by joining the protest and using it as a tool to put pressure on the national government.

The role of political actors has been addressed in the case of Italian cities as well (Caponio 2006; CeSPI 2000; Campomori 2005). In-depth studies carried out in both southern and northern cities question the relevance of politics in the everyday programming and running of municipal services; the efficiency of established administrative structures and the capacity for networking with native and third-sector organisations seem to be more relevant. Yet, politics may set the frame for legitimate action in the development of immigrant policies thus indirectly influencing what can be done and what should be avoided (or at least not overly emphasised).

The second research stream identified above is implementation research, generally aimed at analysing how national/regional laws and policies are carried out by local responsible agencies and whether and to what extent the stated goals are achieved (Zincone & Caponio 2006). The classic top-down implementation framework has been adopted mainly for the investigation of immigration policies such as procedures of regularisation in Greece (Skordas 2000) and Italy (Zucchini 1998) or access to long-term residence permits in Austria (Jawahari 2000) and Italy (Fasano & Zucchini 2001). A chief finding of these studies is that administrative discretion is one of the main sources accounting for deviation from expected goals and policy failure. A number of studies have focused more closely on civil servants' behaviour and their administrative cultures, regarded as factors having a crucial impact on everyday implementation of labour-market provisions in Germany (Cyrus & Vogel 2003), residence permit renewal in Greece (Psimmenos & Kassimati 2003) and Italy (Triandafyllidou 2003) and access to protection for refugees in the UK¹⁴ (Düvell & Jordan 2003). What emerges is a substantial continuity among established administrative practices, directed essentially at controlling and restricting immigrants' presence.

A small number of implementation studies have also focused on national and/or regional social integration programmes. Gaxie et al. (1999), for example, analysed the implementation of the *contrats de ville* (city contracts) in nine French cities,¹⁵ to find out whether, and to what extent, the official goal of empowering local governance was actually pursued and achieved. The empirical evidence contradicts expectations, since the city contracts policy often resulted in routine and purely symbolic consultation on the part of regional/local political authorities, reluctant to lose control over potentially hot immigration issues.¹⁶

Between top-down implementation analyses and bottom-up approaches stand a number of studies looking at immigrant policies in the context of urban segregation processes. The study of majority/minority relations in metropolitan areas and of the related dynamics of segregation/separation in the urban environment is a classic topic in American urban sociology since the Chicago School, which has also attracted over the course of decades urban geographers, social anthropologists, urban economists and political scientists. The literature on the different aspects of segregation processes is huge, especially in the United States but, more and more, also in Europe, the UK being in first place.¹⁷ Some of these studies are concerned with the impact of urban regeneration programmes, usually targeting neighbourhoods suffering conditions of economic and social deprivation, but often leading to gentrification in the renewed districts and segregation in other peripheral areas (Fonseca

2008; Semi 2008). The relationship between urban regeneration and public housing is a topic that has been liberal, conservative and radical in the contributions of the different research centres (see e.g. 2004; Malheir

Along with the research developed in the context of the more broadly defined urban regeneration & Tuts 2005; see also urban area and national migratory

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As is clear, ex-ante research on immigrant integration approaches and their inherent future implications from this literature contribute to the current policymaking.

The first critical challenge among the perceived 'contradictions and resistances' both in democratic theory (see e.g. 2007). However, a common challenge to the contrary, a common assumption in the literature is more likely to be a 'not in my back yard' rather than to be a

In order to understand how convergence can be achieved, it is recognised that a common theme may be observed in the high-level decision-making works and the implementation of convergence and divergence in the high-level decision-making, political

2008; Semi 2006; Briata 2007). Other studies investigate the relations between urban segregation and welfare policies, especially as far as public housing is concerned. If initially scholars focused mainly on cities in liberal, conservative corporatist and social-democratic welfare states (see the contributions collected in Musterd and Ostendorf 1998), more recent research has also taken into account Southern Europe (Allen et al. 2004; Malheiros 2002; Arbaci 2008).

Along with urban policy, another emerging research stream developed in the context of the UNESCO UN HABITAT programme focuses more broadly on the impact of migration for urban governance (Balbo & Tuts 2005: 1-14), taking into account not only European cities, but also urban areas outside of Europe which are pivotal in different regional migratory systems.

2.3 *Where we are going: Key issues for future research*

As is clear, existing literature on the local dimension of policymaking on immigrants' integration is extremely diversified in terms of research approaches and theoretical perspectives. In order to develop a more coherent future research agenda, we identify here four key issues arising from this literature and envisage possible research paths that may contribute to the enrichment of the debate on local policy and policymaking.

The first critical point arises from the observation of a trend of convergence among local immigrant policies on some pragmatic solutions to perceived 'common challenges', i.e. the amelioration of housing conditions and residential concentration, and the improvement of diversity both in democratic bodies and municipal administration (Borkert et al. 2007). However, there is still a lack of systematic research on how common challenges pressure municipal policies towards convergence. On the contrary, as mentioned, a number of studies openly challenge such an assumption by pointing out that local policy on migration-related issues is more likely to respond to NIMBY (an acronym for the exclamatory 'not in my backyard') reactions on the part of national residents, rather than to the needs of the foreign immigrants living in the city.

In order to find out whether and to what extent a trend towards convergence can actually be identified, it should be first and foremost recognised that the intrinsic complexity of local policymaking processes may be observed at different levels in the institutions concerned, i.e. the high-level political arena, the middle-level implementation networks and the bottom-level bureaucratic practices. Patterns of convergence and divergence may differ across these different levels. In high-level decision-making arenas, where official policy priorities are envisaged, political actors are likely to play a key role in framing answers

in accordance with their perception of the electorate's preferences, which are not necessarily favourable to immigrants (see Helbling in this volume). In middle-level implementation networks, institutional pre-existing arrangements concerning relations between public administration and private/civil society organisations are crucial. Such institutional arrangements are likely to vary considerably across European cities, reflecting different welfare state traditions as well as different patterns in civil society mobilisation (see also Aybek in this volume). Yet, trends towards convergence appear particularly relevant as far as bureaucratic practices are concerned: in the context of access to services, immigrants' needs are often dealt with informally by civil servants, operators of NGOs and volunteers, leading to some pragmatic answers and solutions to everyday pressures (see Vermeulen & Stotijn and Caponio ch. 2 in this volume).

Multi-level governance is another key point for future research. Many studies mention the relevance of intergovernmental relations in setting opportunities and constraints for local-level administrations, but do not actually explore them systematically. There are exceptions of course, as pointed out by the implementation studies taking into account complex integration programmes (Damay 2002; Gaxie et al. 1999) and by some contributions in this book (see Fourot on Canada). Another example of analysis concerned with multi-level governance is the study carried out by Favell and Martiniello (2008) on the policy-making processes on immigrant integration in Brussels, also addressing the role of the EU. Yet, generally speaking, while there is wide acknowledgment of the relevance of supra-national, national and regional institutions in local immigrant policy, relations among these different institutions are only rarely investigated.

A third issue to be mentioned relates to the research-policy nexus. As far as local-level policymaking is concerned, this is a particularly relevant point as shown by a wealth of programmes entailing research on best practices, conditions for mutual learning across cities and transferability. The CLIP project is a case in point, since it seeks the direct participation of cities in identifying policy needs and shaping bottom-up an ongoing research design. However, there is still a lack of knowledge and systematic analysis of the role of experts in local-level immigrant policymaking: How are experts identified and selected? What role are they supposed to play? What are their relations with the other actors involved in decision-making and with politicians in the first place? If the research-policy nexus is still an under-explored field (Zincone & Caponio 2006), it is even more so in terms of the local level.

Finally, from a methodological point of view, a crucial area for future research is represented by the spreading of comparative systematic analysis, both cross-city and cross-country. Of course, research designs un-

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dertaking comparison across different contexts, including cities outside of Europe might appear somewhat puzzling, since it is difficult to control for a number of crucial variables, not least the national integration models, which are central to European literature. Nonetheless, much depends on the research goal: if we are to identify common challenges and patterns of convergence in local policymaking, maximising variance in terms of selected cities and national contexts can only strengthen the argument. In any case, to explore how policymakers in different cities/provinces/regions cope with immigration pressures and immigrant needs would undoubtedly enrich our knowledge of the dynamics of migration decision-making.

3 The content of the book

This book is the result of activities conducted within the context of the IMISCOE European Network of Excellence. Specifically, it arises from the work of IMISCOE Cluster C9, a research group focusing on the multi-level governance of migration. The development of a research programme on local-level immigrant and immigration policy was one of the main tasks of the cluster's work in 2007, as highlighted by the international conference *The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking* held in May 2007 in Turin.

Four of the book's six chapters are actually the result of papers presented at the conference, as it allowed early-stage researchers working in the field to present their work and discuss it with peers and senior researchers. The conference was based on a call for papers, to which some 35 young scholars responded and out of which twelve papers were selected for presentation. This selection revealed some interesting features – but also critical points – of today's research on local policy and policymaking. They include:

- The crucial relevance of comparison, especially across regions/provinces/cities in a single country, but also more and more taking into account local contexts within different countries;
- The growing interest in the issue of governance, intended both as intergovernmental relations between different layers of government and as horizontal network relations between public and non-public organisations;
- The lack of systematic research on local-level policymaking in Eastern European countries, especially of studies adopting the so-called 'policy approach', i.e. focusing on local level policymaking processes.

This final point is particularly relevant for developing a future research agenda on the local dimension of migration policy and policymaking. Local-level policymaking is rarely addressed by scholars in Eastern Europe, where research on migration is just gaining momentum. This may result from the highly centralised state structures characterising these countries, which is probably a legacy of the past communist regimes. However, the debate on convergence/divergence on local migration policy and policymaking could be newly enlightened by also looking at the policy process in Eastern European emergent immigration cities/regions.

This book intends to provide a contribution to the existing literature on local-level migration policymaking by presenting a number of studies carried out in very different national contexts: namely, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, the Netherlands and Canada. We are fully aware that these countries do not exhaust the range of possible relevant cases in the study of the local dimension of migration policy and policymaking. A major gap exists not only in the lack of a contribution on Eastern Europe, but also in the lack of a chapter addressing a case study in the Nordic welfare-state countries. However, as pointed out in the final comparative chapter, this book is intended as a first attempt to explore the various dimensions of local policymaking. It starts from some interesting pieces of research already carried out in this field. More systematic and theoretically grounded research, though indeed needed, is beyond the reach of this book.

Though all the collected contributions deal with local-level policymaking, they address different dimensions of integration, i.e. citizenship, welfare services, vocational training and employment, and religious diversity. Moreover, the studies display a great variety in the theoretical and methodological approaches adopted by the authors. This regards first and foremost the theoretical point of view: whereas Caponio's (ch. 2) and Vermeulen and Stotijn's chapters aim to shed new light on policymaking processes and accounting for different local-level policy responses, Aybek and Fourot are more interested in policy legacy and institutional analysis. Helbling, meanwhile, deals with the factors at a local level that explain naturalisation politics and ground people's understanding of membership in a nation. Variations are evident from a methodological standpoint as well: while most chapters present comparative qualitative case-studies, Helbling adopts a large-N comparative research path. Such diversity in the theoretical focus and methodological approaches represents a characteristic feature of this book, that demonstrates how research on local policymaking is not necessarily confined to the 'thick description' of one case, but on the contrary draws its strength from comparison, either qualitative or quantitative.

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The contributions to the book, while not exhausting all the possible local issue areas as identified by Alexander (2007), address three key *policy domains*: the legal-political domain, which addresses the civic incorporation of migrants/ethnic minorities in the host polity; the socio-economic domain, which concerns social inclusion policies; and the cultural-religious domain, which includes policies related to minority religious and cultural practices as well as to inter-group cultural relations. The final chapter of the book intends to draw some comparative conclusions on local policymaking processes in these different domains, while providing a basic theoretical toolkit for a more unitary and consistent framework of analysis of the local dimension of policymaking.

The first dimension, i.e. the legal-political one, is dealt with in Helbling's contribution on naturalisation policy in Switzerland. The chapter takes a comparative perspective in an effort to explain why in some municipalities more candidates for naturalisation are rejected than in others. Three political and cultural factors are considered: different understandings of citizenship, i.e. diverging ideas of what it means to become a Swiss citizen; the strength at the local level of the Swiss People's Party, namely the major Swiss right-wing populist party; the impact of direct democratic decision-making procedures, which may provide an opportunity for right-wing populist parties to mobilise the people. The analysis reveals that these three factors have a significant impact on rejection rates, while socio-economic and socio-structural factors such as unemployment rates, the ratio of foreigners living in a municipality and the ratio of applicants from Muslim countries have no influence. The contextualisation of the Swiss case in the still very scarce literature on the implementation of naturalisation laws shows how local/regional authorities' attitudes towards the question of who has the right to become a citizen is a major neglected issue in migration policy research.

Three contributions address the socio-economic dimension of local migration policy and policymaking. Caponio (ch. 2) looks more generally at Italian cities' welfare policies, while Aybek provides an account of employment in German cities and Vermeulen and Stotijn discuss vocational training in a Dutch city and a German city. Caponio (ch. 2) deals with the accommodation of cultural difference in Italy by comparing Milan, Bologna and Naples, three cities that represent very different contexts in terms of economic situation as well as cultural and political traditions.¹⁸ According to the analysis, at the level of official political priorities an opposition emerges between the assimilationist approach pursued by the administration of Milan and the multicultural one promoted by that of Bologna, while Naples lies in between. However, the reconstruction of implementation strategies points out a convergence towards practices of formal and/or informal recognition of

cultural differences in making services accessible/available for immigrants, even though this does not necessarily coincide with a move towards inclusion and participation of immigrant organisations in policymaking.

Vermeulen and Stotijn, for their part, provide an interesting example of cross-city and cross-country comparison by looking at how Amsterdam and Berlin policymakers and policy practitioners deal with youth unemployment among immigrant groups. They argue that local policymakers are confronted with what De Zwart (2005) calls 'the dilemma of recognition', which refers to whether local governments should pursue general or targeted policies to combat group inequality. Vermeulen and Stotijn show how, in the two cities, policy practitioners working with unemployed immigrant youth have responded to the dilemma of recognition with their own pragmatic solutions, which are considerably independent of the official policy integration framework.

The issue of migrant youth unemployment is also dealt with in Aybek's contribution, focusing on local-level interaction in Germany between the highly institutionalised vocational education and training (VET) system and less-established networks on immigrants' integration. The study considers two local contexts – Munich and Frankfurt/Main – with the purpose of discovering which factors and governance dynamics may help the development of new approaches to implementing VET programmes aimed at catering to the needs of immigrant youth, currently the main beneficiary of VET in Germany.

Finally, Fourot's study deals with the cultural-religious domain. It investigates the settlement of new mosques in the cities of Montreal and Laval, both located in the Province of Quebec. This chapter looks at four sets of factors: intergovernmental relations in particular between provincial and municipal levels of government; the discourses surrounding the accommodation of ethno-cultural and ethno-religious demands in the two cities; relations among local actors, especially elected officials and municipal public servants; and the forms of mediation between municipalities and ethno-religious groups. Fourot points out how these factors have an impact on the processes of institutionalisation of religious pluralism in the two cities. A key element is represented by the degree of personalisation of mediation channels: whereas personalisation leads to a political process of institutionalisation, non-personalisation leads to administrative institutionalisation.

As is evident, the studies presented in this book not only analyse different dimensions of integration policy, but start also from very different research questions and theoretical perspectives. Yet, in the last concluding chapter, an attempt is undertaken by Caponio to provide a more coherent comparative framework aimed at elucidating the relevance and the main characters of the local dimension of migration pol-

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- 1 See, for instance, the workshop held in 2007 in the Discourse on Immigration and Migration Studies in the United States.
- 2 Integrating Cities.
- 3 In 2007 the EU had 25 member states and in 2009 €1.1 trillion, in 2012 €1.4 trillion.
- 4 With the exception of Ireland have opted for a more open approach.
- 5 These ideas are also discussed in the book.
- 6 European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) website: www.emiliaroma.it/laip/Presentation
- 7 This frequently happens.
- 8 On this, see also the book.

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icymaking in the five countries considered in this book: Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Canada. The notion of *local migration policy arena* is introduced, intended as a policymaking field structured around specific issue areas or dimensions of migration policy. *Local migration policy arenas* take shape in specific national contexts and systems of state-periphery relations. However, national legal frameworks do not appear to be sufficient in order to understand how local migration policy is actually worked out. To this end, particularly promising appear the analysis of patterns of similarities and differences in the local-level responses and policymaking processes across the five countries considered and in the three issue areas of migration policy analysed by the contributions to this book: citizenship, welfare services and religious diversity.

While tentative and provisional, such a comparative exercise yields a first important result: the local dimension of migration policymaking matters. This should be taken seriously by future migration policy-oriented research in the sense that it has an undeniable relevance in all the countries considered, despite differences in the state structures and models of centre-peripheral relations. Efforts to make sense of how this local dimension does currently take shape and operate require systematic and theoretically oriented research programmes. Comparisons across cities in different countries, although difficult and tricky in many respects, represent a crucial frontier for the development of migration studies.

Notes

- 1 See, for instance, 'Challenges for Local Integration Policy in Germany and the US', a workshop held in April 2006 in Berlin. The workshop was part of the Transatlantic Discourse on Integration conference programme organised by the European Forum for Migration Studies (efms), with the support of the German Marshall Fund of the United States.
- 2 Integrating Cities III was hosted by the City of Berlin on 2 April 2009.
- 3 In 2007 the EIF started with € 65 million. In 2008, the fund reached € 78 million and in 2009 € 98 million. In 2010, it will reach € 106 million, in 2011 € 132 million, in 2012 € 163 million and in 2013 € 183 million.
- 4 With the exception of Denmark, all member states participate in the EIF. UK and Ireland have opted in.
- 5 These ideas and concepts were articulated in personal conversations with one of the authors.
- 6 European Regional and Local Authorities on Asylum and Immigration (ERLAI), www.emiliaromagnasociale.it/wcm/emiliaromagnasociale/home/immigrazione/Er-lai/Presentation.htm.
- 7 This frequently used term is generally attributed to Baltzell (1964).
- 8 On this, see also Bommes and Morawska (2005: 224).

- 9 See, for instance, a speech by Frattini entitled 'Enhanced mobility, rigorous integration strategy, and zero tolerance on illegal employment: A dynamic approach to European immigration policies', which was delivered on 13 September 2007 at the High-Level Conference on Legal Immigration in Lisbon (<http://soderkoping.org.ua/pager15679.html>), the Commission Communication 'A common immigration policy for Europe', MEMO/08/402, issued on 17 June 2008 (<http://europa.eu/rapid/press-ReleasesAction.do?reference=MEMO/08/402>) as well as the report 'Moving Europe: EU research on migration and policy needs' by Giulia Amaducci, EUR 23859 (ftp://ftp.cordis.europa.eu/pub/fp7/ssh/docs/ssh_research_migration_20090403_en.pdf).
- 10 See www.unesco.org/most/p97. Seventeen cities took part in the project: Amsterdam, Antwerp, Athens, Barcelona, Birmingham, Brussels, Cologne, Liège, Marseille, Milan, Oeiras (a suburb of Lisbon), Paris, Rome, Stockholm, Tel Aviv, Turin and Zurich.
- 11 Brussels, Lisbon, Manchester, Mannheim, Murcia, Rotterdam, Stockholm, Toulouse and Turin.
- 12 To fill this gap, in-depth case studies on Paris, Amsterdam, Rome and Tel Aviv have also been carried out by Alexander (2007). However, he is much more concerned with changes in local-level migrant policy models than with reconstructing local policymaking processes and networks.
- 13 See the contributions in Penninx et al. (2004).
- 14 These have been published in a special issue of the *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* that was edited by Jordan, Stráth and Triandafyllidou (2003).
- 15 See also the study by Damay (2002), on the implementation of the Integration-Cohabitation Programme promoted by the Brussels region in 1990.
- 16 See also Borkert (2008) on the achievements of integration policies in Italy.
- 17 For a state-of-the-art report see Kohlbacher & Reeger (2005: 49-55).
- 18 This chapter is based on a paper presented at the 2007 Compass Annual Conference (held from 3-4 July in Oxford), in a workshop entitled 'Southern European integration models', chaired by Alessio Cagiano.

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