A PLACE-BASED APPROACH TO MIGRANT INTEGRATION

Sustainable urban development strategies
and the integration of migrants in functional urban areas

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Contents

Abstract

The study explores the relationship between local territories and the inclusion of migrants. In particular, it aims at understanding if strategies of urban and territorial development supported by the EU Cohesion Policy and focusing on functional urban areas can foster migrant integration.

The study applies a pan-European Union perspective with in-depth analyses of case studies from Athens, Liège, Malmö, Paris and Venice.

The study shows that the strategies analysed are more likely to support migrant integration when they address particularly disadvantaged areas and reconnect them to wider contexts, and when they combine infrastructural and economic interventions with social ones.

At the same time, place-based policies alone risk to be less effective for people in the most vulnerable condition (e.g. transit and undocumented migrants, homeless), therefore a combination of the place-based approach with people-based policies has to be considered to the direction of strengthening social resilience to ensure no one and no place will be left behind.

Executive summary

This Science for Policy report focuses on **urban and territorial strategies promoted by the EU Cohesion Policy** during the 2014-2020 programming period, namely Sustainable Urban Development (SUD), Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and Community-led Local Development (CLLD), and explores whether and how they may contribute to the **integration and inclusion of international migrants** in the local context. The study illustrates the findings of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) Exploratory Research Activity (ERA) *International migrants in Functional Urban Areas. How can strategies for sustainable urban development foster the integration of migrants?*, which incorporates two analytical approaches, with in-depth case studies based on local data and conducted by local academics complementing the analysis carried out at EU-level.

Content and Structure

Research shows that international migrants often tend to be over-represented in disadvantaged areas within and around European cities, characterised by a poor-quality built environment, lack of quality goods, services and housing, and high levels of socio-economic difficulties. The various dimensions of disadvantage of the areas where migrants live can hinder their integration and upward mobility.

In accordance with the Treaties, migrant integration policies are mostly within the remit of Member States. The EU supports Member States' policies of integration and inclusion of legally resident third-country nationals primarily by means of a range of **people-centred** measures. These include financial instruments and funding schemes which explicitly target the migrant population. At the same time, the EU's main investment policy, the Cohesion policy, adopts a **place-centred** approach and aims to tackle imbalances between EU regions and cities, while supporting job creation, business competitiveness, economic growth, sustainable development, and improve people's quality of life.

The report moves from the assumption that space plays an essential role in the processes of migrant exclusion and inclusion. In particular, it addresses the less explored question of whether EU policies, which aim to turn disadvantaged places into places of opportunities, tackling the elements of neighbourhood deprivation, may contribute, even indirectly, to migrant integration.

Specifically, the **report focuses on Functional Urban Areas as the spatial unit of analysis**. The reason is twofold. To begin with, its definition incorporates the interaction between a geographical space and its functional relations and network, thus being particularly suited for capturing not only the static dimension of its population, e.g. residence, but also the more dynamic dimensions related to the daily life of the population, e.g. commuting to work, access to services and amenities, social life etc. In addition, the Sustainable Urban Development strategies of the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) are encouraged to have a special focus on FUAs. Overall, the study revolves around a set of research questions, such as:

- – What is the relationship between the areas targeted by the strategy and the areas with a higher presence of migrants?
- – Does the adoption of a broader territorial focus, at FUA scale, allow the strategy to intercept migrant issues?
- – Are there migrant-related actors among the stakeholders involved in the policy process or during the preparation and implementation of the strategy?
- – Do the strategy and its projects explicitly or implicitly address migrant integration, ethnic diversity, or intercultural policy?
- – Do the strategy and its projects address relevant issues in respect to migrant integration in that context (e.g. the strategy addresses affordable housing and this is a major issue especially for the migrant population living in the area)?
- – Could the strategy have a negative impact on migrant integration?

The report first provides a brief outline of the local dimension of EU policies for migrant integration, the main EU-supported urban and territorial development strategies and their governance (Chapter 1). Then it adopts an EU-wide perspective depicted in chapter 2, where socio-economic data on the presence of migrants in FUAs are cross-analysed with data on the implementation of ERDF supported urban and territorial strategies. This work was instrumental to identify FUAs suitable to use as case studies. Chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7 analyse in-depth the ERDF supported strategies of urban and territorial development targeting the FUAs of Athens, Liège, Malmö, Paris and Venice. These case studies describe the local contexts from both a territorial and demographic perspective, before focusing on the policies, their objectives, implementation and outcomes. The final chapter offers some policy-related considerations and discusses avenues for future research.

Data and methodology

The research adopts an empirical strategy consisting of two main steps. The first step was to understand the distribution and characteristics of urban and territorial development strategies and the ratio of migrants across European FUAs. The second step was to select in-depth case studies that would offer better chances of answering the research questions. Thus, the EU-level information was combined with locally sourced data and findings to appreciate the added value of a bottom-up approach in terms of additional insights on the implementation of the strategies.

The data sources employed in the first part of the empirical work are EUROSTAT City Statistics Database and the JRC STRAT-Board dataset. EUROSTAT data provides information on the number of residents, including EU and non-EU migrants, and a series of sociodemographic data concerning the FUA. STRAT-Board has been developed by the JRC in collaboration with the Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy (DG REGIO) and details information on the urban and territorial strategies promoted by the EU cohesion policy for the 2014-2020 programming period. STRAT-Board offers a unique pan-European understanding of the actual implementation on the ground of Cohesion Policy territorial instruments.

Finally, the case-studies provide the analysis with data not available at European level. The case studies were written by local academic experts who were invited to analyse the local contexts from both a territorial and demographic perspective, together with the policies, their objectives, implementation and outcomes. They provide a bottom-up picture of each FUA based on higher granularity of population and socio-economic data and an in-depth qualitative analysis of the strategies.

Policy context

The literature shows that international migrants – third country nationals and their offspring – still strive to match EU citizens' outcomes in employment, education and social inclusion across EU Member States. Moreover, the COVID-19 pandemic has increased third country nationals' vulnerabilities and measures adopted to contain the spread of the virus have crucially affected international migration and migrant integration programmes. Against this background, in September 2020, the Commission presented a New Pact on Migration and Asylum, followed in November by an Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion (2021-2027). This reinforces the proposition that **integration and inclusion remain a priority for the Commission and are an essential part of effective migration management**.

The importance of local communities as the dimension where integration takes place has always been acknowledged; however, the role played by regional and city authorities in the multilevel governance of migrant integration policies has become more central. EU institutions were receptive to these developments, for example, through the 'Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees' of the Urban Agenda. In addition, specific efforts have been dedicated to taking stock of which EU funds are used to support immigrant integration and how, with a view to guaranteeing that funds are allocated in a strategic manner and in accordance with EU priorities, while avoiding double funding and overlapping. To this end, the analyses of this report on the role of the integrated strategies for sustainable urban development in promoting migrants' integration in FUAs certainly provide valuable insights.

The main aim of the Cohesion Policy territorial instruments is to promote a balanced sustainable development of urban and non-urban areas. They consist in programmes of investments based on strategies that promote an integrated approach, meaning cross-sectoral, grounded in multi-stakeholder and multi-level governance (with direct involvement of the local level) that consider the integration among territorial scales. These instruments have not been conceived explicitly as a tool for migrant integration. From a thematic viewpoint, in fact, urban and territorial strategies during 2014-2020 did not have a specific focus on migrants. The strategies were based primarily on the thematic objectives and investment priorities of ERDF, which originally did not include any direct reference to migrants (a specific priority was introduced only in June 2018). Nevertheless, **they do address socio-spatial inequalities through a place-based approach**.

When it comes to the integration of non-EU migrants, EU funds are not always mutually exclusive and the same type of action for the same target group may be financed under different EU funds. The Commission has been consolidating and enhancing synergies between the different funds, promoting an even more effective coordination between the EU and national level. For example, in the current programming period, migrants became explicit targets under Policy Objective 4 of ERDF.

Key conclusions

Overall, the findings of this report based on an EU-level analysis integrated by in-depth case studies suggest that:

- Urban strategies promoted by the EU Cohesion Policy, through a place-based approach, push local administrations to pursue **territorial integration**, coordinating **measures at the scales of the functional area, municipality and neighbourhood**, addressing particularly disadvantaged areas and reconnecting them to wider contexts. In this respect, research showed that urban regeneration policies addressing disadvantaged areas are particularly instrumental in creating favourable conditions to the integration of migrants in the longer run.
- **Cross-sectoral integration**, which is a distinctive feature of EU urban strategies, allows **combining infrastructural and economic interventions with social ones**. This approach emerged as particularly suitable to address migrant needs. Cross-sectoral integration is stronger when strategies combine resources from ERDF and ESF. In the 2021-2027 programming period, the integrated approach in terms of combination of policy objectives and funds will be further facilitated.
- Place-based policies alone risk to be less effective for people in the most vulnerable conditions, among those living in worst off areas (e.g. transit and undocumented migrants, homeless). Therefore, **a combination of the place-based approach and the people-centred measures** has to be considered to the direction of strengthening social resilience to ensure no one and no place will be left behind.

Related and future JRC work

This study must be considered within the framework of a wider set of JRC research activities on the role of cities and urban areas as core centres for a more sustainable, just and greener development of the EU.

Cities can be seen as both the source and the answers to some of today's economic, environmental and social questions. **Research on urban matters is vital to understand the transformations urban areas are going through** and it is a starting point to promote the development of innovative solutions that tackle future societal and policies challenges.

In this vein, the JRC promotes the Urban Observatory, a project portfolio that offers a unique and combined vision of current and future dynamics and opportunities for cities across policy domains and sectorial interests.

The multidimensional approach that characterises the JRC activities under the Urban Observatory is also distinctive of this study. In fact, the research focuses at the issue of migrant inclusion through a transversal and integrated perspective, considering together demographic, social, economic and territorial dimensions. For these reasons, the findings included in this report resonate with several JRC activities, within and beyond the Urban Observatory, paving the way for new multidisciplinary lines of research.

1 Looking at the role of EU place-based policies in migrant integration

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Migration has featured prominently in the European Union's (EU) agenda and policy measures in the last two decades. According to EUROSTAT, in 2019 2.7 million immigrants entered the EU from a non-EU country, and 1.4 million people previously residing in one EU Member State migrated to another. On 1 January 2020, 23 million people (5.1%) of the 447.3 million people living in the EU were non-EU citizens, and 13.5 million persons were living in one of the EU Member States with the citizenship of another EU Member State[3].

As the main comprehensive international comparisons across EU Member States show, third country nationals – and to some extent their offspring - still fare worse than EU citizens in employment, education and social inclusion outcomes (OECD and European Union 2018; Statistical Office of the European Union and European Commission 2021). Moreover the COVID-19 pandemic has increased migrants' vulnerability and affected their integration[4], as closures and social distancing measures have impacted procedures for obtaining residence and work permits, and also services like language acquisition, integration programmes and healthcare (Fasani and Mazza 2020).

In the State of the Union Address of 2020 in front of the European Parliament Plenary, President Ursula Von der Leyen stated that the 'European Commission will make sure that people who have the right to stay are integrated and made to feel welcome'[5]. In September 2020, the Commission presented a New Pact on Migration and Asylum, followed in November by an Action Plan on Integration and Inclusion (2021-2027), reinforcing the proposition that integration and inclusion remain a priority for the Commission and an essential part of an effective migration management[6].

In this vein, this report collects the results of the Joint Research Centre (JRC) Exploratory Research Activity (ERA) "International migrants in Functional Urban Areas. How can strategies for sustainable urban development foster the integration of migrants?" which explores the dynamics of the relationship between migrant integration and local territories across the EU. The research activity aims to explore the possible role of place-based policies promoted by the European Union in contributing to the objective of integration and inclusion of migrants.

The research is based on the assumption that space and local territories play an essential role in the processes of migrant exclusion and inclusion.

Studies with a territorial and local focus showed that international migrants often tend to be over-represented in disadvantaged areas within and around European cities, characterised by a poor-quality built environment, lack of quality goods, services and housing, and high levels of socio-economic difficulty (OECD 2021; Tintori, Alessandrini, and Natale 2018; OECD 2018). The various dimensions of disadvantage of the areas where migrants live can hinder their integration and upward mobility (Malberg et al. 2018; Bolt et al. 2010; Skifter Andersen 2002).

While some features of places may contribute to migrants' exclusion, the opposite is true as well, that is to say that places can contribute to their integration (OECD 2018). In particular, policies which aim to turn disadvantaged places into places of opportunities, tackling the elements of neighbourhood deprivation that fuel migrant exclusion (e.g. unaffordable housing, transport efficiency and sustainability, public space accessibility), may consequently contribute, even indirectly, to migrant integration. At the same time, taking into account the role played by migrant populations in territorial transformations, would enable place-based strategies to be

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better framed, taking advantage of the possible contribution that migrants could bring to local development (Buhr 2017).

The research tries to explore this hypothesis from the viewpoint of the role played by EU supported policies. The EU promotes the integration and inclusion of legally resident third-country nationals by means of a range of people-centred measures, that is to say financial instruments and funding schemes specifically targeting the immigrant population. Considering that, the research instead looks at place-centred measures promoted by the EU. In particular the focus is on the Cohesion Policy which is the EU's main investment policy, designed to support job creation, business competitiveness, economic growth, sustainable development, and improve people's quality of life, to correct imbalances between EU regions and cities (See e.g. Barca, McCann, and Rodríguez-Pose 2012). During 2014-2020, the Cohesion Policy promoted the integrated and place-based approach supporting strategies of urban and territorial development[7]. The research analyses these, with the aim of deriving recommendations that may be useful for the recently started programming period.

The next section gives some key elements to help understand the EU policy framework to which the research refers, highlighting the local dimension that characterises policies for immigrant integration, and the main characteristics of urban and territorial development strategies supported within the Cohesion Policy.

1.2 THE EU POLICY FRAMEWORK

1.2.1 The local dimension of EU policies for immigrant integration

In accordance with the constitutional basis set by the Treaties, immigrant integration policies are mostly within the remit of Member States. However, the EU has played an important role since the Tampere Programme (1999) to institute a European framework of policy cooperation on integration; secure standard grounds preventing discrimination in employment, occupation, social protection education and access to public goods; and establish a set of indicators for measuring immigrant integration[8]. Figure 1 shows the milestones of the EU's supporting actions in the context of immigrant integration.

Figure 1. The development of the EU framework for immigrant integration

Source: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/public/the-eu-and-integration/framework
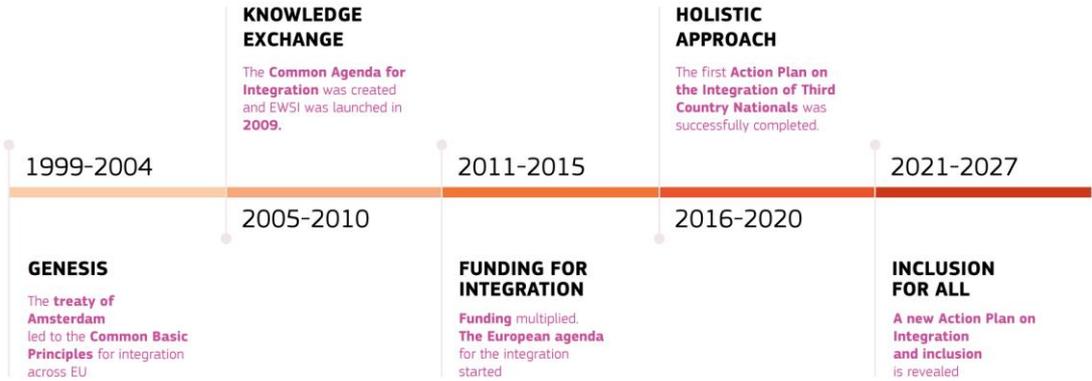
The first thing that can be noticed in the evolution of the framework for migrant integration is that EU support through funding to promote immigrant early integration, education, training, employment, access to housing and health care has become progressively more salient. Not only has there been an increase in absolute terms of the EU funds allocated to these objectives; they have also gained primacy as the main financial instruments

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[7]Article 7 Reg. (EU) N° 1301/2013 European Regional Development Fund Regulation; articles 33 and 36 Reg. (EU) N° 1303/2013 Common Provisions Regulation

[8]For a comprehensive overview of the EU immigration policy, see https://www.europarl.europa.eu/factsheets/en/sheet/152/immigration-policy

adopted by several Member States to invest in strategic systems for migration management and immigrant integration[9].

Moreover, for the purpose of this report, it is useful to highlight two other major developments that have obtained particular relevance at least since 2014. Firstly, while the importance of local communities as the dimension where integration takes place has always been acknowledged, the role played by regional and city authorities in the multilevel governance of migrant integration policies has become more central. Their role has not been limited to the implementation of policies. Their agency has grown to conceive measures and policies, set agendas and shape discourses around migration-related challenges with an outreach that in some cases extends well beyond local or national contexts, and engages at international and global level (Caponio and Borkert 2010; Filomeno 2017; Schiller and Çağlar 2009; Zapata-Barrero, Caponio, and Scholten 2017). EU institutions were receptive and dedicated more and more attention to local authorities as additional interlocutors for the integration of immigrants. For example, through the 'Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees' of the Urban Agenda, discussed in more detail later. In addition, it is worth mentioning that, in March 2021, the European Commission launched a new partnership with the Committee of the Regions to start a political dialogue and promote learning and exchanges on integration for local and regional authorities (Committee of the Regions and British Institute of International and Comparative Law 2020; Committee of the Regions and LSE Enterprise Limited 2018)[10].

Secondly, specific efforts have been dedicated to taking stock of which EU funds are used to support immigrant integration and how, with a view to guaranteeing that funds are allocated in a strategic manner and corresponding to EU priorities, while avoiding double funding and overlapping. In fact, as figure 2 illustrates in relation to the period 2014-2020, even though the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) is the only financial instrument that explicitly mentions integration, Member States can finance measures aimed at the inclusion of immigrants through several EU funds.

Figure 2. The pool of EU funds that Member States can employ for immigrant integration

EU FUNDS SUPPORTING THE INTEGRATION OF THIRD COUNTRY NATIONALS, 2014 - 2020

Source: https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/main-menu/funding/national-level

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As European Court of Auditors indicated recently in a briefing paper on *The integration of migrants from outside the EU* (European Court of Auditors 2018), EU funds are not always mutually exclusive and the same type of action for the same target group may be financed under different EU funds. The briefing paper encouraged the Commission to consolidate and enhance synergies between the different funds, promoting an even more effective coordination between the EU and national level. The *Toolkit on the use of EU funds for the integration of people with a migrant background,* launched by the Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy in 2018[11], contributed to addressing the issue by exemplifying the corresponding integration measures which can be supported by EU funds.

Another aspect highlighted in the report by the Court of Auditors for the 2014-2020 period concerned the fact that the EU legislative framework required Member States to collect annual information on the number of migrants supported only in the case of AMIF funds. This made it particularly challenging for the Commission to gather a comprehensive overview of which funds have been employed by the Member States to support their integration measures. To this end, the analyses of this report on the role of the integrated strategies for sustainable urban development in promoting migrants' integration in FUAs certainly provide valuable insights.

1.2.2   The Urban Agenda for the EU

Over the past decades, the EU has promoted an integrated place-based approach to urban development. Since the end of the 1990s, regular meetings of ministers responsible for urban development led to the consolidation of an 'EU perspective' on the urban question ('urban acquis'), providing what can be considered its guiding principles.

2016 represented a milestone in that process, when the Pact of Amsterdam established the Urban Agenda for the EU (Informal Meeting of EU Ministers Responsible for Urban Matters 2016), which today constitutes the main reference for addressing the urban dimension of EU policies and legislation. Based on the principles of subsidiarity and proportionality, the Urban Agenda focuses on the three pillars of EU policy-making and implementation: Better regulation, Better funding and Better knowledge.

An important element of the Urban Agenda for the EU is its thematic dimension. Since its launch until today it has promoted 14 different priority themes, for which working groups in the forms of multi-level and multi-stakeholder partnerships draw up action plans. The action plans are specific proposals (in the form of priorities, objectives, and steps to be taken in order to reach these proposals) that may be regarded as non-binding contributions to the design of future, and the revision of existing, EU legislation, instruments and initiatives.

It is worth noting that the 'Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees' is included in the first four themes prioritised in the Urban Agenda. This shows how migration is considered as an urban question where cities plays a key role for integration and inclusion. The current cycle (2021-22) of the Partnership on the Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees dedicates one action to providing recommendations on better access for cities to EU funding for integration, that builds upon the work done by the Partnership in the 2016-19 period[12]. From among the EU funds and frameworks, the Action indicates the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), the European Social Fund Plus (ESF+, formerly ESF), the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF), and InvestEU. Although AMIF is the main fund targeting migrants, the Partnership recognised the importance played by ERDF and, especially in its first cycle, it flagged the specific earmarking of the ERDF dedicated for sustainable urban development as a possible channel for integration projects[13].

1.2.3   The ERDF and sustainable urban development strategies

The European Regional and Development Fund (ERDF) constitutes one of the main funding streams for cities to respond in a direct and integrated way to urban challenges. In particular in the 2014-2020 programming period, 5% of the ERDF was earmarked specifically for implementing Sustainable Urban Development (SUD) strategies:

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[11] *Toolkit on the Use of EU Funds for the Integration of People with a Migrant Background,* Directorate-General for Regional and Urban Policy, January 2018. https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/guides/2018/toolkit-on-the-use-of-eu-funds-for-the-integration-of-people-with-a-migrant-background

[12] The name of the action is Expanding the use of financial instruments for inclusion by cities. For more information, see the dedicated section on the Partnership website https://www.inclusionpartnership.com/financial-instruments. A description of the Action Plan for the 2016-19 cycle of the Partnership is available at:
https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/action_plan_inclusion_of_migrants_and_refugees.pdf

[13] Https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/uaeu-inclusion-recommendations-funding.pdf

'The ERDF shall support, within operational programmes, sustainable urban development through strategies that set out integrated actions to tackle the economic, environmental, climate, demographic and social challenges affecting urban areas including functional urban areas, while taking into account the need to promote urban-rural linkages..'[14]

The quote shows the main requirements for the use of funding under SUD. The first is the need to set up a strategy, meaning a collective roadmap towards a desired change in respect to a baseline situation, guiding the use of investment measures. The second is that such a strategy should be implemented through integrated measures to tackle multi-dimensional challenges, thus overcoming the 'siloed' structure of functions divided by sector, characteristic of public organisations. Finally, the quote also highlights the emphasis on functional urban areas.

In the same programming period, the ERDF introduced two other territorial instruments to implement strategies in urban and non-urban areas, namely Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and Community-Led Local Development (CLLD). ITI allows the integration of investments from different funds under the same strategy, and can be used as an implementation mechanism of SUD strategies themselves. CLLD is particularly suitable for small areas such as neighbourhoods or small towns, and promotes bottom-up approaches and the engagement of the local community.

Box 1. The governance of urban and territorial development strategies

All the strategy types mentioned entail a multi-level governance system for their deployment, with the European Commission and Member States at the upper levels, providing for the rules in the use of the European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF), through the EU regulations and Partnership Agreements. But the key actors for the design and implementation of strategies are Managing Authorities (MAs) and Local Authorities (LAs).

A Managing Authority may be a national ministry, a regional authority, a local council, or another public or private body that has been nominated and approved by a Member State. Managing Authorities are responsible for the efficient management and implementation of the operational programmes which detail how the money from the ESIF will be spent during the programming period. The operational programmes specify which of the objectives that guide the cohesion policy during that programming period are to be addressed through available funding. Moreover, the operational programmes include directives on the use of urban and territorial instruments, explaining for example which implementation tools can be used and how, or which types of areas should be targeted.

Managing Authorities and Local Authorities share tasks for the design, implementation and management of the strategies. Local Authorities (LAs) should be at least involved in the selection of operations. However, if desired, MAs may also delegate more tasks. A survey distributed amongst MAs concerning the SUD strategies for 2014-2020 shows that MA have a predominant role, with five more tasks on average than LAs, however in 62 out of 775 strategies, LAs have more tasks than MAs (Fioretti et al. 2020).

Finally, one key characteristic of sustainable urban development strategies is the involvement in the design and implementation phases of a broad range of stakeholders, particularly at local level. For example, these include other public bodies, academia, research and education institutes, civil society, NGOs, and the private sector.

Analysis of SUD strategies in the programming period 2014-2020 shows that a majority of strategies (75%) involve at least one additional governance actor alongside the (mandatory) inclusion of the local level, the regional or national level government, and the EU level (Fioretti et al. 2020).

In the 2021-2027 programming period, some of the characteristics mentioned for SUD are maintained or even increased[15]. In particular the earmarking of the ERDF has been raised to 8%. Strategic dimension and integration continue to be minimum requirements. The target on FUAs has been further emphasised as one of the three themes flagged as worthy of special attention (together with tackling environmental and climate challenges and harnessing the potential of digital technologies). ITIs and CLLDs are both promoted, and can be both used as implementation mechanisms for SUD. Finally the new regulations still establish the mandatory involvement of the local level, and encourage a multi-stakeholder approach in the preparation and implementation of the strategy.

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[14]Art. 7 of Regulations 1301/2013
[15]Regulation (EU) 2021/1058 on the European Regional Development Fund and on the Cohesion Fund and Regulation (EU) 2021/1060, common provisions regulation.

From a thematic viewpoint it is necessary to stress that urban and territorial strategies during 2014-2020 did not have a specific focus on migrants. The strategies were based primarily on the thematic objectives and investment priorities of ERDF which did not originally include any direct reference to migrants[16]. Strategies could also be financed through ESF which included an investment priority targeting marginalised communities and Roma[17]. In the current programming period, migrants became an explicit targets under Policy Objective 4 of ERDF[18].

Moreover, it is worth mentioning another initiative for urban development promoted by the ERDF in both programming periods which does have an explicit focus on migrants: Urban Innovative Actions (UIA).

The rationale behind the UIA initiative is to promote projects to test new and unproven solutions for addressing urban challenges, and it has a strong emphasis on innovation. The beneficiaries of UIA are urban authorities, which can group together, and can also involve other stakeholders, including agencies, organisations, private sector, research institutions and NGOs.

The UIA focuses on the 14 topics promoted by the Urban Agenda for the EU. Consequently it also includes the Integration of migrants and refugees, which was promoted through two subsequent calls (in 2015 and in 2016). 91 urban authorities responded to the call, and a total of seven projects were selected for funding[19].

Finally, the ERDF also promotes URBACT, a programme that sustains the creation of networks of cities and peer-learning, capitalisation and communication activities. URBACT networks gather around different topics including the integration of migrants[20].

1.3 TARGETING FUNCTIONAL URBAN AREAS

As mentioned before, in the ERDF regulations, sustainable urban development strategies are encouraged to have a special focus on functional urban areas.

Since the early Urban Communication of the 1990s, for decades, the EU urban policy discourse had been centred on reversing the internal decay of cities and specifically on the issue of deprived neighbourhoods.

However, in the 2010s the EU urban discourse shifted from focusing predominantly on neighbourhoods, to considering broader territorial frameworks (Fioretti and Pertoldi 2020). The discourse on functional areas has started to permeate programmatic documents. For example, the already cited Urban Agenda for the EU (2016) underlines the importance of a broader look at specific urban issues (p.6):

'A growing number of urban challenges are of a local nature, but require a wider territorial solution (including urban-rural linkages) and cooperation within functional urban areas. At the same time, urban solutions have the potential to lead to wider territorial benefits. Urban Authorities therefore need to cooperate within their functional areas and with their surrounding regions, connecting and reinforcing territorial and urban policies.'

For the sake of this study, the question is then if migrant integration, from a place-based perspective, is one of those challenges that require wider territorial solutions and partnerships across administrative boundaries.

Immigrants' residential patterns in the EU are complex and varied. Core city districts have been a traditional affordable entry point to immigrants, but centrifugal forces such as gentrification have increasingly pushed them towards low-demand areas at the outskirts of cities and in small towns outside urban cores (Millington 2012, Annunziata et al. 2021). Furthermore, scholars have demonstrated that migrants, especially in Southern European countries, follow particular spatial patterns of settlements that tend towards suburbanisation (Arbaci and Malheiros, 2010). This trend has been confirmed by more recent studies that showed recurrently high shares of migrants outside gateway cities (Glick Schiller and Çağlar 2011; Barberis and Pavolini 2015), in small towns, peri-urban and rural areas (e.g. Kreichauf 2015; Morén-Alegret 2008; Fioretti 2016). Nonetheless, even if migrants tend to live more scattered, they still depend on core cities for job opportunities and services. In this context, the spatial dimension of migrants' daily life involves wide, interconnected, multi-scalar, circular territories that transcend administrative boundaries.

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[16] In June 2018 with the so-called Omnibus regulation (2018/1046 Art.271 (2) Omnibus) a new investment priority was introduced to respond to the challenges posed by increasing flows of migrant and refugees: 9(e) supporting the reception and the social and economic integration of migrants and refugees. It is also true that by that time the majority of strategies were already been drafted.

[17] Investment priority 9ii - Socio-economic integration of marginalised communities such as the Roma

[18] PO4 - specific objective (iv) - promoting the socio-economic integration of third country nationals, including migrants through integrated actions, including housing and social services

[19] https://www.uia-initiative.eu/en/theme/integration-migrants-and-refugees

[20] https://urbact.eu/migrants

Following this reasoning, it seems legitimate to consider the functional urban area as a pertinent scale for policy action. Nevertheless, it remains an open question as to if and how integrated strategies targeting functional urban areas facilitate migrant inclusion.

1.4 THE OBJECTIVES AND STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

The goal of this study is to explore the possible role of EU supported urban and territorial strategies targeting functional urban areas in contributing to the objective of the integration of migrants.

More specifically the objectives of the research are to:

1. Contribute to the debate on the role of the EU in fostering migrant integration, focusing on place-based polices aimed at a balanced development of EU territories;

2. Build evidence based on the contribution of ERDF supported urban and territorial strategies to migrant integration during the 2014-2020 programming period

3. Explore whether the use of functional urban areas as strategic planning places is suitable for developing place-based solutions to the challenge of migrant inclusion.

In order to reach those objectives the study first adopts an EU-wide perspective depicted in chapter 2, where existing EU data on functional urban areas are used to:

— Cross-analyse socio-economic data on the presence of migrants in FUAs with data on the implementation of ERDF supported urban and territorial strategies

— Describe the characteristics of strategies implemented in FUAs and highlight possible elements that could be associated with the objective of migrant integration

— Identify and describe five FUAs suitable for use as case studies

In the second stage of the study, the analysis at EU level is integrated with in-depth case studies based on local data (chapters 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7). The cases analyse the ERDF supported strategies of urban and territorial development targeting the previously selected FUAs of Athens, Liège, Malmö, Paris and Venice. The case studies were written by local academic experts who were invited to analyse the local contexts from both a territorial and demographic perspective, before focusing on the policies, their objectives, implementation and outcomes. The experts gathered detailed insights primarily on the following questions:

— What is the relationship between the areas targeted by the strategy and the areas with a higher presence of migrants?

— Does the adoption of a broader territorial focus, at the scale of the FUA, allow the strategy to intercept migrant issues?

— Are there migrant-related actors among the stakeholders involved in the policy process or during the preparation and implementation of the strategy?

— Do the strategy and its projects explicitly or implicitly address migrant integration, ethnic diversity, or intercultural policy?

— Do the strategy and its projects address relevant issues in respect to migrant integration in that context (e.g. the strategy addresses affordable housing and this is a major issue especially for the migrant population living in the area)?

— Could the strategy have a negative impact on migrant integration?

Finally, chapter 8 concludes by highlighting the key points emerging from the study, and advancing policy recommendations and avenues for future research.

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2 Exploring urban strategies and migrants from an EU perspective

Fioretti, C.[21] and Proietti, P.[22]

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is to discuss the possible contribution of EU supported place-based policies in fostering migrant well-being and inclusion.

To do so, this analysis looks at urban and territorial strategies promoted by the EU Cohesion Policy during the 2014-2020 programming period, namely Sustainable Urban Development (SUD), Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and Community-led Local Development (CLLD). These instruments have been implemented across all Member States, in all types of territories. However, for the scope of this study, only those located in Functional Urban Areas (FUAs) are considered[23].

The main aim of the Cohesion Policy territorial instruments is to promote a balanced and sustainable development of urban and non-urban areas. They consist of investment programmes based on strategies that promote an integrated approach, this being cross-sectoral, grounded on multi-stakeholder and multi-level governance (with direct involvement at local level) and considering integration at territorial scale (Van der Zwet et al. 2017; Ferry et al. 2018; Fioretti et al. 2020).

These instruments were not explicitly conceived as tools for migrant integration. Nevertheless, the hypothesis behind this study is that they could benefit migrants too, especially if used to tackle socio-spatial inequalities. In fact, migrants are at risk of suffering more from socio-spatial inequalities, including poorer housing conditions, and higher levels of violence, pollution and noise in the neighbourhoods where they live (OECD 2021).

The role of space in the process of migrant inclusion and exclusion has been highlighted in the literature by several researchers (Skifter Andersen 2002; Millington 2012; OECD 2018; Tintori, Alessandrini, and Natale 2018). Therefore, raising the quality of the areas where migrants live, and addressing drivers of disadvantage that affect their lives (e.g. employment, housing affordability, transport efficiency, quality of public spaces, etc.) may be a way to promote their integration.

The scope of this chapter is to build evidence using EU data at FUA level, on the possible use of these place-based strategies for migrant integration during the last programming period. More specifically, the following questions steered the analysis:

— Is there a correlation between the localisation of strategies and the presence of migrants in FUAs?

— What are the main characteristics of the strategies implemented in FUAs, and can any element be associated with the objective of migrant integration?

The analysis was first made at FUA level with EU27 Member States coverage. From there, five FUAs were selected as suitable for further analysis. The main characteristics of the five selected FUAs and of the strategies localised there have been highlighted.

This analysis has served as the basis for the case studies described in the following chapters. These provide a bottom-up picture of each of the FUAs, based on higher granularity of population and socio-economic data and in-depth qualitative analysis of the strategies.

Methodology

Two main data sources have been used for the analysis presented in this chapter.

The first is the Eurostat City Statistics Database (Urban Audit database at the FUA level) which was used to identify the socio-economic characteristics of the FUAs (inter alia information on dependency ratio,

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[21] European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC), Seville, Spain
[22] European Commission, Joint Research Centre (JRC), Ispra Italy
[23] This choice is aligned with the objective of the research of verifying if the scale of the FUA is appropriate to develop place-based solutions to the challenge of migrant inclusion. See chapter 1.

unemployment, household composition, income) and demographic information such as the total number of residents and the number of EU and non-EU migrants. In this database, an EU migrant is defined as a person living in the reporting country and who is a national of another EU country different to the reporting country; a non-EU migrant is defined as a person living in the reporting country with a third country nationality, a person who is not a national of any of the Member States of the European Union. Both types of migrants have been considered, in order to adopt a broad definition, which will allow better adaptation to the high contextual variability at local level.

The second source of data is the STRAT-Board dataset[24]. STRAT-Board has been developed by the Joint Research Centre in collaboration with the Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy (DG REGIO) and collects information on EU supported urban and territorial development strategies (SUD, ITI and CLLD) in the 2014-2020 programming period. The data collection was initially based on the DG REGIO study "Integrated Territorial and Urban Strategies; how are ESIF adding value in 2014-2020?" (Van der Zwet et al. 2017). It was then verified, updated and enlarged through two subsequent surveys (the first one issued in 2018, the second in 2020-2021) to Managing Authorities responsible for territorial instruments. The dataset includes information on the type of territorial instruments (if SUD or not SUD), on the type of implementation mechanism, and a range of other attributes, such as the thematic objectives (TO), investment priorities (IP), defining keywords and the territorial focus. Moreover STRAT-Board contains information on the territorial coverage of each strategy, meaning the municipalities (Local Administrative Units - LAUs) which are affected by the strategy.

STRAT-Board data were not originally collected at FUA level, but the information on the territorial coverage only allowed the selection of strategies located within the FUAs. This was initially done by running a GIS spatial analysis[25] and then by using the conversion table available from Eurostat[26]. A new database was then created with the STRAT-Board data aggregated at FUA level to which the Eurostat data were associated.

STRAT-Board offers a unique pan-European understanding of the actual implementation on the ground of Cohesion Policy territorial instruments. It is important to stress that this type of policy is promoted at EU level, and steers a common integrated approach. However, the actual implementation depends on the local level, on the territorial contexts, the domestic policy, planning traditions and the local strategic and administrative capacity, and is therefore subject to high variability.

The unit of analysis used in this chapter is the Functional Urban Area (FUA). In particular, the EUROSTAT FUAs version (and related boundaries) for 2018 based on the EC/OECD definition has been adopted (Dijkstra et al. 2019). In this definition, FUAs are identified as densely populated urban areas (cities) and adjacent municipalities with high levels (at least 15% of the employed population) of commuting towards the densely populated centres (commuting zones). Commuting flows are based on travel to work, i.e. the travel that employed residents in a local unit make to reach the place of work. However, commuting flows also capture some of the flows to access education, health, culture, sport or shops. The use of the EC/OECD definition of FUA permitted a homogenous analysis at pan-European level. However, the boundaries of the FUA considered for the analysis of the case studies in the following chapters may vary depending on the local definition, and the availability of data.

2.2 A SNAPSHOT OF THE EU PANORAMA

2.2.1 Number of strategies and share of migrants across FUAs

The first step in this research involved exploring a possible correlation between place-based policies and migrants, cross-analysing data at FUA level on the number and localisation of ERDF supported urban and territorial strategies with data on the presence of migrants and socio-economic data.

From the dataset, it emerged that in the 2014-2020 period, out of a total of nearly 1900 urban and territorial strategies there are 988 targeting areas that intersect with, or are contained within, EU FUAs. Some of these overlap with more than one FUA at the same time.

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[24] The version of STRAT-Board used for the purpose of this analysis dates to April 2021. An updated version was published online at urban.jrc.ec.europa.eu/strat-board in September 2021.

[25] The authors would like to thank Mario Alberto Marin Herrera for his contribution to the design of the database, and Miguel Torres for the spatial analysis and the realisation of all the maps included in the chapter.

[26] https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/nuts/local-administrative-units

The strategies are territorially unevenly distributed (Figure 1). In 64% of the FUA, there are between 1 and 5 strategies. Less often the number is higher, with 5% of the FUAs having between 6 and 10 strategies, and only 1% of the FUAs having between 11 and 38 strategies. 30% of the FUAs have no strategies at all.

In addition, in some countries the distribution of strategies is homogeneous, while in others it is possible to observe a few FUAs with many strategies and other FUAs with no strategy or just a few (e.g. Portugal, Czech Republic, France and Austria).

Figure 1. Share of migrants over the national mean and the number of strategies per FUA across EU27
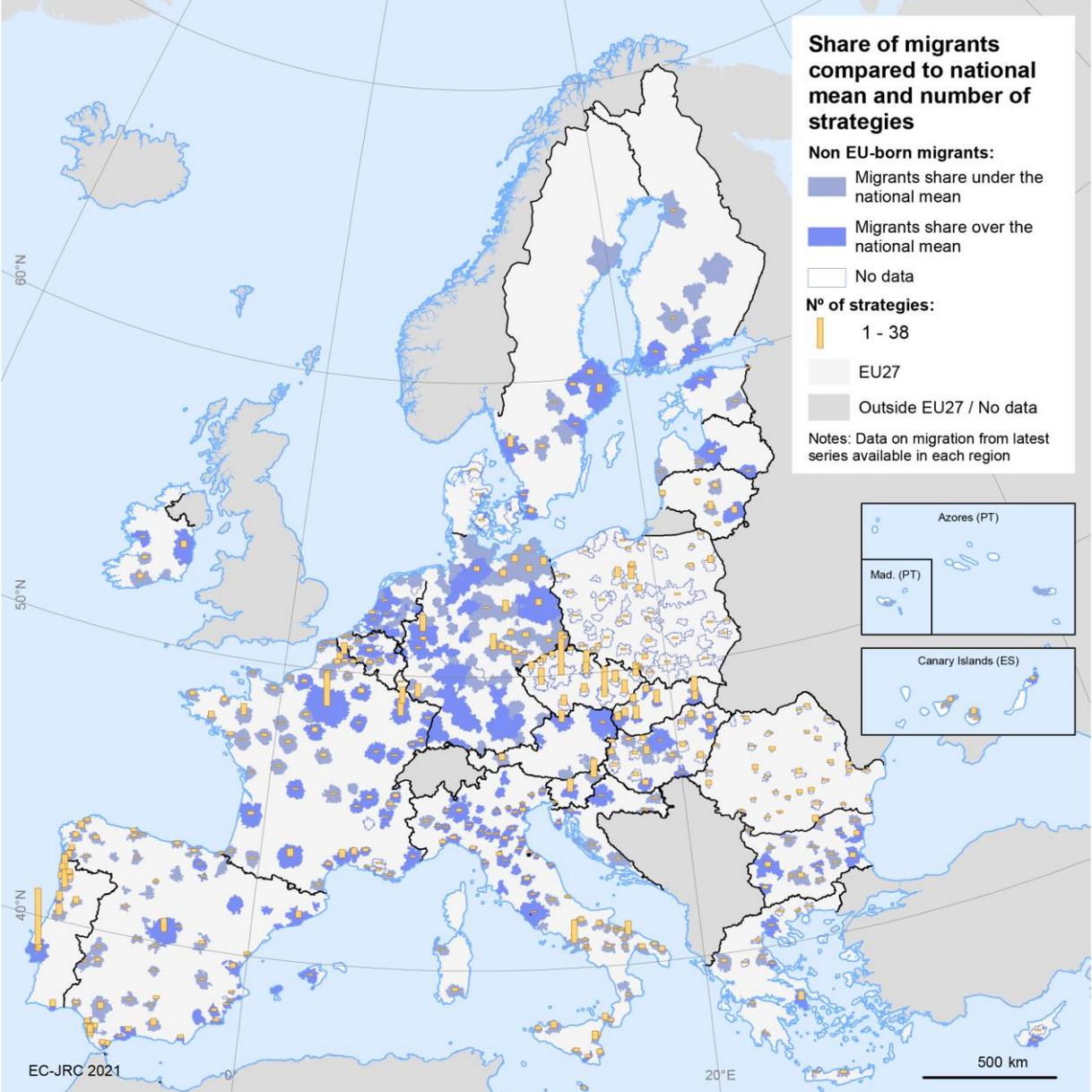
Source: Own elaboration based on data from Strat-Board and Eurostat

Eurostat City Statistics Database (Urban Audit database) includes information on the socio-economic characteristics of FUAs. Comparing the presence of strategies with the socio-economic characteristics of FUAs, it emerges that a higher incidence of strategies is observed in FUAs characterised by a high unemployment rate, low work intensity, low median income and a high incidence of single parents. This suggests that, on average, strategies target FUAs that need a certain policy intervention.

However, the number of strategies is not necessarily higher in places where a higher proportion of migrants live above the national mean (see Figure 1). Indeed, the data (Table 1) show a negative correlation in the 2014-

2018 period between the number of strategies and the proportion of migrants, even if this figure is not always significant[27].

Table 1. Pearson correlation between the number of strategies in FUAs and the share of EU, non EU and total share of migrants

	EU	Non EU	Tot
2014	-0.1129	-0.1047	-0.1288*
2015	-0.1423*	-0.1025	-0.1394*
2016	-0.1383*	-0.0889	-0.1267*
2017	-0.1721**	-0.2345***	-0.2516***
2018	-0.1654*	-0.2523***	-0.2585***

* p<0.1
** p<0.05
*** p<0.01

Source: Own elaboration based on data from STRAT-Board for strategies and EUROSTAT for migrants.

At the same time, it is important to stress that there are no comparable and timely data with European coverage for assessing whether the strategies target the most disadvantaged areas within FUAs (e.g. neighbourhood or census tract level) and if those places are the same areas that witness high percentages of foreign residents[28].

2.2.2 The characteristics of strategies

The second step of the research is based exclusively on the STRAT-Board dataset. It involves the analysis of certain key attributes of the strategies located in Functional Urban Areas, such as the types of implementation mechanisms, the territorial focus and the thematic focus – in order to identify possible patterns that could be related to the objective of migrant integration.

The first analysed attribute is the implementation mechanism (table 2 and figure 3). During 2014-2020 strategies were implemented through the following territorial delivery mechanisms: dedicated Operational Programme (OP) or Priority Axis, Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) and Community-led Local Development (CLLD).

The analysis (see Figure 2 and Annex 1) shows that 16 Sustainable Urban development (SUD) strategies (corresponding to 2% of the strategies) were implemented through a dedicated Operational Programme and are mainly located in Italy[29]. Priority Axis is the most common and frequent implementation mechanism for SUD, and was used in 43% of strategies. Strategies implemented through Priority Axis are distributed across more than 15 EU countries (with higher numbers in Germany and Spain) Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI) was introduced for the first time in the 2014-2020 programming period to implement both SUD strategies (146 cases) and other territorial strategies (67 cases). Data shows that despite its novelty it is used for 21% of the strategies. These are spread across more than 15 countries but are used more frequently in France. The main characteristic of ITI is that it can be used to encourage cross-sectoral integration in inter-municipal strategies, for instance in drafting SUD strategies in Functional Urban Areas (Fioretti et al., 2020). ITI allows the integration of different funds and thematic objectives. Consequently, it responds to more complex and varied challenges and is a potentially powerful tool for migrant integration. Finally, 34% of the strategies are implemented through Community-Led Local Development (CLLD) mostly located in the Czech Republic. In 2014-2020 CLLD could not be used for directly implementing SUD but only in synergy with it. CLLD can be multi-fund, and used for all types of territories. However, it is especially suitable for (aggregation of) small and medium-sized towns

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[27] The correlation coefficients remain negative even when what it is observed is the correlation between the number of strategies and the share of migrants in each FUA compared only to the FUAs in the same country. However, in this case the strength of the relation is lower and is significant only for years 2017-2018 and only for the total number of migrants. Population data were collected until 2018. We preferred to focus on the first years covered by the strategic framework

[28] It was not considered appropriate to run all the analysis using the latest census data, as these were updated in 2011, and the focus of this analysis is the 2014-2020 period.

[29] In Italy a national Operational Programme was specifically designed to target the 14 metropolitan areas of the country, see chapter 7.

and settlements, and for deprived neighbourhoods in urban areas. It has a strong participative element, particularly useful when the objective of the strategies is to foster social cohesion, enhance public participation and capacity-building and encourage a bottom-up approach. For the above reasons, CLLDs might be the most appropriate type of strategy for enhancing a migrants' agency in FUAs. Nevertheless, a stronger presence of CLLD across the FUAs with a higher presence of migrants cannot be observed.

Figure 2. Implementation mechanism of strategies in each FUA
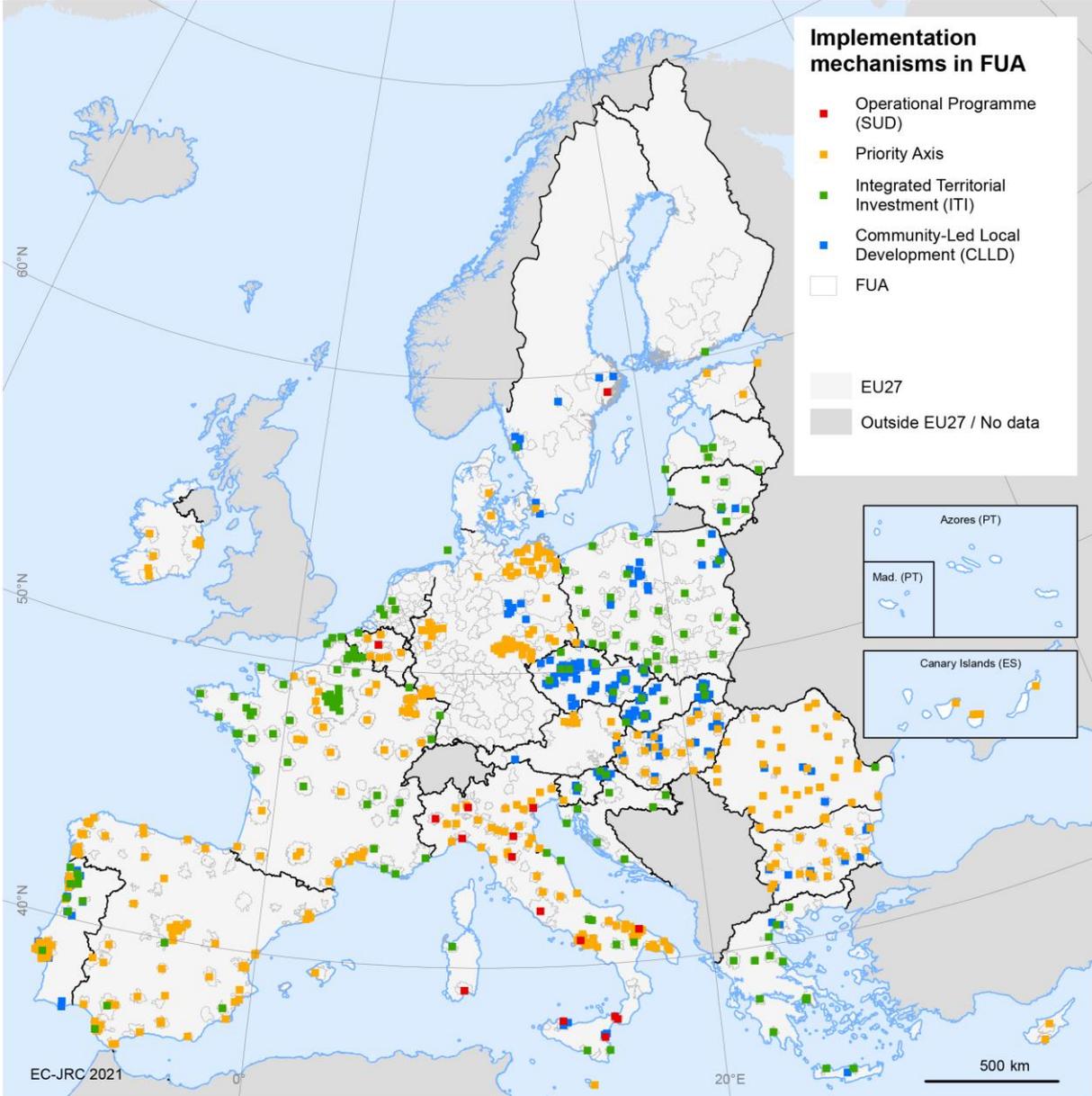
Another feature characterising urban and territorial strategies is the type of area they focus on. Analysing the territorial focus, it is possible to observe that most of the strategies across FUAs focus on a single city or town (30%). There are therefore two other recurrent types for strategies, namely areas within city/towns, meaning neighbourhoods (18%) and Functional Urban Areas (16%). In addition, the aggregation of multiple administrative units in rural areas is a territorial focus which is frequently observed across strategies (25%)[30].

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[30] Fewer strategies focus on the other categories, either on city networks inside the FUA (12) or entire regions (24) or do not mention their specific territorial focus (72).

Figure 3. Territorial focus of the strategies in FUAs
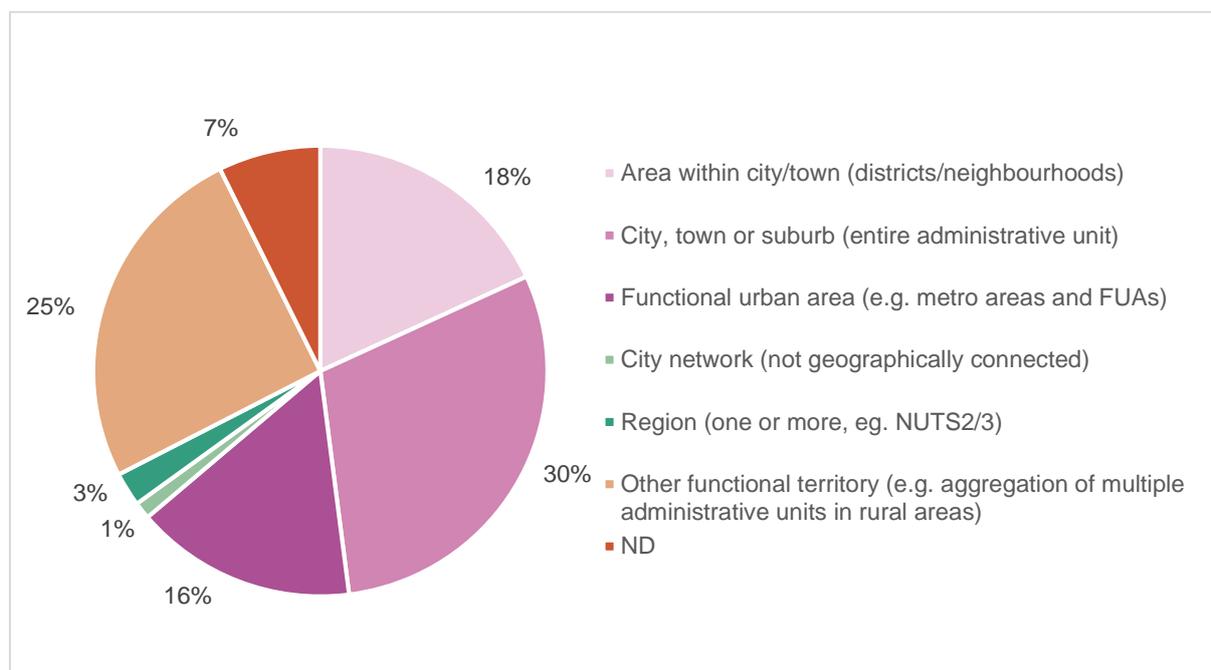
Source: own elaboration. Data from Strat-Board

The last three types are of particular interest for the scope of this study. Areas within city/towns, because these are likely to be the most suitable territorial focus when the targets are deprived neighbourhoods where low-income migrants tend to live. And functional areas[31] (both urban and other) which are also interesting as this is the main territorial scale object of this study. One of the research questions asks whether this new type of territorial focus may be suitable for addressing the challenges relating to migrant inclusion. In fact, strategies addressing FUAs work across territorial scales and administrative boundaries, and seems to be more suitable to address those issues linked not only to places of residence, but also to the circular territories characterising migrants' daily routines. Moreover, strategies at FUA level can direct an outward-looking perspective towards the regeneration of deprived areas, reconnecting the areas to broader functioning territories (URBACT 2010; Tosics 2015).

In addition to general trends, when looking at data disaggregated by country, it is clear how different countries might have different tendencies to focus on one territorial scale or another based on different governance structures and national (or regional) territorial and urban agendas. For example, neighborhoods are targeted more frequently in Spain and are the only target in the Netherlands. Cities are a predominant target in Italy and Romania and are the only target in Ireland. Belgium. France and Poland target FUAs more frequently and Croatia only target FUAs. In the Czech Republic and Sweden, a higher percentage of strategies target an aggregation of municipalities in rural areas.

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[31] It is important to specify that the functional territories targeted by the strategies have boundaries that donot necessarily overlap with the EC/OECD FUAs (Fioretti and Pertoldi, 2020).

Table 2. Territorial focus of the strategies in FUAs per Member State (EU27)

COUNTRY	Area within city/town	City/Town	FUA	City network	Region	Other functional territory	ND	Tot.
AT		1	6		2	3		12
BE		3	4		1			8
BG		20			6			26
CY	2							2
CZ			7			103		110
DE	25	35	5			11	12	88
DK		3						3
EE			3					3
EL	7	3	2	2		4	1	19
ES	52	18	4		2	4		80
FI			1					1
FR	38	4	48			7	41	138
HR			7					7
HU	12	37						49
IE		10						10
IT	5	71	18	3		21		118
LT	8	6		6				20
LU	1							1
LV		5						5
MT	1							1
NL	5							5
PL	2	3	26			18	2	51
PT	19	31	10		5	10	15	90
RO	2	40	7			1		50
SE		2	1			18		21
SI		3				16		19
SK			8		8	34		50
TOT	179	295	156	12	24	250	72	988

Source: Own elaboration based on data from Strat-Board

Looking at the themes addressed by the strategies, it is worth noting that in 2014-2020, the ERDF promoted three investment priorities specifically designed for urban areas, which were in fact the most frequently-addressed priorities: '4e – Promoting low-carbon strategies for all types of territories, in particular for urban areas, including the promotion of sustainable multimodal urban mobility and mitigation-relevant adaptation measures', '6e – Taking action to improve the urban environment, to revitalise cities, regenerate and decontaminate brownfield sites (…)' and '9b- Providing support for physical, economic and social regeneration of deprived communities (…)'. Investment priority 9b, which is the second most recurrent, used by 297 urban and territorial strategies, appears to be particularly suitable for targeting deprived neighbourhoods with high shares of migrants, and leveraging their integration through a place-based approach. Moreover, another priority that could be used to promote services for migrant inclusion is 9a- Investing in health and social infrastructure (…) reducing inequalities in terms of health status, promoting social inclusion through improved access to social, cultural and recreational services (…). This is the eighth most recurrent priority.

Given that most of the strategies (60%) for which information is available are supported by two or more funds, it is also worth noting that several strategies (39% of the total), especially those implemented through ITIs and CLLDs, also mobilise the European Social Investment Fund (ESF). These include a wider set of social investment priorities that could resonate better with migrant needs, in particular under thematic objective 9 'social inclusion, poverty and discrimination'. They also include a specific investment priority for the socio-economic integration of marginalised communities (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Incidence of ESF investment priorities under the thematic objective 9 "Social inclusion, poverty and discrimination"
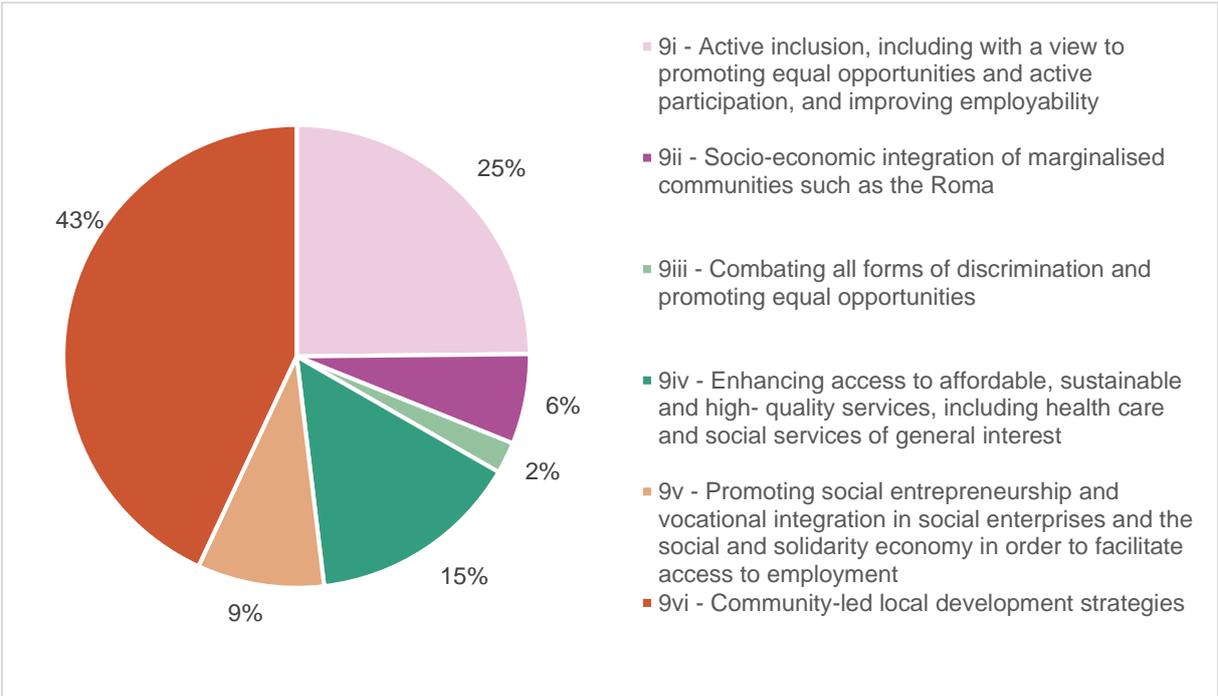
Source: Own elaboration based on data from Strat-Board

In addition, STRAT-Board provides information on the keywords[32] associated with the strategies. Strategies can have more than one keyword. As they cover a wider set of topics in respect to thematic objectives and investment priorities, keywords can provide more detailed information on the actual themes promoted by the strategies. Moreover, among the various possibilities there is also a keyword specific to the *integration of migrants and refugees*. Among the strategies analysed, the most recurring keywords in the period 2014-2020,

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[32] The survey provided a list of 34 keywords: Social inclusion; Air quality; Housing; Circular economy; Digital transition; Mobility; Jobs and skills; Energy; Climate adaptation; Urban-rural linkages; Nature-based solutions; Governance; Entrepreneurship and SMEs; Health; Ageing; integration of migrants and refugees; Research and innovation; Abandoned spaces; Culture and heritage; Youth; Low carbon; Education; Social innovation; Disadvantaged neighbourhoods; Gender equality; Participation; Public spaces; City management; Spatial planning, Sustainable Tourism; Smart Specialisation; Rural development; Coastal development; Diversity.

were *social inclusion* (619), *mobility (496), culture and heritage (397), jobs and skills* (370), which all appear to be potentially relevant thematic areas for responding indirectly to migrant needs.

Figure 5 shows the localisation of strategies that mention keywords that could resonate with a target on migrants. The keyword *disadvantaged neighbourhoods* is mentioned 237 times and is most recurrent in Spain, France, Portugal, Bulgaria, Poland and Hungary. The keyword *integration of migrants and refugees* is present 25 times in Austria, Germany and Sweden. Finally, *diversity* is present only 5 times, all in Slovakia. Interestingly, it can be observed that CLLD is the implementation mechanism that characterised all these five strategies mentioning, among others, the keyword 'diversity' and almost all used the keyword 'integration of migrants and refugees'.

From the keyword analysis, as expected in a context of place-based policies, it is clear that few strategies explicitly mentioned migrants as their target, while a high number of strategies focused on social inclusion and improving disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Figure 5. Use of keywords associated to strategies in each FUA
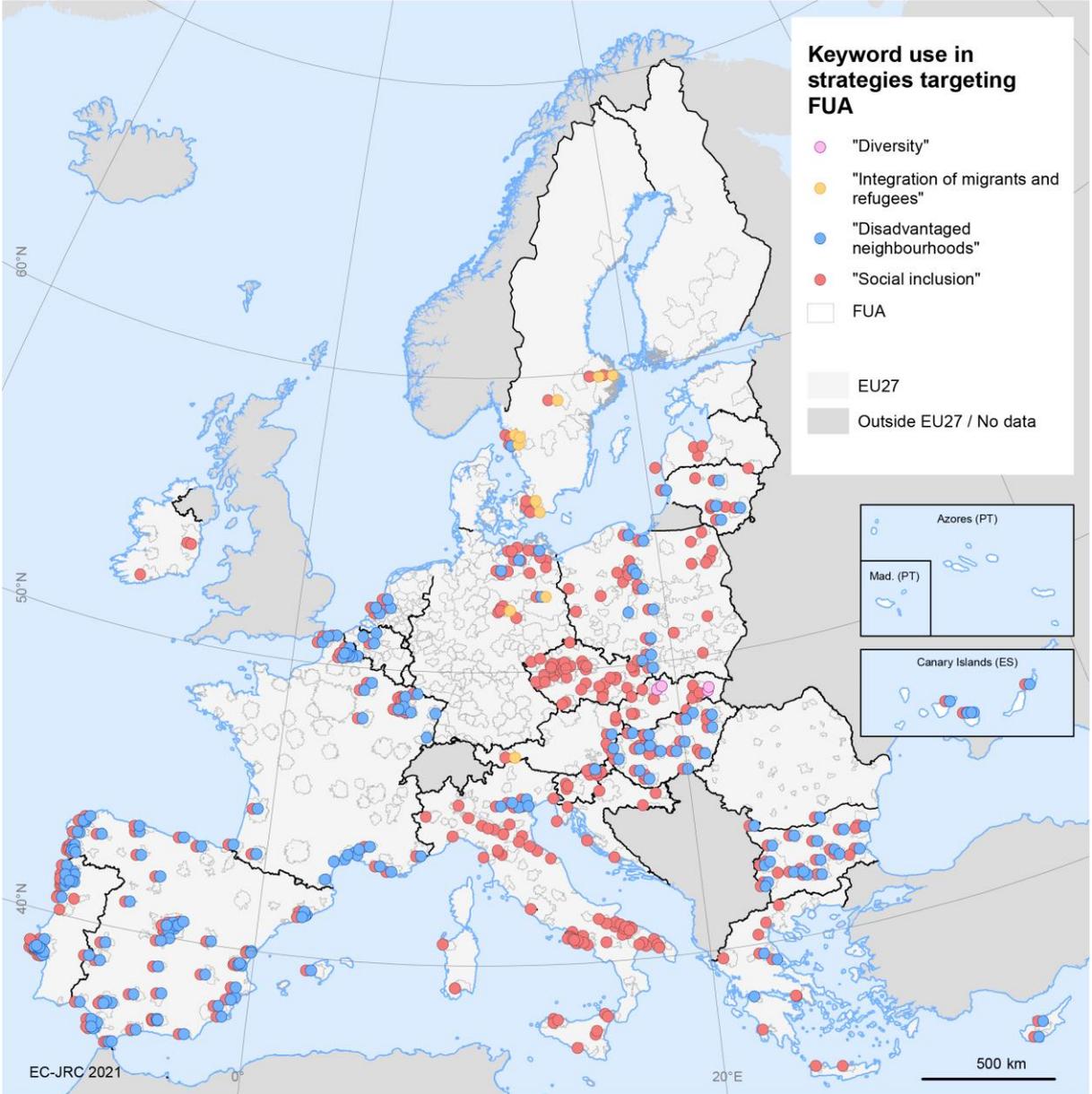
Source: Own elaboration based on data from from Strat-Board

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2.3 THE IDENTIFICATION OF FIVE CASE STUDIES

After analysing general trends across the FUAs of the EU, the need emerged for a closer look at some specific cases. Three criteria were established for identifying suitable FUAs:

— A share of migrants (EU and non-EU) that was at least equal to the national average.

— Presence of at least one Sustainable Urban Development strategy with a territorial focus classified as functional urban area.

— A geographical distribution of the case studies covering different regions of Europe.

From among all the FUAs satisfying these criteria, the FUA of Athens, Liège, Malmö, Paris and Venice were selected (Figure 6, Annex 2). Paris and Athens stand out for the scale of the FUAs and for the number of inhabitants, while Liège, Malmö and Venice show comparable population sizes.

Figure 6. The five selected case studies
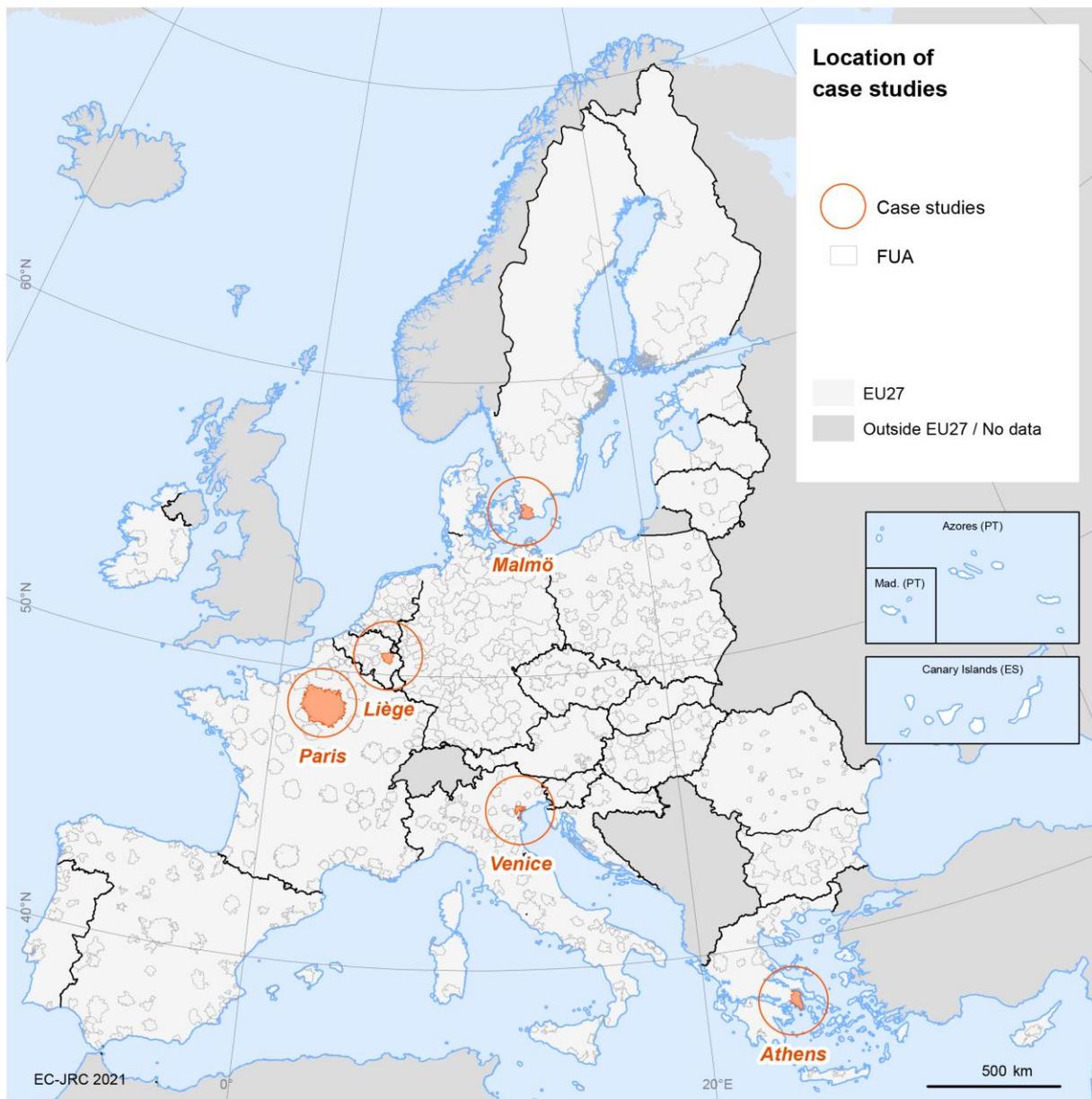
Source: Own elaboration

In line with the selection criteria, all five cases concern FUAs with a proportion of migrants above the national average. Liège has a higher number of EU migrants than non-EU migrants, Malmö has a more or less homogeneous composition between EU and non-EU migrants and Venice and Paris have higher proportions of non-EU migrants (Figure 7).

Figure 7. Proportion of migrants in population
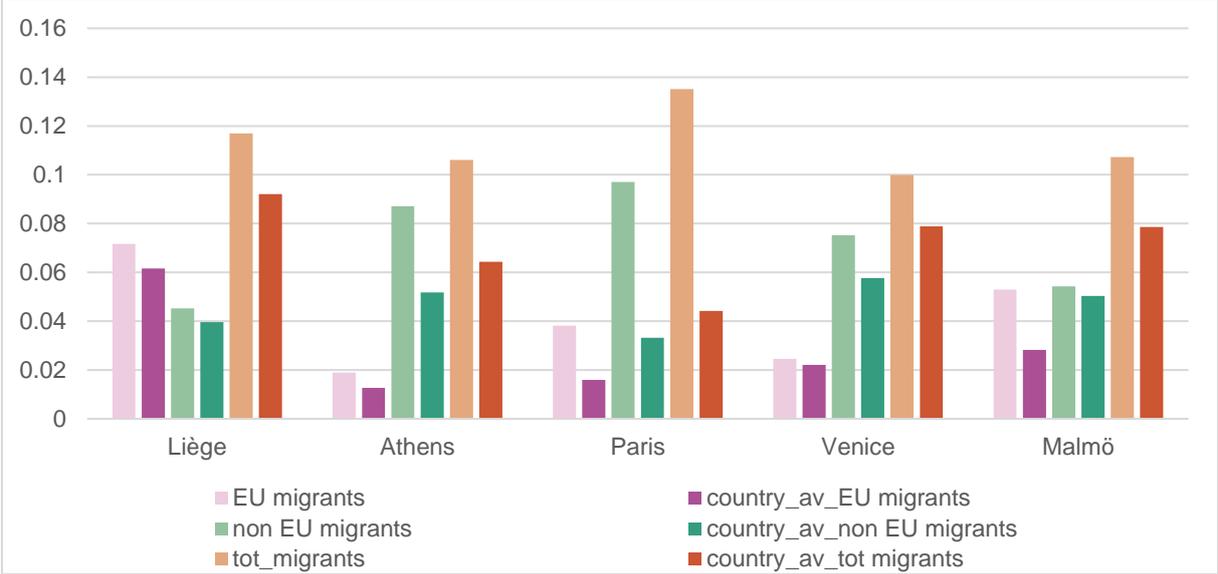
The different sizes of the FUAs are also reflected in the number of strategies (table 4). There are 21 strategies located around the large FUAs of Paris. All of these are SUD, and the majority use ITI as the implementation mechanism. In the FUA of Athens, there are four SUD ITI and one non-SUD ITI. Malmö has three strategies, one is SUD-implemented through a Priority Axis and two are CLLDs. Finally in Venice there are two SUD, one implemented through a national Operational Programme and the other through a Priority Axis, while in Liége there is only one SUD Priority Axis.

As explained in the previous section, the type of implementation mechanisms can influence the extent to which the strategies are integrated, in terms of using different funds and addressing multiple thematic objectives. The five cases confirm this hypotesis. In fact, all the strategies using priority axis (for which data are available) are mono-fund, while the OP in Venice, all the CLLDs in Malmö, and many of the ITIs in Athens and Paris are multi-fund. In particular, besides the ERDF, they all use ESF (and the CLLDs use also EARFD). This is also reflected in the higher number of thematic objectives that are addressed by each strategy., In Athens the SUD ITI strategies target up to eight different thematic objectives.

The question therefore is whether any of their objectives can be related to migrant integration. The strategies under study do not move away from the general trend observed above. The most recurrent ERDF thematic objectives concern the shift towards a low-carbon economy (TO4) and social inclusion, poverty and discrimination (TO9). However, looking more in detail into ERDF investment priorities, it is worth noting that priorities 9a (investing in health and social infrastructure) and/or 9b (regenerating deprived communities), both potentially useful for funding projects related to migrant inclusion, can be found in the strategies of Venice, Athens and Paris. In addition, when strategies also use ESF, more investment priorities concerning employement and inclusion are addressed, inlcuding priority 9ii – Socio-economic integration of marginalised communities such as the Roma, found in Venice and Athens[33].

The keywords and priorities associated with the strategies implemented in the five case studies vary. The keyword *integration of migrants and refugees* is only mentioned in Malmö together with more than 15 other keywords; *disadvantaged neighbourhoods* only in Venice with 9 other keywords. *Diversity* is not present at all across the case studies. Overall, the most recurrent keywords across the five case studies are *mobility*, *public spaces*, *jobs and skills*, *entrepreneurship and SMEs'*, and *research and innovation*.

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[33] It cannot be said whether it is also present in the cases of Malmö and Paris, because there are several missing values.

Finally, the territorial focus of the strategies is considered. In line with the scope of the study, the cases were selected because of the presence of strategies targeting Functional Urban Areas. In fact, across the five FUAs, this is the most recurrent territorial focus with some exceptions. In particular, it is worth specifying that in the FUA of Malmö, the SUD strategy target was the main city, while the two CLLDs target the rural municipalities around the city, and their territorial focus is classified as 'other functional territory'. The three strategies considered together cover almost the entire territory of Malmö FUA. In the case of Paris, there are many missing values, but there are six strategies with a territorial focus on neighbourhoods, and three on FUAs. Comparing these data with the actual territorial coverage of the strategies, it can be seen that they all rest on areas formed by the aggregation of multiple municipalities (with the exception of one in Paris core city). This can be explained by the fact that in France several strategies shows multi-faceted territorial focuses. This means that they have strategies covering the aggregation of municipalities, and specific targets on neighbourhoods within them (Fioretti et al, 2020).

Overall, from the joint analysis of the territorial focus and territorial coverage, a clear mismatch exists between the boundaries of the functional territories addressed by the strategies, and the boundaries of the FUAs as defined in EUROSTAT. Across the five cases, all the strategies classified in STRAT-Board as Functional Urban Areas and other functional territories concern the aggregation of multiple municipalities that cover only part of the territory of the EUROSTAT FUA.

2.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, data at FUA level with an EU coverage (from EUROSTAT and STRAT-Board) have been used to explore urban and territorial strategies promoted by the Cohesion Policy during 2014-2020. The analysis was aimed at verifying possible correlation between the strategies and the presence of migrants in FUAs, as well as identifying among their characteristics, elements that could be associated with the objective of migrant integration.

Not surprisingly, a direct correlation between the strategies and the number of migrants was not noted, nor was there an explicit focus on migrant integration. At the same time, the following results emerged:

— Strategies address a combination of different social, environmental and economic issues potentially relevant for responding indirectly to migrant needs.

— Looking at ERDF thematic objectives and investment priorities, a strong focus emerges on social inclusion (TO9) addressed by several strategies, and in particular on the regeneration of deprived communities (i.e. 9b), which suggest a place-based approach to the question of disadvantage.

— When looking at keywords that characterise the actual nature of strategies in more detail beyond fund priorities, several strategies address the topic of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and some also address the integration of migrants and refugees.

— ITI and CLLD (and to some extent OP) are implementation mechanisms that allow more funds and policy areas to be combined. In particular, they allow the integration of ERDF with ESF, and the development of strategies that invest more in social priorities, including the socio-economic integration of marginalised communities.

— Strategies can have different types of territorial focuses; in addition to cities, a relevant percentage focus on neighbourhoods (16%), Functional Urban Areas (18%) and other functional territories (25%). Moreover, some strategies address functional territories, but specifically target neighbourhoods. This type seems to be the most suited for adopting a place-based, multi-scalar approach to the inclusion of migrants.

The analysis also revealed certain limits, in particular the existence of many missing values in the EUROSTAT database concerning the socio-economic characteristics of FUAs, and the fact that there are no comparable and timely data with European coverage that would have allowed a more detailed analysis, for example at LAU or neighbourhood level, at least for demographic data.

With respect to data on strategies, the STRAT-Board dataset was particularly useful for describing the main trends, and looking at the variability among countries, but when looking at individual cases many missing values made the comparison more difficult. Moreover, the information collected via the survey leaves many questions open as to the qualitative description of strategies, and their implementation through projects.

For these reasons, the following chapters present some in-depth studies on the five selected FUAs, based on a higher granularity of data (at municipal, neighbourhood or census tract level) and on a qualitative analysis of

the strategies and associated projects (based on the analysis of documents, and interviews with key informants).

Comparing the top-down picture described in this chapter, with the bottom-up stories told in the following chapters, will lead to an original and insightful exploration of the question of whether EU place-based strategies are able to support migrant integration.

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3 Mainstreaming Immigrant and Refugee Integration in ITI/SUD in Athens

Karadimitriou, N.[34] and Maloutas, T.[35]

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The Functional Urban Area (FUA) of Athens is by far the largest urban concentration in Greece, covering about 35% of the national population, more than 50% of the country's economic activity and about 50% of the migrant population. Around 3.8 million residents were registered in the area in the 2011 census, roughly the same number as in 2001.

The growth of Athens has never followed the archetypal industrial city model. It is a prime example of Southern European urbanisation (Allen et al. 2004), combining several driving forces and coupled by a residual welfare state. Social and ethnic segregation levels are relatively low. Reduced segregation, however, does not mean that lower income groups — including many foreign migrants — do not live in conditions of deprivation in Southern European cities (Arbaci 2019) and in Athens in particular (Karadimitriou et. al. 2021).

Massive foreign immigration in Greece, like in much of the rest of Southern Europe, started in the early 1990s after the collapse of the former socialist regimes. Foreign immigrants in Greece originate mainly from Albania (more than 50%) and this applies also to the FUA of Athens (see Tables 1 and 2). Migrants from countries with a low Human Development Index made up approximately 1% of the FUA's population in 1991 and reached almost 10% in 2001 and 2011. During that period, the percentage of immigrants from high HDI countries remained the same (about 1%).

The profile of arriving migrants changed between the 1990s and the 2000s. The inflow in the 2000s was smaller but the countries of origin changed, compared to the 1990s. Inflows from Balkan countries dropped, notwithstanding the free circulation of citizens of Bulgaria and Romania which had joined the EU, while migrants from countries of the broader Middle East increased (Kandylis et al. 2012). Although immigration became a major social issue, policies to address the impacts and foster integration have not been very effective. The visible issue — in the press and in political debates — was that their presence brought changes to Greek society, changes which are usually perceived in a negative sense. The positive effects remained less visible in public debate.

Moreover, immigration policies have remained the competence of central government, and related issues were seldom addressed at regional or municipal level. The refugee crisis of 2015, happened at a time when the country was run down by the economic crisis and austerity measures. Greece lacked the required resources and the necessary know-how to deal with the influx of over 1 million people from the Middle East and Central Asia, whose main goal was to reach Western Europe. This crisis led to the involvement of local government and drew international support in the form of UN and EU financial and administrative resources, as well as NGO participation. The question of asylum seekers, however, was treated separately from the question of immigration, as it has been persistently considered to be a temporary problem.

This chapter looks at whether urban development policies supported by the EU cohesion policy address the integration of migrants in the Athens FUA. In particular, the chapter focuses on four Sustainable Urban Development (SUD) strategies implemented as Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) during the 2014-2020 programming period in the Athens FUA. These are the strategies for Athens, Piraeus, the Western Sector and the Southern Sector. Moreover, the chapter looks at one Urban Innovative Action (UIA) of the Municipality of Athens, named 'Curing the Limbo'. This UIA specifically focused on finding and testing workable solutions to many of the challenges facing immigrant and refugee integration.

Methodology

After the introduction, Section 2 provides a detailed description of the migration phenomenon in the FUA of Athens mainly based on data from the three last censuses (1991, 2001 and 2011). In addition to the data on the entire immigrant population, the report studies the inter-group differences depicting the substantial diversity

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[35] Harokopio University

in terms of living conditions and hierarchical positions in the local social hierarchy[36], together with the potentially different integration policies that would be effective in each case. Intra-group diversity is not addressed in this report. Additional data from UNHCR, the IOM and the Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum are used to document the presence of asylum seekers and refugees, which increased significantly after 2015.

Most of the data originate from the detailed dataset of the 2011 census of the Greek Statistical Authority (ELSTAT). The data were retrieved from the online application 'Panorama of Greek Census Data 1991-2011' (www.panorama.statistics.gr/en), prepared for ELSTAT by the National Centre for Social Research (EKKE) in 2014. Most data presented are the outcome of simple descriptive statistics.

In the section on residential segregation, we have used the most common segregation index, the Index of Dissimilarity (Duncan and Duncan 1955) to quantify the approximate level of residential segregation of different immigrant groups. Finally, we have extensively used the Deprivation Index (DI) described in detail in Karadimitriou et al (2021). The DI is a synthesis of many variables related to employment, education, and housing. Each variable provides some aspect of deprivation related to one of these three sectors. The index is the sum of these deprivation features, standardised within and among the three sectors.

Section 3 analyses the governance of the strategies and their content in relation to migrant integration whereas Sections 4 and 5 provide a discussion of the findings and the conclusions.

Other than the quantitative analysis, the report relies on qualitative data from seven interviews with four senior Intermediate Body (IB) managers, one mid-level manager working in migrant and refugee integration initiatives, one senior expert involved in the drafting of one strategy, and one member of the municipal political staff involved in the drafting and delivery of one of the strategies. Another two Intermediate Body technical staff were engaged to obtain additional information on specific issues pertaining to the strategies and one academic expert was consulted regarding the availability of relevant data. The semi-structured interviews provided information on the content of the strategies, the rationale behind their priorities, the reason for the inclusion or non-inclusion of migrants and the overall treatment of the issue of migration by policy-makers.

In addition to those interviews, the documents of the strategies and the information available on the Intermediate Bodies websites (calls, etc.) were analysed in order to ascertain the vision, focus and direction of the strategies as well as the way they are implemented in reality.

3.2 ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

3.2.1 The Athens functional urban area

The Athens FUA is the largest urban agglomeration in Greece in terms of population (approximately 35% of the country). It is where a large proportion of the country's economic activity, innovation, education, and many other significant services are concentrated. However, it should be noted that the FUA concept, as adopted by Eurostat, has no marked presence in Greek local and national politics. Territorially, it corresponds to part of the regional level of government (the Attiki Regional Authority). Until regional government was established, and the first such elections took place in 2010, the closest match was the coalition of municipalities of the Attiki region (TEDKNA/KEDKE) where the Municipality of Athens dominated, although decision-making was diffuse.

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[36] See Kandylis et al. (2012) for a similar approach using the 2001 census data.

Figure 1. The Athens FUA and its surroundings
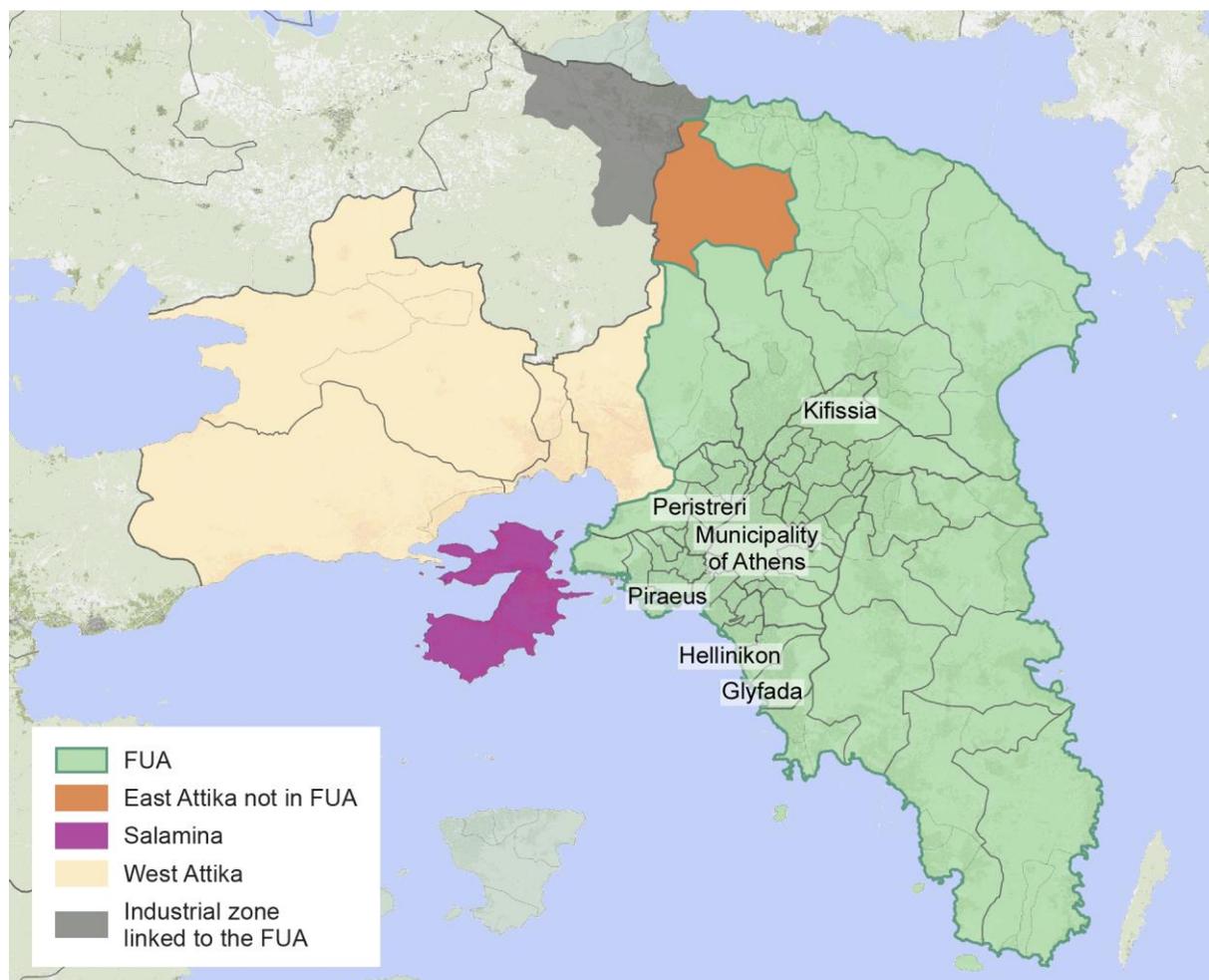
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EUROSTAT.

In this chapter, we adopt the EUROSTAT definition of the FUA of Athens, and of its borders (see Figure 1). The following peculiarities are of note:

— Western Attiki (in beige) is excluded from the FUA, except for the Municipality of Fyli, the easternmost administrative unit of that area. This delineation of the FUA territory is partly affected by the mountainous geomorphology between Western Attiki and the rest of the FUA, as well as the military land use of a large part of the coast. Both features create some distance between the urban agglomerations on either side. However, we argue that Western Attiki is part of Athens' functional life. It comprises major urban nuclei, including Elefsina and Aspropyrgos, which are functionally tied to the FUA through significant commuting in both directions. The geomorphological barriers have largely been overcome via the construction of two motorways linking the area to the FUA. That said, the exclusion of Western Attiki does not pose any challenges to this report as no Integrated Territorial Investments (ITI) or other initiatives cover that territory.

— Similarly, a few small communities along the north-south highway, immediately outside the border of the Region of Attiki (in grey, Figure 1), receive significant numbers of daily commuters from the FUA (green area) to work in the industrial zone. This industrial zone was established several decades ago, just outside the region's border to take advantage of incentives for industrial relocation outside the Region of Attiki. The percentage of immigrants residing in this area is 22.1%. There is an ITI covering this territory, mainly addressing the environmental management of the Asopos river basin, which has been severely degraded as a result of the industrial activity in the area. The report does not consider this ITI as it lies outside the FUA.

— The island of Salamina (in purple, Figure 1) is excluded from the FUA. We assume this is because it is treated as an exclave in the EUROSTAT/OECD methodology (Dijkstra et al. 2019). It is very close to the FUA and has high commuting flows. There is a Community-Led Local Development (CLLD, funded via LEADER)

covering all the Saronikos gulf islands, which also includes Salamina. The report does not consider this CLLD, because Salamina lies outside the FUA.

3.2.2 Immigration in the Athens FUA

According to census data, 82 000 immigrants lived in the Athens FUA in 1991. Their number increased to 368 000 in 2001 and to 399 000 in 2011. In the city centre (Municipality of Athens) the numbers were 26 000, 147 000 and 151 000, respectively. In 1991 the immigrant population in Athens was about 2%, with slightly more originating from middle and high HDI countries than those from low HDI countries. 20 years later the percentage of the former remained the same, while that of the latter has multiplied by 10. In the central part of the FUA — the Municipality of Athens — immigrant presence is more pronounced and the percentage of people from low HDI countries was approximately 21% of the population in 2011 (Table 1).

Table 1. Immigrant population in the FUA of Athens, by country of origin HDI group ([37]) (1991, 2001, 2011).

Nationality	1991	%	2001	%	2011	%
Municipality of Athens						
High HDI country	10 106	1.22	17 832	2.24	12 569	1.90
Low HDI country	15 767	1.90	128 800	16.16	138 017	20.82
FUA						
High HDI country	42 911	1.19	45 085	1.16	39 858	1.05
Low HDI country	38 351	1.06	322 818	8.27	358 741	9.46

Source: EKKE-ELSTAT, 2015.

The percentage increase of the immigrant population in the city centre is partly due to their growing numbers but mostly due to the decreasing presence of Greek nationals who have steadily been moving to the suburbs since the late 1970s (about 300 000 left between 1991 and 2011). The move to the suburbs is associated with rising incomes and the declining quality of life in the city centre following the building boom of the 1960s and 1970s (Maloutas 2014).

The drop in population caused by the departure of Greek nationals was partly compensated by the inflow of immigrants who mainly occupied the more undesirable small apartments on the lower floors (ground floor or semi-basement) of typical Athenian apartment blocks. In this way, immigrants have significantly increased vertical segregation in the housing stock of the city centre (Leontidou 1990; Maloutas and Karadimitriou 2001). On the contrary, the presence of immigrants decreased in the traditional working-class areas of the city's western areas, where rental housing is scarce and where local working-class households are usually homeowners (Leontidou 1990; Emmanuel 2004). The fact that immigrants usually live closer to middle-class than to working-class neighbourhoods, means that there is an increased social mix in the city. However, although increased social mix is a positive sign, it is not a sufficient condition for immigrant integration (Arbaci 2019).

3.2.3 Immigrant groups and policy issues

Countries of origin

According to the 2011 census, the immigrant population in the FUA of Athens originates from 161 different countries. Most of these national groups are very small. Immigrants from almost all high HDI countries were fewer in absolute numbers in 2011 compared to 2001. Immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and Afghanistan increased considerably but from a low starting point for the latter, therefore Afghans did not exceed 5 000 people in 2011.

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[37] Countries of origin have been categorised in accordance with the UN Human Development Index (HDI) calculated on the basis of life expectancy at the date of birth, the average duration of school training and the PNB (http://www.undp.org/content/undp/en/home/librarypage/ hdr/human_developmentreport2011.html).

Table 2. Resident population in the FUA of Athens by country of citizenship (2001, 2011), first ten countries.

Country	2001	2011	% change
Greece	3 533 629	3 391 774	-4.0
Albania	205 764	190 690	-7.3
Pakistan	9 645	23 251	141.1
Romania	9 097	19 533	114.7
Bulgaria	10 232	18 392	79.7
Georgia	3 362	12 162	261.7
Poland	10 387	10 444	0.5
Ukraine	8 132	10 366	27.5
Philippines	5 951	8 693	46.1
Bangladesh	4 614	8 633	87.1

Source: EKKE-ELSTAT, 2015.

If immigrants who also hold Greek citizenship are classified under their foreign citizenship, then Table 2 changes somewhat. For example, the population of Albanian citizens increases. This means that once they obtain Greek citizenship, many dual Albanian-Greek nationals prefer to declare themselves in the census as Greek citizens.

Demographic features

Immigrant groups in Athens are very diverse in terms of gender, age and household structure. On average, immigrants are much younger than Greek nationals, especially when they come from low HDI countries (32.7 years old compared to 42.2).

Immigrants from the Indian peninsula and, to a much lesser extent, from Eastern Europe often form households without family relations or live in collective housing (e.g. 68.9% of Pakistanis live in households without family relations and 14% in collective housing) (Maloutas 2018). This poses a challenge in terms of accessing the mainstream rental housing market.

Position in the labour market

During the 1990s immigrants in Athens found accessible niches in the labour market. They did not necessarily find jobs they would aspire to, or for which they had skills (Arapoglou and Sayas 2009), but came to the country at a time when there was increased demand for labour. Unemployment in 2001 was higher for Greeks (9.6% compared to 8.2% for immigrants) but in 2011 the situation changed (26.1% for immigrants compared to 16.8% for Greeks). This is largely due to the collapse in the construction sector after 2009/10, which is where many immigrants readily found employment in the 1990s and 2000s.

There are significant differences regarding the position in the labour market among immigrant groups, even among those from low HDI countries. The broad picture, however, is that they experience higher levels of unemployment, are employed in much higher percentages in the primary and secondary sectors, are usually members of the lower occupational groups and are less frequently self-employed. Another major dimension is that immigrants who came to the country during the 1990s and the early 2000s, appear to be more integrated in the labour market than post-2014 arrivals (Bagavos et al. 2021).

Education

Differences in education levels among immigrant groups in Athens are significant. 38.9% of those from high HDI countries had a higher education degree, compared to 12.9% of those from low HDI countries, and 27.2% of Greeks. The percentages of those who had received less than 10 years of schooling were respectively 13.3%, 43.9% and 31.8%. These percentages refer to the population of 15-54 year-olds in the 2011 census.

In addition to the level of education, the position of immigrants in the educational process is testimony to their potential future mobility and integration. Immigrants between the ages of 15 and 19 years old and 20 to 24 years old from low HDI countries who are not in education amount to 25.3% and 82.2% respectively. This is far higher than for those from high HDI countries (9.2% and 32.8%) or Greeks (10.1% and 56.1%) of the same age group.

Access to private cars and the internet

A private car and the internet are considered tools for everyday life, especially in an urban context where public transport does not adequately cover needs, and where internet coverage was still inadequate in 2011.

In 2011, 60.2% of Greeks over the age of 15 years in Athens had access to fast internet compared to 71.8% of immigrants from high HDI countries and 40.4% of those from low HDI countries. The percentage of households without a private car in 2011 was 21.2% in Athens (18.9% for Greeks, 33.3% for immigrants from high HDI countries and 41.3% for those from low HDI countries). This percentage was significantly higher for all three groups when they lived in neighbourhoods of the city centre, which are often well served by public transport and have poor parking infrastructure. This means that immigrants benefit significantly more from investments in non-motorised transport and public transport than from investments in car-related infrastructures. However, they have less opportunity to fully utilise initiatives aimed at digitisation and the delivery of public services online.

Housing

Housing conditions are a direct indicator of immigrants' living conditions. Housing surface per capita is a good indicator of living conditions and can even be used as a proxy for income, because disaggregate income data are not readily available. Households with fewer m2/capita than 60% of the median (20.8 m2) can be considered to be below the housing poverty line ([38]). Several groups (especially those from the Indian peninsula and Afghanistan) are clearly below the housing poverty line. Inequalities in terms of housing space are considerable in the Athens FUA. Greeks live, on average, in 36 m2 per capita; immigrants from high HDI countries have more space per capita (39.6 m2) while those from low HDI countries have only 21.7 m2. Lower income groups and the immigrants among them are predominantly renters. However, for some immigrant groups – especially Albanians – the percentage of homeowners doubled between 2001 and 2011 (Balampanidis 2019).

Housing for asylum seekers has gained in importance, partly because of what happened in 2014-15 and partly because large numbers of people who have little chance of receiving such protection, apply for it anyway. Vulnerable applicants eligible for international protection, or people deemed to have a high probability of being granted asylum by virtue of their place of origin, who reach an island with a Reception and Identification Centre (RIC) are moved to the mainland. They are housed in camps or in accommodation provided by ESTIA (Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation), a programme funded by the UN and the EU. Local authority development agencies were involved as delivery agencies of ESTIA. As of 7 December 2020, there were 16 062 accommodation places managed by the Ministry of Migration and Asylum (MMA) and 12 664 managed by the UNHCR.

ESTIA leases flats from owners on market terms and uses them for housing refugees. On 7 December 2020, it housed 21 219 people, of whom 11 992 were in Attiki. Around one third of the people living in such accommodation are recognised refugees who refuse to vacate their dwellings after their application has been positively resolved. Most of the dwellings which were leased to the programme are located in the 1st and 6th Municipal Districts of the Municipality of Athens, an area which was already deprived and where high migrant concentrations already existed (a significant part of the ITI/SUD area of activity for Athens covers the 1st and 6th Municipal Districts).

Once their application has been resolved, those who have been refused asylum are given notification to leave the country within 30 days, and both successful and unsuccessful applicants receive notification to leave their temporary accommodation (camp or ESTIA). The options available to those who have been granted asylum are to apply to HELIOS for rent subsidy or accommodation, or to seek accommodation in the open market. Obviously, people who enter the country illegally (or overstay their visas) and do not apply for asylum, can only turn to the open market for accommodation. In addition to accommodation support, HELIOS offers integration courses (4944 students to date), employability support, integration monitoring (9969 sessions to date) and host community sensitisation. As of 15 May 2021, HELIOS was supporting 3401 households (8881 people) with rent subsidies. Though undeniably significant, these numbers are a fraction of the total number of refugees in the country, which was around 53 000 at the time of writing.

Residential segregation

Segregation across the globe varies according to varieties of capitalism, urbanisation paths, welfare regimes, and several other significant parameters (Musterd and Osterndorf,1998; Maloutas and Fujita 2012). Athens is not a case of extreme segregation in terms of class or ethnicity but, at the same time, the distribution of social and ethnic groups in its territory is clearly unequal.
Different immigrant groups are characterised by very different levels of segregation. These differences are related to their distribution patterns in the FUA but also to the size of these groups. Small size groups are bound to have a high Index of Dissimilarity (ID) since they are absent from most census tracts. For example,

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[38] We calculated the approximate housing poverty line. The census uses 19 categories of m2/capita and we used the middle value of each category and 7 m2 for the first category (<7.5 m2) and 110 m2 for the highest category (>100 m2).

approximately 2 000 Chinese people were concentrated in five census tracts, and were absent from around 3 000 census tracts of the FUA. On the contrary, Albanians are quite evenly distributed in the city's space (Kokkali, 2015) but their low ID is also supported by the large size of this group.

In terms of the different types of space in which immigrant groups are gathered, immigrants from high HDI countries are mainly found in the upper and upper-middle class neighbourhoods of the city. Those from low HDI countries have several different settlement patterns in the FUA. A minority is established in the periphery while most of the rest – especially those from Eastern Europe – live in the centre, where they have found accessible housing in neighbourhoods with a densely built stock of apartment blocks gradually abandoned by Greeks. The broad pattern of immigrant distribution in the FUA of Athens is depicted in Figure 2[39]. A detailed map of the main immigrant groups in the FUA of Athens can be found online in Maloutas and Spyrellis (2019).

Figure 2. Spatial distribution of immigrant groups in Athens FUA, % share of population in Urban Analysis Units (URANUs) (2011).
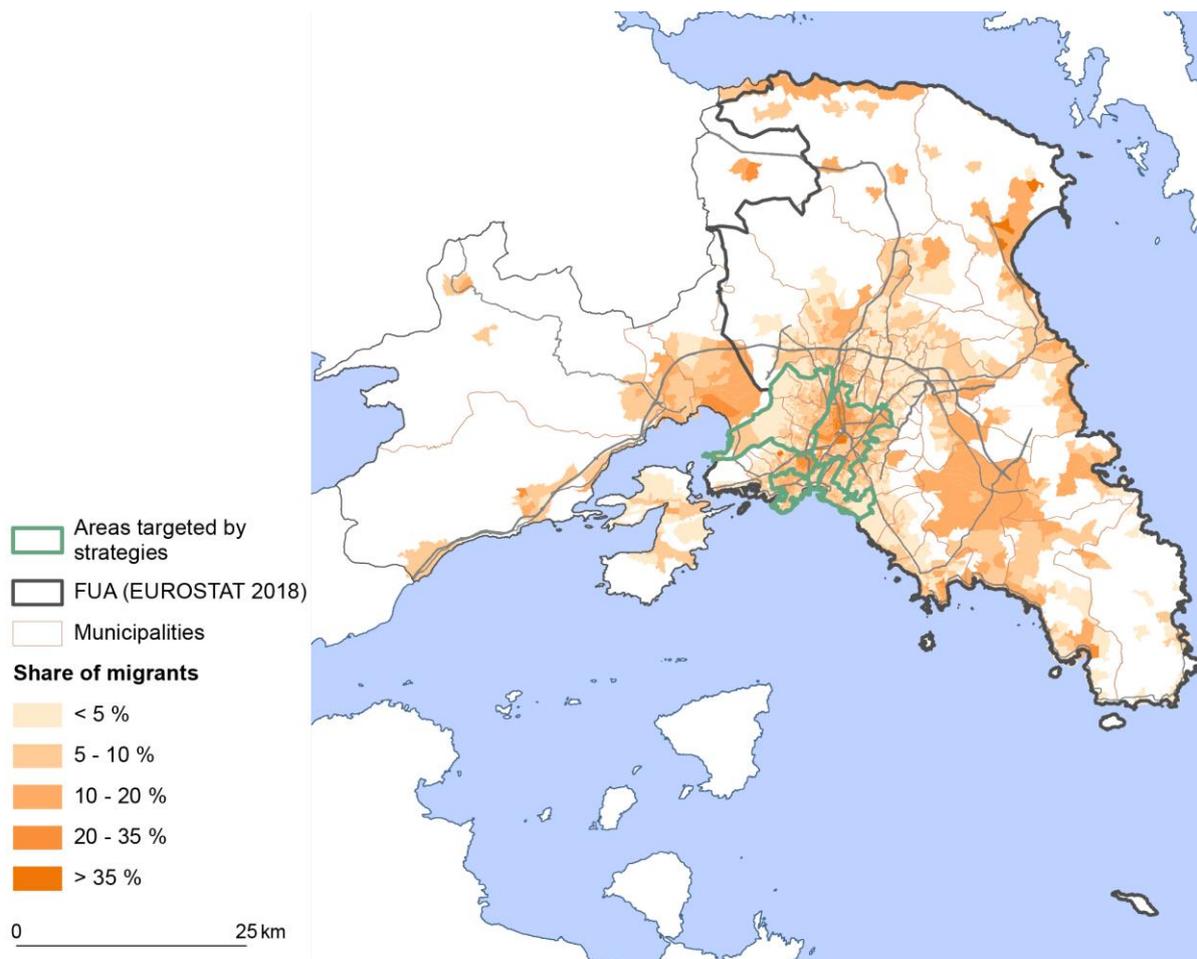
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EKKE-ELSTAT (2015).

Part of the segregation issue in Athens is the vertical segregation within apartment blocks in the city centre (Leontidou 1990; Maloutas and Karadimitriou 2001). The 2011 census provided, for the first-time, data on the floor of residence. In broad terms, from among those who live in apartment blocks built between the 1940s and the 1970s, the percentage of Greeks living in lower floor apartments (ground floor or basement) was 10.7%, compared to 20.2% of immigrants from high HDI countries and 28.9% of immigrants from low HDI countries. The proportion of immigrants from low HDI countries living in upper floor apartments was 15.7% compared to almost double that figure for Greeks and immigrants from high HDI countries.

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[39] The authors would like to thank Miguel Torres for the contribution in elaborating maps in figure 2 and 3.

3.2.4 Territorial analysis

This section of the report focuses on the areas of the FUA targeted by the SUD strategies and by the Urban Innovative Action (UIA).

The territories targeted by strategies are:

— The Municipality of Athens as well as the Municipalities of Nea Smyrni and of Moschato-Tavros, which submitted a joint proposal. The area of activity crosses municipal borders.

— The Municipality of Piraeus where the area of activity is the entire municipality.

— A coalition of Urban Authorities (UAs) from the southern sector (Municipalities of Kallithea, Palaio Faliro and Alimos). The area of activity crosses municipal borders.

— A coalition of Local Authorities from the western sector where each LA has one or more areas of activity.

The areas of activity are very diverse in terms of economic function, social profile, immigrant presence and living conditions. Figure 3 shows the deprivation index scores in the territories targeted by strategies. Figure 4 shows the percentage of migrants in the areas of activity within those territories, while Annex 3 shows the absolute number of migrants in said areas of activity. Evidently, the largest immigrant populations in absolute numbers live in the city centre of Athens.

Figure 3. Deprivation in the municipalities targeted by strategies (2011), by Deprivation Index scores
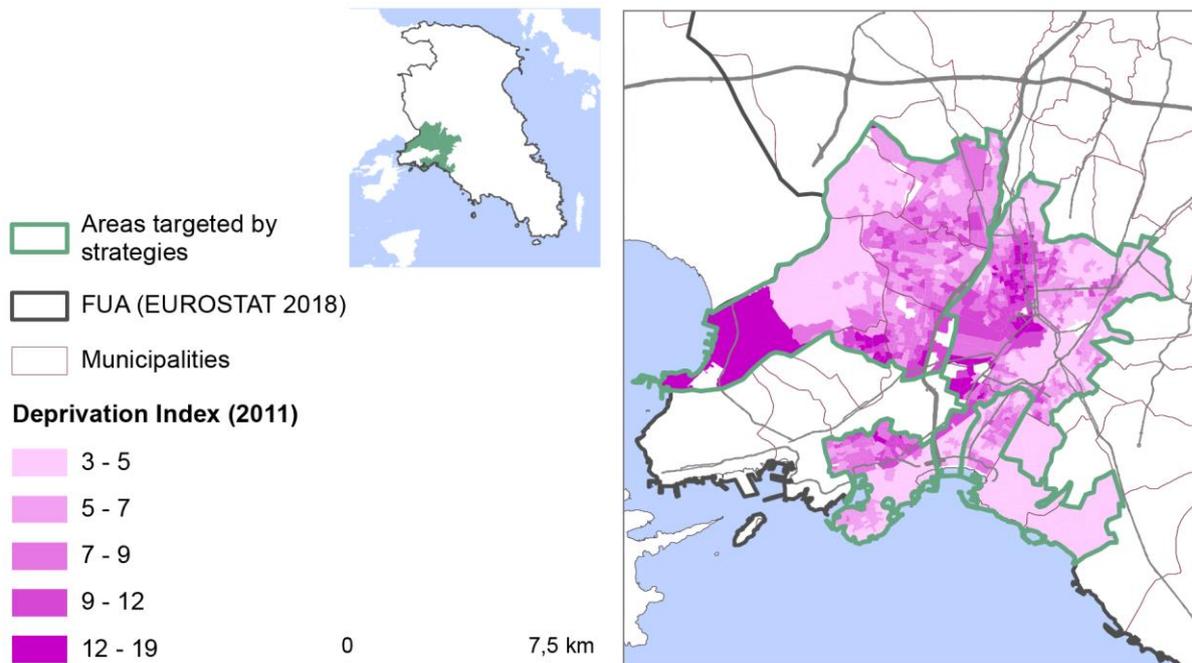
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EKKE-ELSTAT (2015).

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Figure 4. Percentage of migrants in the areas of activity (2011)
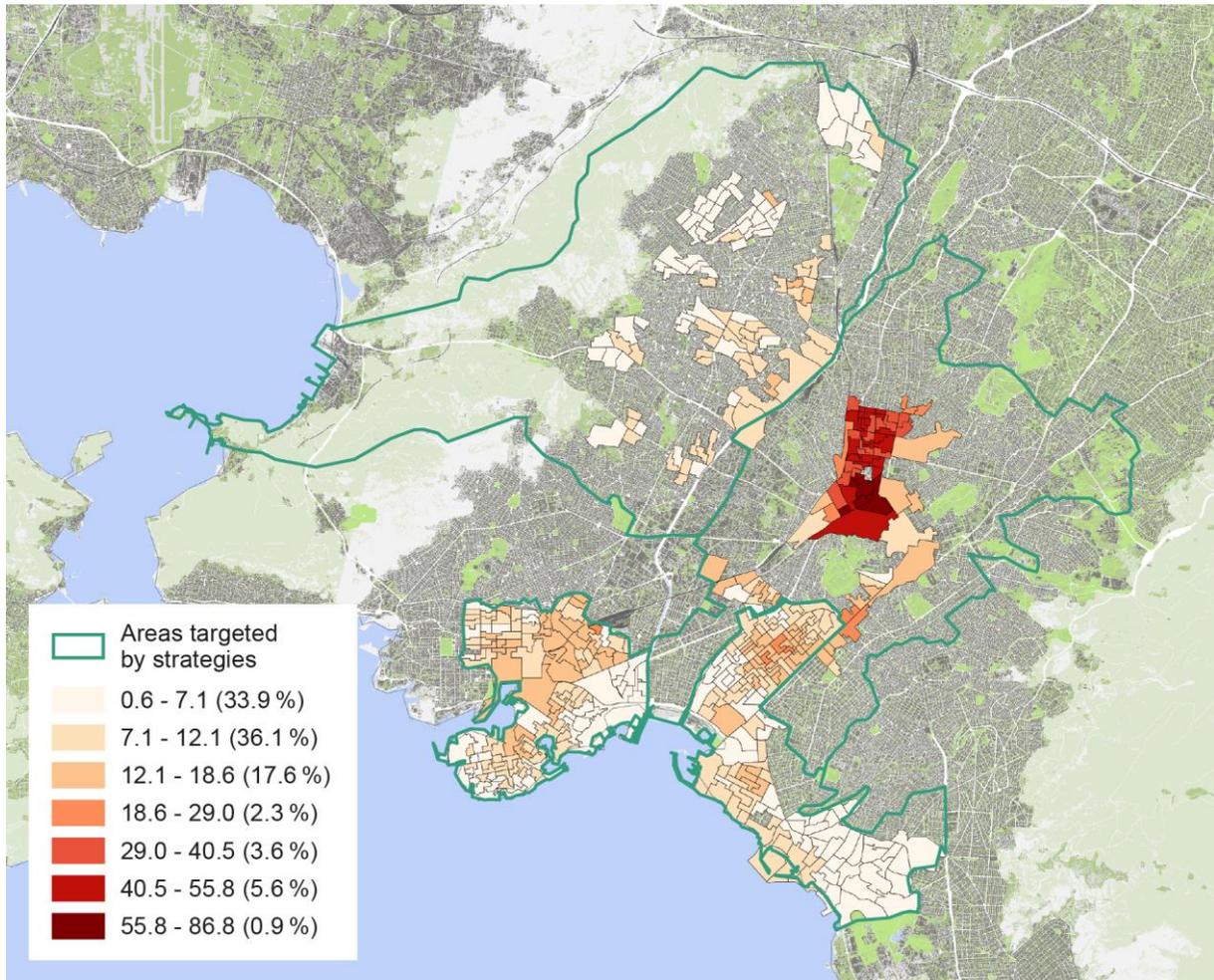
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EKKE-ELSTAT (2015).

Finally, Figure 5 maps deprivation in the areas of activity and shows that households in a large part of the Athens area of activity, in parts of Piraeus and in parts of the South Sector do indeed face elevated deprivation levels. The population in the areas of activity in the West Sector face average deprivation levels. There are however parts of areas of activity in Piraeus and the South Sector where the population has lower than average levels of deprivation.

Figure 5. Deprivation in the areas of activity (2011)
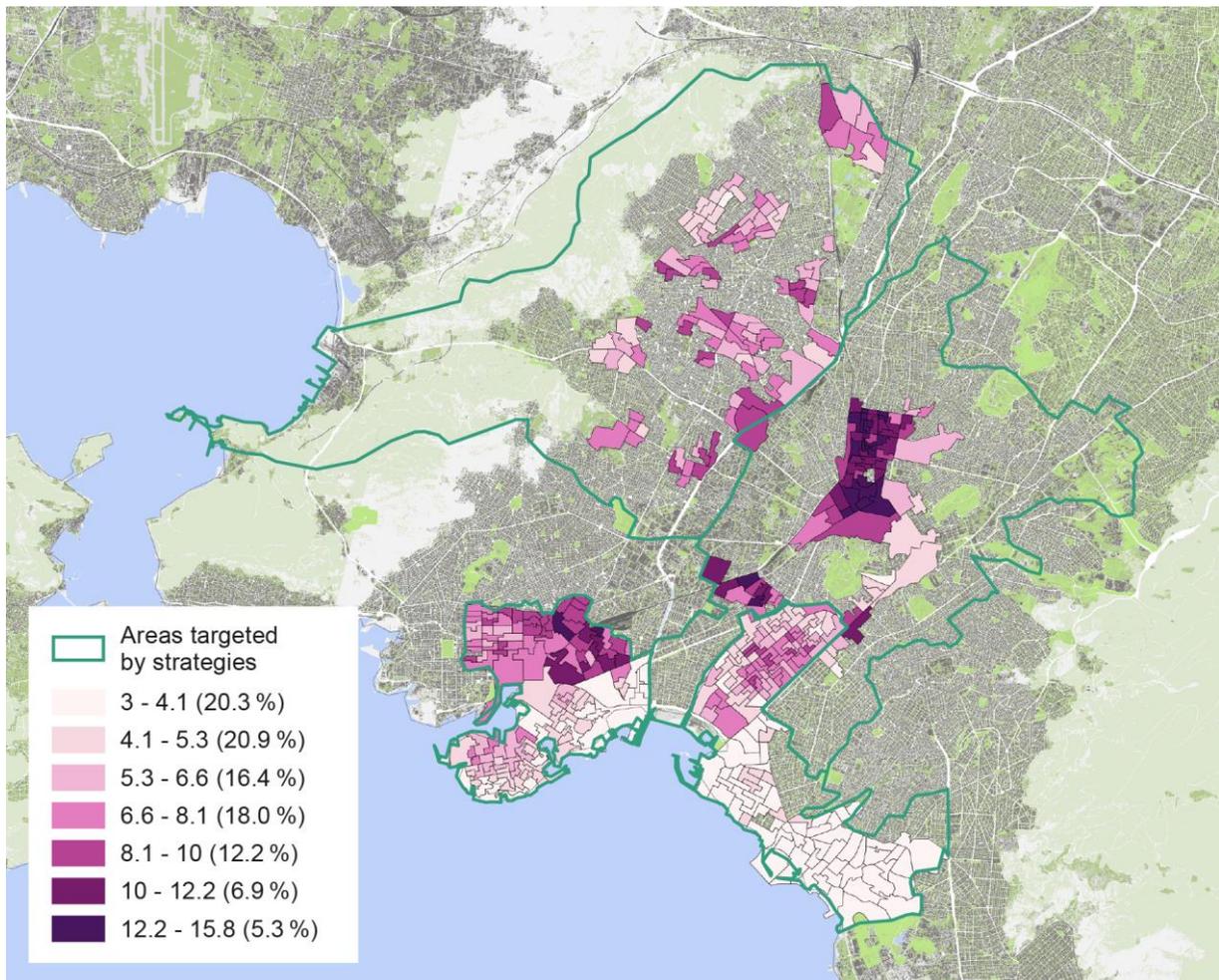
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EKKE-ELSTAT (2015).

Municipality of Athens and its city centre

The Municipality of Athens is the largest administrative unit in the FUA accounting for about 20% of its population. It is a socially mixed municipality, which broadly speaking comprises upper and middle-income neighbourhoods in the centre-east and lower income neighbourhoods in the centre-west, as well as areas in the central and north-western neighbourhoods where high concentrations of migrants coincide with high deprivation scores (Figures 4, 5). The area of activity mainly contains former middle-class neighbourhoods in decline, and is where the largest percentages and the highest numbers of immigrants are concentrated.

The areas to the north and west of Omonia square are densely built neighbourhoods where the housing stock comprises apartment blocks dating from the 1960s and 1970s. Since the 1980s, middle-class Greek households have steadily been abandoning the area and have been replaced by poorer households, usually immigrants from neighbouring Balkan countries and, later, from countries of the Indian sub-continent and the Middle East. The social and demographic profile of these areas is a combination of elderly Greeks who belong to the lower or middle-class strata, and of much younger immigrants from very diverse national backgrounds.

These neighbourhoods are mainly residential with some retail and routine services, which give the area the functional mix typical in Athens. The dwelling stock is almost exclusively apartment blocks of five to seven stories, where flats are privately owned by small landlords or homeowners. This area has the highest share of tenants in the FUA, all in private rented dwellings —public rented housing not being available in Greece. Tourism and short-term rental platforms have substantially reduced affordable stock, but the Covid 19 pandemic has temporarily stopped the process (Karadimitriou 2020).

Municipality of Piraeus

The Municipality of Piraeus is the second largest administrative unit in the FUA and at the same time the biggest port of Greece, one of the biggest passenger and commercial ports in Europe and a traditional industrial area which has gradually become a major international maritime transport hub.

The fact that the area of activity covers the entire municipality makes it difficult to identify specific features within this very large and diverse area. The territory of the municipality comprises deprived areas towards the north-east and north-west, and middle-class densely built areas in the centre and close to the seafront.

Piraeus has remained one of the most demographically stable areas of the FUA, its population remaining stagnant while other parts of the FUA were growing in the past. The relative stability of Piraeus, and of the broader area of traditional working-class neighbourhoods around it, has also contributed to its limited attractiveness for immigrant groups since the 1990s. This limited attractiveness is probably related to the limited vacancies in the area's housing stock, which mainly consists of owner-occupied housing for lower middle-class and working-class households.

The Southern Sector

The southern sector of the FUA is a very diverse area, however the three LAs which submitted a joint proposal focused on an area of activity located along the coast and close to the city centre. The area of activity includes a corridor to the city centre itself, it therefore comprises two markedly different sections.

On the one hand, the Municipality of Kallithea, adjacent to and located to the south-west of the Municipality of Athens is a large municipality, mostly residential. There are some retail and service facilities mainly along its eastern border along Syggrou avenue and Thisseos avenue (renamed El. Venizelou), which cross it from north to south. The area has gone from being predominantly middle-class to being lower middle-class. Its attractiveness to immigrants has been rather low but it has enclaves of recent migrants and some refugees have also moved there.

On the other hand, the rest of the area of activity comprises part of the Municipality of Palaio Faliro and part of the Municipality of Alimos, both relatively built-up but more recently developed (thus with better planning standards), and more upmarket than Kallithea. These two areas have not attracted immigrants as a labour market — except for providing domestic services by commuting from other areas — nor as a place offering affordable housing. The coastal area has attracted people of Greek origin (many of them Turkish citizens), who expelled from Istanbul in the 1940s, 50s and 60s.

The Western Sector

The western sector of the FUA comprises most of the traditional working-class inner suburbs of the metropolis. These areas were developed in the early post-war period when the city was rapidly growing due to the increased inflow of internal migrants from rural areas to Athens. The western sector is mostly residential, except along the highways crossing it, where retail, wholesale and industrial activities are present in linear patterns.

Unlike the other areas mentioned earlier, this area's housing stock does not comprise apartment blocks but mostly single-family dwellings built via self-development and, often, through illegal/unauthorised construction. The western sector, together with the areas around Piraeus, hosted most of the city's industrial working-class. The self-developed housing system contributed to the high percentage of owner-occupation and to the socially diffuse access to homeownership, which lasted until the end of the 20th century.

The transformation of the social profile of the municipalities of the western sector since the early 1990 shows a considerable change in their social profile, with a noticeable reduction in the number of deprivation enclaves (Karadimitriou et al. 2021; Arapoglou et al. 2021). The working-class character is decreasing, and professionals and managers are increasing in numbers in the active population. This change, however, is not the outcome of gentrification processes but a result of an endogenous process of social mobility which, for several reasons, does not lead to relocation of upwardly mobile strata to neighbourhoods in other parts of Athens (Maloutas, 2004).

The western sector has not attracted large numbers of immigrants, mainly because the dominant housing tenure of the local working-class (i.e. owner-occupation) is not compatible with the needs of low-income households seeking rental accommodation. Self-development was also nearly impossible for immigrants to enter as there is little land available to begin with, and it requires monetary and social capital which newcomers do not have. Consequently, the percentage of immigrants in the Western sector is below the average for the FUA of Athens.

3.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

This section looks at four ITI proposals:

1. Athens 2020: sustainable development for tourism, culture and innovation (Athens city centre).

2. ITI for the sustainable urban development of Piraeus.

3. The music and history of the streets (southern sector).

4. Inter-municipal partnership for the development of West Athens with the use of ITI/SUD (western sector).

The four ITIs were selected via a competitive process out of a total of five submitted, for the 2014-2020 Programming Period. The selected strategies were submitted by the Municipality of Athens, the Municipality of Piraeus, the Development Association for Western Athens (in Greek: ΑΣΔΑ) covering seven Municipalities, and an ad-hoc group of three southern sector municipalities which later formed the Municipal Association for Southern Attica (in Greek: ΣΥΔΝΑ). In addition, this section looks at one UIA focused on migrant integration. The UIA known as 'Curing the Limbo', was submitted by the Municipality of Athens and won funding in 2017.

3.3.1 The policy framework for migrant integration

The policy approach adopted by the Greek government is focused on identification and reception, for which there is significant EU funding, but not so much on integration, which is rarely mentioned as such in relevant legislation. However, a significant step towards simplifying procedures and facilitating the integration process was taken in 2014 when the Immigration and Social Integration Code (Law 4251/2014) was approved by Parliament (see Bagavos et al. 2021). Overall, migration and asylum affairs are dealt with by the Ministry of Migration and Asylum (MMA, founded in 2016), as well as from the Ministry of Citizen Protection, the Ministry of Defence (involved in border control and camp construction and servicing), the Interior Ministry/Home Office[40].

In July 2018 the Government Council for Social Policy approved the National Integration Strategy (NIS) and a later version of the NIS was published in July 2019. The NIS features prominently on the MMA website. It outlines the 'Greek integration model', based on the principles of the social integration model, which it juxtaposes to approaches based on assimilation and multiculturalism. It places local authority at the forefront of delivery. In spite of its merits, it is a general guidance framework without legal status, and lacks an action plan or funding mechanism. Therefore central government and local authorities may or may not take it into account.

International organisations (especially the IOM and the UNHCR), as well as NGOs, play a major role in policy delivery and make representations to policy makers. From the EU side, FRONTEX is heavily involved in border management, whereas in policy terms the role of DG HOME is of paramount importance to Greek policy-making. When the ITIs were drafted, the main reference for Greek policy-makers was the European Agenda on Migration and associated funding. The only integration programme in the country, the Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection (HELIOS) is managed by the IOM and funded by DG HOME. For more details of Greek migration policy and integration initiatives see Leivaditi et al. (2020).

Local authorities do not explicitly (i.e. by law) have much jurisdiction over migration and asylum affairs. As a result, many local authorities do not see it as something they should be involved in and to which they should allocate resources to (Interviewee 6). Indicatively, the Cities Network for Integration (CNI), an initiative set up by the Municipality of Athens as part of their Athens Coordination Centre for Migrant and Refugee issues (ACCMR), has only 17 local authority members, from all over the country. By law, local authorities should operate Migrant and Refugee Integration Boards (in Greek: ΣΕΜΠ). These are advisory bodies bringing together the local administration and civic society (potentially including migrant representatives), with a view to advising local decision-makers on issues related to migrant and refugee integration. Local authorities should, and in fact many of them do, also operate Migrant Integration Centres (in Greek: KEM) which are 'one-stop-shops' offering advice and support.

Local authorities often get involved with migrant and refugee issues indirectly, because they have jurisdiction over primary health provision and education (from language skills for adults to primary and secondary education). As a result, and often as part of their obligation to operate Migrant Integration Centres, local authorities sometimes provide initiatives which address integration (adult language skills and orientation courses), primary healthcare (complementary to the National Health System) or even temporary shelter.

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[40] The Ministries of Health, Education, and Work and Social Affairs also get involved in matters of their competence.

3.3.2 The governance of the ITI/SUD strategies

The influence of EU policy is also visible in Greek urban policy. There are two streams of policy-making and implementation when it comes to urban policy: Planning (i.e. spatial plans, beautification initiatives, urban projects and building regulations) and Programming, i.e. EU funding and programme management. Sustainable Urban Development strategies combine spatial planning with EU funding in a directly streamlined process, drafted, managed and implemented locally. However, in all cases in Attica, ITIs were managed and delivered by the 'Programming' side of the Urban Authority.

Further on ITIs, the Ministry of Economy, Infrastructure, Shipping and Tourism (renamed since then) drafted a guidance document on ITI implementation in 2015 via its Special Service for Strategy, Planning and Evaluation (in Greek: ΕΥΣΣΑ), the National Coordination Authority. The Ministry issued a second guidance memo in April 2016 via the Special Service for Institutional Support (in Greek: ΕΥΘΥ). The two guidelines gave Managing Authorities (MA) the freedom to refine the strategic directions for ITI implementation, to liaise with local authorities and stakeholders in order to support ITI mainstreaming and to shape the methodology and selection criteria for choosing ITIs to be funded. The Ministry however defined the broad lines along which such criteria could focus, by saying that the Research and Innovation Strategy (RIS3), municipal operational plans and spatial plans (at all scales: regional and local) should be taken into account when selecting ITIs for funding.

Consequently, between mid-2015 and mid-2017 the MA for the Regional Operational Programme of Attica entered a dialogue with Urban Authorities to prepare them for drafting and submitting ITI proposals. The MA issued a call to all municipalities in the region of Attica in April 2017 asking for submissions to cover either deprived areas or areas with special development dynamics.

The MA chose to follow a competitive process for selecting which ITI to fund. The Urban Authorities submitting proposals for approval, had to show how their SUD strategies were in alignment with statutory (spatial) planning and programming instruments – mainly the Regulatory Plan for Athens (the Athens Masterplan) but also local plans and Municipal Operational Plans, the Attica RIS3 (in Greek: ΠΣΕΕ) as well as the Regional Strategy for Social Inclusion and Tackling Poverty (RSSITP, in Greek: ΠΕΣΚΕ) – which in turn follow the directions of the National Strategy for Social Inclusion (NSSI, in Greek: ΕΣΚΕ). The RSSITP was approved by the Region of Attica (i.e. the elected governing body) and the stakeholders consulted were almost all the municipalities of Attica, several NGOs dealing with social issues (including religious organisations), a few Greek Orthodox dioceses, a few higher education institutions and several other special interest groups (disabled people etc.). Only a handful of stakeholder organisations who participated were readily identifiable as representatives of migrants and refugees. These represented Greeks from the former USSR and Assyrian Christians (from Syria and Iraq).

There was no migrant representation during the consultation for RIS3 but the strategy does focus on the Sustainable Needs Economy. The Attica RIS3 governance structure was approved by the Region of Attica and is split into two levels: Tactical (comprising the Regional Board and the Regional Council: an advisory body with seven members– three academics and four representatives from local authorities, businesses and labour/trade organisations) and Executive (where stakeholders from the business world, labour and trade organisations could be invited to participate in an advisory role).

The SUD strategies used several strategies and documents in addition to those to which the MA required adherence. All of the approved strategies relied on the analysis and proposals made as part of their Integrated Urban Intervention Plans (in Greek: ΣΟΑΠ). These are planning instruments which had been drafted in the early-mid 2010s. These plans were similar in their rationale to the SUD strategies but lacked a serious funding element and were used as a way for municipalities to organise their urban investments via Structural Funds. Indicatively, other references found in the strategies include the National Spatial Plan (Athens and Piraeus); all the Sectoral Operational Programmes (Piraeus); McKinsey & Company 'Greece 10 years from now', the Agenda 21, the National Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation, the Attica Basin Management Plan, the Attica Urban Waste Management Plan, the OP Competitiveness and Innovation and the OP Transport Infrastructure Environment and Sustainable Development (Southern Sector); the National Digital Strategy, the European Platform Against Poverty and Social Exclusion, the European Disability Strategy 2010-2020 (Western Sector).

3.3.3 Public participation in ITI/SUD strategies

All LAs followed a similar public consultation format between them, with some variations. They all had internal consultations with the LA municipal services. They all had a round of open consultation during the strategy drafting process, using dedicated web platforms, Facebook or other social media as well as the opportunity for written or other analogue petitions. They all had targeted consultations with businesses, trade associations, NGOs, special interest groups and other organisations of this nature. They all presented the draft publicly and

held a second round of consultations with civic society and said institutional stakeholders. The process followed in the western sector is somewhat different because the municipal development association (in Greek: ΑΣΔΑ) created three thematic working groups comprising representatives from all seven constituent municipalities. They managed the consultation and public participation process and brought proposals, ideas etc. to the working groups.

Although detailed participant lists for the consultation process were not available in all cases, no migrant or refugee groups were readily identified. It would be surprising however if some of the NGOs which participated did not bring up the issue of migrants and refugees. The language of communication was Greek.

The key institutional players involved in the ITIs therefore are the Ministry of Economy, the Region, the Managing Authority, the Municipalities/UAs concerned, NGOs, special interest groups, business and trade organisations as well as Greek-speaking people without any other official capacity who could register their views, ideas and proposals online or in person/in writing. It seems that migrant and refugee issues are not extensively covered in the ITIs in a direct fashion, primarily for structural reasons. More specifically, this is mainly because of local authorities' limited jurisdiction over migration and asylum issues and also because the higher-level strategies to which SUD strategies had to adhere, had little to say about the integration of migrants and refugees. Migrants and refugees could participate, so long as they spoke Greek and indeed there is some evidence that groups who have been in the country longer (i.e. the Assyrians) may have done so.

3.3.4   The connections between strategies and migrant integration

The four SUD strategies have few explicit references to migrants overall. Their common thread is their effort to simultaneously adhere to RIS3 and to the RSSITP, in the context of the Regional Operational Programme (ROP). RIS3 is forward-looking and pushes towards developing new and dynamic economic sectors while the RSSITP tries to deal with issues of poverty, social inclusion and the protection of vulnerable groups.

Athens' strategy focuses on tourism and the creative and cultural industry. It has 36 initiatives of which 3 explicitly mention migrants or foreigners as beneficiaries (on housing, shelter and smart city/web tools). There are another 8 initiatives on business and entrepreneurship, 5 on heritage and public spaces, 4 on environment and climate change, 4 on public space, and the remaining 12 cover social infrastructure and the protection of vulnerable groups.

The western sector's strategy more engaged with economic growth, quality of life and with addressing poverty and need. There are in total 23 initiatives, 11 of which refer to social infrastructure and vulnerable groups (3 explicitly on migrant beneficiaries), 2 on environment and climate change, 7 on business and entrepreneurship and 3 on culture, heritage and public space.

The southern sector's strategy focuses on reaping benefits from three major nearby investment poles and on multiculturalism as an attractive cultural feature of the area. It has 23 initiatives, one of which explicitly mentions migrants as potential beneficiaries. All in all, there are 12 initiatives on business and entrepreneurship, 2 on protection of vulnerable groups, 3 on culture and mobility, 6 on environment and climate change.

Piraeus' strategy focuses on economic growth and social protection. It has 21 initiatives, 2 of which explicitly mention migrants as beneficiaries (on social inclusion and integration). The remaining comprise 8 initiatives on business and entrepreneurship, 4 on environment and climate change, 2 on culture, heritage and city branding, and 5 on social infrastructure and the protection of vulnerable groups.

Overall, other than one initiative on a cultural cluster in the southern sector strategy, which bears a risk of gentrification and displacement, the remaining initiatives might in principle be of benefit to migrants and refugees to the extent that the migrants are integrated (in the labour market, in business etc.), use public spaces, speak the language etc. None of those initiatives should have a direct negative impact on migrants and refugees.

All the strategies struggle with marrying together the objectives of RIS3 and the RSSITP, however the western sector's strategy attempts to bridge the two via labour market integration. In fact, from interviews with senior Intermediate Body managers and an online review of the calls that have been issued so far, it transpired that across the four ITIs there are indeed calls in existence which have immigrants (and/or repatriated Greeks) as direct beneficiaries. However, the number is limited by the structure of the programme itself and the relevant initiatives that were included in the first place. An example is a recent call from the Municipality of Egaleo, part of the western sector, which is seeking proposals for pilot projects aimed at the support and integration of marginalised groups. It explicitly refers to migrants who legally reside in the country, as potential beneficiaries.

It also considers Greek returnees and refugees with Greek citizenship, Roma and single-parent families as eligible.

The areas of activity in all strategies do indeed contain enclaves where people not born in Greece concentrate (See Section 2). The longest discussion about migrants and refugees can be found in the Athens strategy. The strategy has a strong social protection element in it, and some initiatives where migrants are explicitly recognised as potential beneficiaries. The western sector strategy pays special attention to 'Enclave E' in Egaleo where Assyrian Christian refugees used to live but were steadily replaced by Kurdish refugees, and later on by Pakistani and Bangladeshi economic migrants. There is one special objective explicitly mentioning migrants in the Western Athens strategy, on integration in the labour market. There is no mention of migrants and refugees in the Piraeus analysis but there are measures specifically referring to migrants (on protection of vulnerable groups), whereas the south sector strategy mentions Greeks from the former USSR, and has one measure referring to migrants (infrastructure for children with mental disabilities).

The Athens UIA is a unique case, in the sense that it deals exclusively with migrant and refugee issues and used a survey by the Athens Observatory on Refugees and Immigrants (AORI 2017) which explored the actual needs of recent (i.e. post-2010) migrants and refugees. The study, whose findings are echoed in the literature (Karyotis et al. 2018) shows that the majority of recent migrants and refugees (60%) viewed Greece as a transition country and therefore had no interest in learning Greek. They faced serious issues with housing, basic orientation skills (understanding how the 'system' operates, their rights and obligations etc.). Another 34% intended to return to their homeland when the situation allowed them to do so. In the meantime, they felt as if they were in limbo and, consequently, the UIA was aptly named 'Curing the limbo'.

One interesting dimension, especially for Athens, is that few ITI/SUD resources were directly allocated to migrant and refugee issues although the Municipality actively pursued migrant integration as witnessed by the UIA and by several other schemes (setting up the SynAthina[41] civic collaboration initiative, participating in the delivery of ESTIA, winning a UIA etc.). The UIA, in particular, experimented with several solutions to integration problems. For example, it set up a Rental Housing Agency which helped 116 refugee families (approx. 300 people) to access the rental market by briefing them on how rental contracts work in Greece and by providing suitable guarantees to property owners who were concerned about signing a contract with people whom they considered to be 'high-risk'.

3.4   DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The strategies and their initiatives address migrant integration to a minor extent, when it comes to direct actions. This appears to be partly a structural issue because local authorities have limited jurisdiction over migrant affairs and there is no enforceable national integration policy. The ROP, the RSSITP, the RIS3 and the Athens Masterplan, which guided the ITI/SUD, do not explicitly address migrant integration. Migrants and refugees had limited direct or indirect representation during the consultation process with the exception of Greeks from the former USSR or other more established migrant groups (Assyrians etc.). For participation to occur, speaking Greek or making the documentation available in a language migrants speak is a pre-condition. That said, it is possible that migrants who speak Greek might have participated in the online platforms. There was however limited official representation, which bears testament to the disengagement of those populations from the mainstream political life of the places they live in. There are hardly any migrants and refugees working in the municipal administration or in the strategy drafting process. In addition, most migrants and refugees have no voting rights and therefore have limited leverage in the Greek political system.

As a result, explicit allocation of resources to migrants and refugees takes place ether (a) via activities parallel to the ITI/SUD, funded via parallel funding streams which bring in additional resources and do not 'draw' funds from economic development or (b) as part of the social protection offered to vulnerable or excluded groups including Greek returnees, the Roma or people with disabilities. It is however reasonable to assume that migrant groups who are better integrated in Greek society stand a better change of benefitting from measures which are aimed at business support, etc. By the same token, public space measures, sustainable mobility or climate change adaptation measures do potentially benefit every resident who uses public spaces, public buildings or public transport/NMT (important to migrants due to their lower car ownership). Digitisation of public services or 'smart city' initiatives do not necessarily benefit migrants as much as Greeks, due to the significant differences in internet access.

As discussed in Section 2, there is an overlap between the areas of activity and areas with high migrant concentrations, especially in Athens where that concentration is significant. There is inevitably an overlap in

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[41] https://www.synathina.gr/en/

Piraeus because the entire municipality is an area of activity. The western sector strategy identifies one such enclave and includes it in the areas of activity. Finally, the southern sector area of activity does cover the areas where migrant concentrations are higher, however there is no explicit recognition of migrants being the focus of the activity, either in the strategy itself or by the interviewees.

The strategies address several issues of significance to migrants and refugees, including (emergency) shelter, gender violence, labour market integration, basic skills, welfare support (food, income), primary health, psychological and legal support, etc. However, largely because of the way the RSSITP is structured, these issues are dealt with as part of the effort to tackle poverty and vulnerability for the entire population. The main barrier in this approach is that migrants and refugees are at a disadvantage when it comes to benefitting from such measures.

Most, if not all, the relevant activities should have a neutral or positive direct primary effect on the lives of migrants and refugees. For example, public space measures would be for the enjoyment of everyone indiscriminately, and programmes to support entrepreneurship might create new jobs or even support migrants to start new businesses eventually. However, public space improvement projects often lead to rising rents and property prices, risking gentrification.

In addition, the beneficiaries who can participate and may benefit from the ITI/SUD investments geared towards the implementation of RIS3 objectives, will predominantly be Greek-speakers (and well-established in the country), even if it is to find a job in one of the sectors promoted. Beneficiaries, therefore, might be migrants and refugees who came to the country in the 1990s or early 2000s. With regard to the RSSITP-related projects, it might not be absolutely necessary to speak Greek in order to benefit from programmes such as food banks but participation in almost every social support or upskilling programme would be much easier if there was some basic ability to communicate in Greek. As several interviewees readily admitted: it is not possible to participate in a digital economy upskilling seminar if you cannot speak the language of instruction.

It would be possible to participate in learning and upskilling initiatives without good knowledge of Greek, if the programmes were offered in English or some of the most widely spoken languages among recent migrants and refugees (Farsi, Urdu, Arabic, etc.). However, that would partially defeat the purpose of training, i.e. the integration in the labour market. Thus, perversely, the ITI investments may indirectly fail to address social polarisation and exclusion, by not addressing the invisible barrier that language poses to migrants and refugees.

Finally, it is worth highlighting that one strategy poses a direct risk of negative impacts on migrants. The south sector strategy proposes a 'Creative Cluster' to be introduced in a deprived area where several migrant and refugee enclaves are located. This may lead to displacement and gentrification. In addition, in one interview with a person intimately familiar with the drafting process of the south sector strategy (Interviewee 4), it became clear that the main concern at the time was to take full advantage of the three major investments taking place in the area (Ellinikon airport, Faliron Bay and Stavros Niarchos Cultural Centre). Migrants and refugees were not considered because 'there were not any migrants' in the area at the time (which was not accurate then and is probably even less accurate today).

3.5 CONCLUSION

Migrant and refugee integration efforts in countries with developed welfare systems rely on those systems for the delivery of housing, welfare benefits, access to the labour market, etc. Such a safety net is not well developed in Greece (for example there is no social rental sector) and the Greek state (central and local) steers clear of dealing with this issue. Substantial action by the municipal political staff is also unlikely, so long as local authorities have limited powers and even less of an incentive to engage with migrants and refugees unless it is to provide humanitarian support or to deal with the frictions arising out of the challenges posed by multi-cultural cohabitation. It will take time, and probably a turn in the economic situation of the country, for post-2010 migrants and refugees to see Greece as a place where they may put down roots, and not merely as a stop on the way to another country. There is evidence to suggest that as time progresses, some are ready to contemplate settling in Greece, as long as they can access the labour market. This is not easy to achieve, given the persistently high unemployment rates in Athens after the public debt crisis of 2010.

The focus of central government is on reception and identification. However, recently, the Greek prime minister announced that integration is to be one of the six pillars of the future migration and asylum policy in Greece. In that context, ITIs could support migrant and refugee integration efforts at local level. In order to do so more effectively, migrant and refugee issues should be mainstreamed in the ROP and its supporting strategies (RIS3, RSSITP). Emphasis should be placed on how LAs could support integration efforts. Lessons learned and solutions found in the Athens UIA 'Curing the Limbo' could play an important role in showing what works and what does

not, when it comes to migrant and refugee integration. Mainstreaming and upscaling such solutions as part of the next generation of ITI/SUD could be an efficient and effective way for the European Commission to promote migrant integration at local level.

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4 The sustainable urban development strategy and the integration of migrants in the Liège Functional Urban Area

Mandin, J.[42]

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The Functional Urban Area (FUA) of Liège consists of 53 municipalities and 751 881 inhabitants according to Eurostat data from 2018. As an historical centre of industrial activity, the urban area of Liège has experienced different phases of economic and urban transformation. The crisis of many industries often developed within the urban fabric of Liège and its surrounding municipalities (Seraing, Herstal, etc.) led to the disappearance of many local jobs as well as the appearance of industrial brownfield in the very core of the Liège urban region, especially in the municipalities of Seraing and Herstal. Other municipalities situated in the more rural part of the FUA have also lost some industrial activities in recent decades, such as the coalmines in the area of Blégny. Despite this loss of industrial activities and the significant consequences in terms of unemployment and degradation of the urban environment, other sectors such as universities, hospitals, transportation and logistics continue to be major providers of local economic activity.

In recent years, the Liège FUA was characterised by the development of many urban renewal initiatives in its urban centre. These urban renewal projects included the transformation of the Meuse river docks, the development of the tramway project and the urban transformation of the centres of the municipalities of Seraing and Herstal. Some of these projects were funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF).

At the same time, as in many urban regions across Europe, the FUA of Liège is characterised by both migratory and post-migratory dynamics. The Belgian authorities' recruitment of foreign workers after WWII contributed to the transformation of the population of the city and its surroundings. While no active recruitment of workers was organised in the ex-Belgian colonies, post-colonial immigration from Congo, Rwanda and Burundi also started in the 1960s and 1970s (Bonaventure and Martiniello 2001). During the economic crisis of the 1970s, the active recruitment of foreign workers stopped but immigration continued. This was characterised by increasing diversification of the types of migration (including family reunification, asylum seeking, intra-European mobility, formal or informal work migration and study) and of the countries of origin of the immigrants (Lafleur, Martiniello, and Rea 2015).

The result of these different dynamics is that the immigrant population in Belgium covers a large diversity of situations: from foreign workers who arrived in Belgium in the 1950s and 1960s to their children or grandchildren; from the international student recently arrived at one of the country's many universities, to the asylum seeker seeking protection; from the beneficiary of family reunification coming from outside the EU to the European citizen settling in Belgium.

This chapter addresses the relation between the development of policies supported by the European Union Cohesion Policy and the integration of local migrant populations. The following research questions are asked: To what extent and how does migrants' integration emerge as a focal point of the strategy? How are local migrant populations taken into account in the implementation of the different projects? What are the possible impacts of the projects on the issues that migrants might face in the FUA?

The chapter focuses on the 2014–2020 programming period and on two types of projects: 1) the projects falling under the Integrated and Sustainable Urban Development Strategy funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF) and 2) the URBACT projects funded by the ERDF as well as by national and local institutions. According to the STRAT-Board[43] online tool, there is one 'Integrated Urban Development' (IUD) strategy developed in the FUA. The strategy is implemented through the 5th priority of the ERDF Operational Programme for Wallonia. Moreover, the research identifies two URBACT projects within the FUA.

Methodology

In order to address the questions above, the chapter builds on the results of an exploratory research project conducted between December 2020 and June 2021. Three sets of data have been explored. The first part of

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[42] University of Liège
[43] https://urban.jrc.ec.europa.eu/strat-board/#/factsheet?id=BE-006&fullscreen=yes

the research comprised an analysis of the available documents related to the ERDF operational programme, the SUD strategy and the different projects implemented locally. The second part of the research involved the collection of available statistical data and literature about the FUA in order to contextualise the different projects, in particular regarding local migration dynamics. For the third part, four qualitative interviews were conducted with local officials involved in the elaboration of some of the projects. Three of the four people interviewed were involved at municipality level. One person was working for the not-for-profit organisation in charge of the selection of the projects by the managing authorities. Unfortunately, no interviews were conducted with representatives of the regional government, which is in charge of the elaboration of the strategy. The interviews do not cover all the projects implemented locally but instead focus on two out of the three municipalities (Liège and Herstal) for which projects have been planned.

The chapter is organised as follows: The first section focuses on the analysis of the FUA context, in particular regarding the relation between migratory and socio-economic dynamics. The second section analyses the policies falling within the scope of this research. More specifically, it looks at the way the ERDF and the URBACT projects address (or not) the topics of migration and integration. It also looks at the possible intersection between the goals of the projects and the issues that migrants have to face in the FUA. Finally, this section also looks at the possible impacts of the projects on the life of the local migrant population.

4.2   ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

This analysis is based on different types of data. In addition to the available literature describing the migration dynamics in the FUA, statistical data are used to provide an overview of the local context. These statistical data are based on different sources. A first set of data from EUROSTAT and STATBEL provides information on the nationalities of the FUA foreign population. Another set of data (STATBEL) provides statistics on the population by country of birth (Belgium or foreign-born). Finally, the chapter uses the 'difficulty index' created by Grippa and colleagues (Grippa et al. 2015). This index aggregates 23 indicators divided into four dimensions (origin, income, precarity of employment, precarity of the household and dependence on transfer incomes)[44]. It allows to describe the types and level of socio-economic difficulty that a neighbourhood might face.

4.2.1   Migration dynamics and population of foreign origin in the FUA

In Wallonia the population of foreign origin is concentrated in specific areas of the region. This repartition largely illustrates the history of immigration in Belgium as well as the current attractiveness of different areas. Historically, a large population of foreign origin settled in the old mining areas of Wallonia. This population is particularly representative of the immigrant populations of blue-collar workers who arrived after WWII, with a high proportion of Italians. A high proportion of the foreign population is also present in border areas where the populations of neighbouring countries (France, Germany and the Netherlands) are well represented. Finally, many immigrants are also attracted by urban centres in the Walloon region, such as Liège or Charleroi (Myria 2016).

As Table 1 below shows, the proportion of the foreign population in the FUA of Liège has remained relatively stable during the last decade.

Table 1. Proportion of foreign population (%) in the FUA

	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Proportion of foreign population	11.10%	11.70%	11.80%	11.80%	11.60%	11.60%	11.60%	11.70%	11.80%

Source: Eurostat, 2018.

As Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) have described for the city of Liège, this apparent stability hides significant transformations in the immigrant population of the city and of the surrounding areas. As an industrial city, Liège and its surroundings attracted many of the immigrants who arrived in Belgium in the aftermath of WWII. But progressively, new types of migrations and immigrants coming from new countries of origin contributed to diversifying the immigrant population of the area. These new immigration flows come mainly from Europe (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016). The expansion of the European Union in 2004, for example, was followed by the arrival of many Romanian citizens, whose population has greatly increased in the FUA and, in 2020, is the

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[44] For more information : See Grippa et al. (2015:12)

fifth largest foreign population in the area (see Table 2 below). After the economic crisis of 2008, the city also experienced the arrival of new immigrants from southern Europe (Greece, Portugal, Italy) even if these new populations do not necessarily compensate for the erosion of the Italian population (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016).

Table 2. Most represented foreign nationalities in the FUA in 2000, 2010 and 2020 (AV and %)

2000			2010			2020		
Nationality	AV	%	Nationality	AV	%	Nationality	AV	%
Italy	47 823	55%	Italy	35 001	42.8%	Italy	26 104	29.5%
Morocco	6 520	7.5%	France	8 270	10.1%	France	10 008	11.3%
Spain	6 516	7.5%	Morocco	5 728	7.0%	Spain	6 336	7.1%
France	5 820	6.7%	Spain	5 572	6.8%	Morocco	6 142	6.9%
Turkey	4 888	5.6%	Turkey	3 238	4.0%	Romania	3 383	3.8%
Netherlands	1 818	2.1%	Netherlands	2 684	3.3%	Turkey	2 939	3.3%
Democratic Republic of Congo	1 464	1.7%	Democratic Republic of Congo	1 949	2.4%	Netherlands	2 487	2.8%
Greece	1 260	1.5%	Romania	1 136	1.4%	Democratic Republic of Congo	2 365	2.7%
Portugal	1 131	1.3%	Portugal	1 070	1.3%	Cameroon	1 774	2.0%
Poland	1 072	1.2%	Algeria	958	1.2%	Iraq	1 624	1.8%

Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2020.

Beyond the evolution of the main populations present in the FUA, the table above also shows the decrease in the concentration of the foreign population for a few nationalities. Indeed, while the 10 most represented nationalities in 2000 made up 90.1% of the total foreign population, they only represented 71.2% of the total foreign population in 2020.

As illustrated by the list of nationalities above and according to Eurostat data, in 2018 most of the foreigners living in the FUA were EU citizens (60.3%). They represented 7.1% of the total population. Meanwhile non-EU foreigners represented 39.7% of the foreign population, and 4.7% of the total population. While this tendency seems relatively stable over time, the last decade shows a slight increase in the proportion of non-EU foreigners in the FUA (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Evolution of the foreign population in the FUA (EU and non EU)
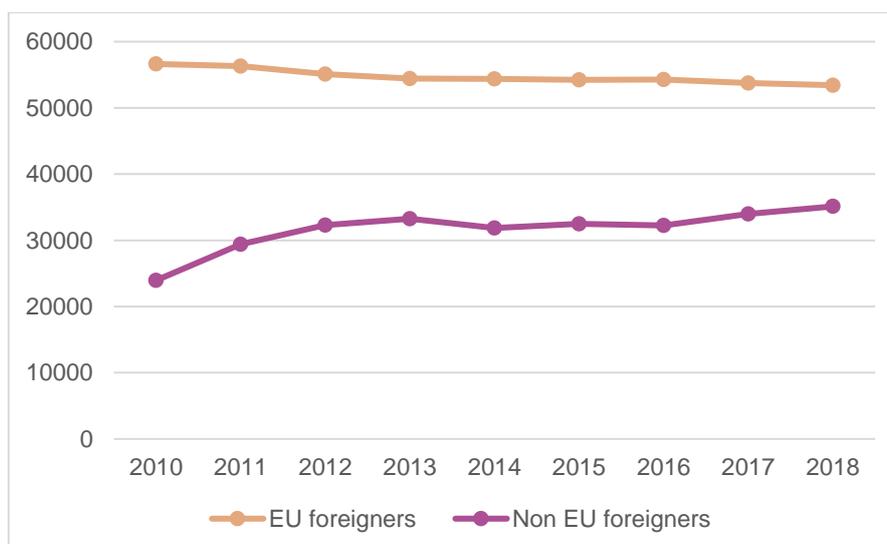
Source: Eurostat, 2018

Liège is also characterised by the presence of a population of immigrants seeking protection. According to Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016:197) there is a population of some 2000 persons of different statuses (undocumented, asylum seekers) in the city of Liège. This population is difficult to quantify with precision as undocumented migrants do not appear in the official statistics. However, their presence nevertheless produces significant mobilisation — either from the migrants themselves or from civil society activists and networks — to defend the rights of undocumented migrants in the city in reaction to increasingly restrictive policies implemented at federal level (Lambert and Swerts 2019).

The successive flows of immigration to the FUA substantially modified the structure of its population. While the information above mainly relies on data on nationality, in 2020 the Belgian office for statistics (STATBEL) released new data regarding the origin of the Belgian population. The statistics distinguish three main categories of population in terms of migration origin:

1. Belgians of Belgian origin: persons of Belgian nationality whose first registered nationality is Belgian, and whose parents' first registered nationalities are also Belgian.

2. Belgians of foreign origin: persons of Belgian nationality whose first registered nationality was a foreign nationality; and persons with at least one parent whose first registered nationality in Belgium is a foreign nationality.

3. Non-Belgians (or foreign citizens): persons with a foreign nationality.

It is important to note that the second category groups situations that may be quite different. Indeed, it combines people who had a foreign nationality themselves (potentially people who migrated to Belgium) with people whose 'foreign origin' is in fact the foreign origin of their parents. This last group of people includes the descendants of immigrants who did not themselves experience migration but who continue — in a certain number of cases — to experience the effects of discrimination against ethnic minorities that are active in different domains, such as restricted access to the job or housing markets (Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme 2012, 2014). For these reasons, in the following paragraphs, a distinction is made between the categories 'Nationals of foreign origin' to refer to people of Belgian nationality but previously registered as foreigners, and 'Nationals born to parents of foreign origins'.

According to the STATBEL data, in 2020, 60.1% of the FUA population were Belgian nationals of Belgian origin, while 11.1% were foreigners. Of the total FUA population 14.1% were nationals who had been previously registered as foreigners, and 14.7% were Belgian nationals born to at least one parent previously registered as foreign (STATBEL 2020). Table 3 below shows that the proportion of the population of foreign origin is comparatively higher in the FUA of Liège than the proportion at national or regional level. The proportion of the foreign population in the FUA is comparatively higher than the proportion at regional level but lower than the proportion at national level.

Table 3. Structure of the population by origin in Belgium, Wallonia and the FUA of Liège

	Belgium	Wallonia	FUA
Nationals of Belgian origin	67.9%	66.4%	60.1%
Nationals of foreign origin	9.8%	10.1%	14.1%
Nationals born to parents of foreign origin	9.9%	13.1%	14.7%
Foreigners	12.4%	10.4	11.1%

Source: Statbel, 2020.

In conclusion, the area of Liège, as an area of industrial activity (with a part that is now in crisis) and as an urban centre, has long been attractive to immigrant populations. These populations range from the post-WWII immigrant workers to the current newcomers who find professional and education opportunities as well as institutional and social networks (immigrant associations for example) in the city, which allow them to find support and resources to settle in Belgium. In this context, the population of the FUA has experienced a form of 'diversification of its diversity' (Hollinger 1995) in different ways. New migrants coming from new countries of origin (European or not) continue to arrive and settle in the FUA. At the same time, the post-WWII immigration of workers has been progressively replaced by a variety of new immigration channels such as family reunification, asylum, study or free movement within the EU. To the now aging population of post-WWII

immigrant workers and their children (the 'second generation'), new types of migrants (students, person benefiting from family reunification, asylum seekers, free moving EU citizens, workers, etc.) are added, continuing to diversify the local population, making it a de facto multicultural city. The following paragraphs describe how this diversification interacts with local urban dynamics.

4.2.2 Territorial analysis of migrant residential patterns

The structure of the population at FUA level hides significant disparities in terms of concentration of foreign population. Indeed, among the 53 municipalities that constitute the FUA, the municipalities of Liège, Herstal, Seraing, Saint-Nicolas and Ans represent 71.9% of the FUA foreign population. These five municipalities also represent 57.4% of the population of foreign origin. In comparison, they only represent 44.7% of the FUA total population (STATBEL 2020). In the city of Liège for example, 19.5% of the population are of foreign nationality and 34.7% are either of foreign origin or born to parents of foreign origin (STATBEL 2020).

Table 4. Municipalities with the largest foreign populations within the FUA in 2020

	Number of Foreigners	% of the FUA foreign population	Number of citizens of foreign origin	% of the FUA population of foreign origin	Total population	% of the FUA total population
Liège	38 424	43.4%	68 464	29.8%	197 217	24.8%
Seraing	9 888	11.2%	23 468	10.2%	64 192	8.1%
Herstal	7 193	8.1%	16 633	7.2%	40 190	5.1%
Saint-Nicolas	4 752	5.4%	12 119	5.3%	24 329	3.1%
Ans	3 377	3.8%	11 146	4.9%	28 598	3.6%
Total	63 634	71.9%	131 830	57.4%	354 526	44.7%
Total FUA	88 626	100%	229 666	100%	795 113	100%

Source: Statbel, 2020.

Beyond nationality, the presence of migrant populations can also be estimated on the basis of the place of origin of the population (born in Belgium or foreign-born). Based on data from 2018, the map below (figure 2)[45] shows the proportion of the population born outside Belgium. The data is presented at neighbourhood level.

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[45] The author would like to thank Miguel Torres for the contribution in elaborating all the maps contained in this chapter.

Figure 2. Share of foreign-born migrants by statistical sectors, 2018

Municipalities targeted by the strategy

FUA (EUROSTAT 2018)

Municipalities

Share of foreign-born migrants

< 5 %

5 - 10 %

10 - 20 %

20 - 35 %

> 35 %

0   20 km
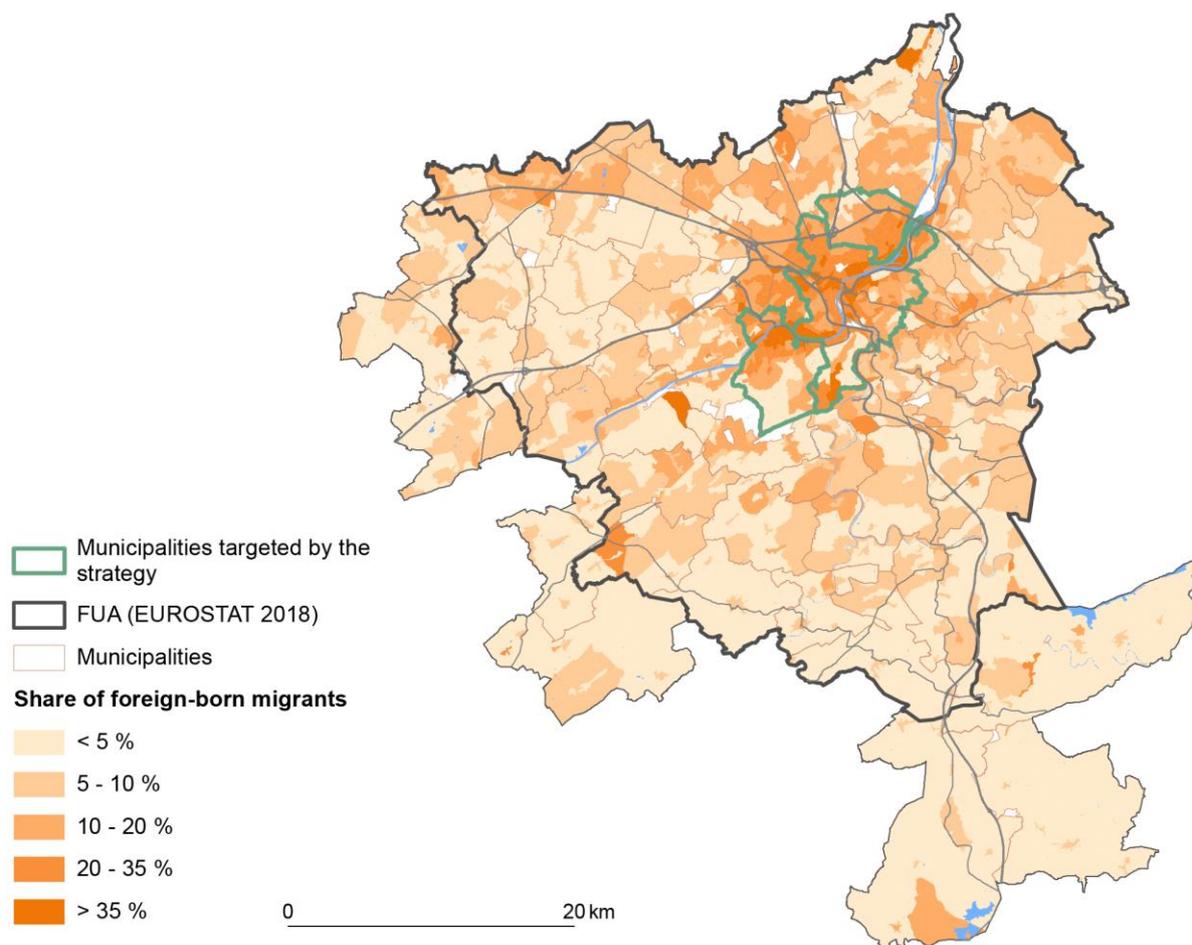
Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2018

As the map illustrates, the foreign-born population is not evenly distributed across the FUA. The population born outside Belgium is mainly concentrated in the urban centre of the FUA, in Liège and the neighbouring municipalities.

Figure 3 shows the proportion of the non-EU born population over the total foreign population. It shows that non-EU born migrants constitute a large part of the migrant population in Liège but also in more rural areas where the number of migrants and the overall concentration of the migrant population is relatively low.

Figure 3. Share of non-EU born migrants over total migrant population by statistical sectors, 2018
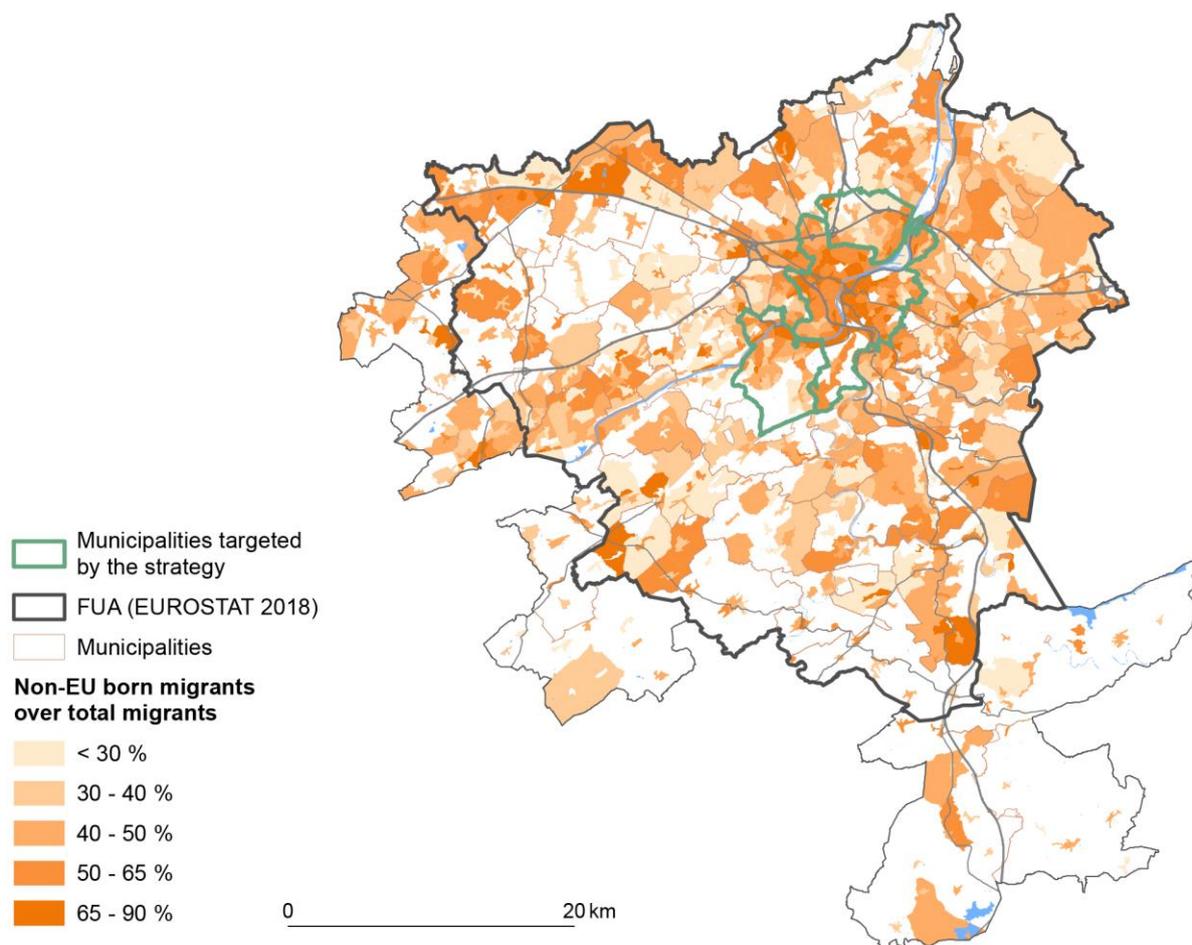
Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics – Statistics Belgium), 2018

In Liège, Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) identify different areas or neighbourhoods characterised by a substantial presence of immigrant populations as well as by different socio-demographic characteristics.

In some central areas of Liège (Centre, Avroy, Guillemins), European populations (especially French citizens) are well represented. These populations are characterised by a relatively better socio-economic situation when compared to other migrant populations.

In the central and peri-central areas of Liège, neighbourhoods are still functioning as arrival areas for many newcomers. This is the case, for example, with the neighbourhoods of Sainte Marguerite and Saint Léonard. These neighbourhoods are characterised by old and often poor quality buildings and by a diverse population resulting from the different flows of newcomers arriving in the city.

The neighbouring areas of Droixhe (characterised by the presence of social housing) and Bressoux (an old working-class neighbourhood) are characterised by the predominance of non-European foreigners. These areas have suffered from negative perceptions in public discourses and are frequently associated in public opinion with violence and insecurity (Mandin and Martiniello 2013, 30 and Sq.). However, the area is also characterised by long-planned but only recently started projects of urban rehabilitation, including a better connection with the centre of Liège. The various projects have a budget in excess of €40 million, provided by both public and private investment.[46]

In the immediate periphery of Liège, old industrial and working-class areas are characterised by the presence of many populations comprising post-WWII immigrant workers. This is the case with the areas of Saint-Nicolas and Grâce-Hollogne, situated on the left bank of the Meuse river, in the close periphery of Liège and — to a lesser extent — of the old mining areas of Fléron (Grippa et al. 2015:44).

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[46]https://www.liege.be/fr/vie-communale/projet-de-ville/grands-projets/a-venir/la-requalification-de-droixhe

On the axis of the Meuse river, the municipalities of Herstal and Seraing are characterised by the importance of industrial activities to the local economy and to urban development. In Seraing, the steel industry entered a recession and many old industrial sites are now being transformed under urban renewal projects. These municipalities are also characterised by populations of foreign origin.

As Grippa et. al. (2015) show, these areas (with the exception of the central areas characterised by the predominance of relatively well-off EU citizens) are also characterised by the correlation of different socio-economic difficulties. The authors show that areas such as Sainte-Marguerite, Bressoux, Droixhe and Saint-Léonard are characterised by the conjunction of indicators such as relatively low income, high unemployment, and dependence on social transfers (Grippa et al. 2015:44). Seraing and Herstal are characterised by a high proportion of working-class populations in some areas and by the collapse of some industrial activities such as the steel industry in Seraing.

According to Grippa et. al (2015) although Liège has historically maintained a certain bourgeois population in the city centre (especially when compared to Brussels), the city has still experienced a form of outmigration of a part of its middle class, who left the city centre to move to more rural areas on the periphery. While minor dynamics of gentrification can be observed in some parts of the city, this seems to be a relatively modest dynamic.

Figure 4. Synthetic Difficulty Index by statistical sector, 2010
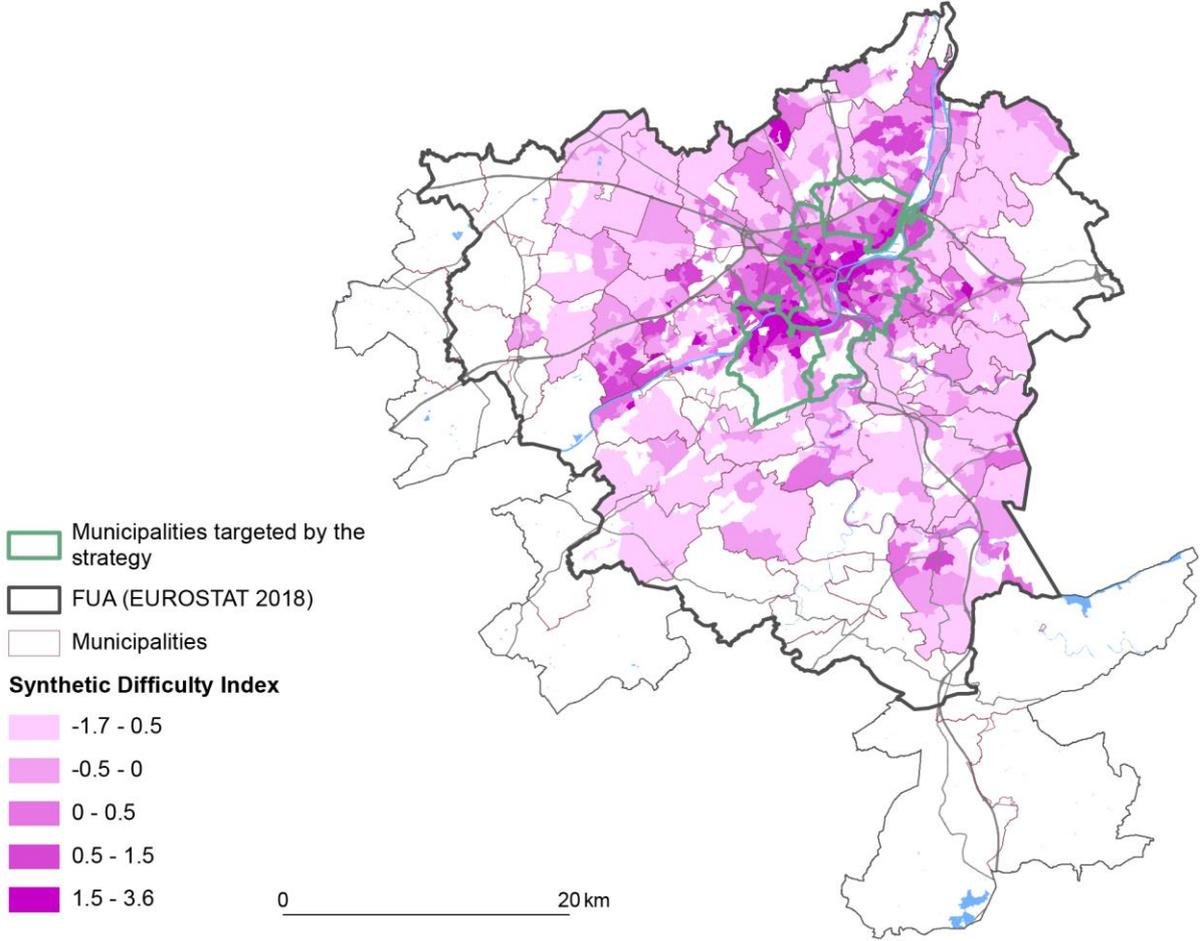
Source: Adapted from Grippa et al. (2015)[47]

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[47] The data presented in this map is the Synthetic Difficulty Index created by Grippa et al. (2015). The index aggregates 23 indicators divided into four dimensions (Origines, Incomes, Precarity on the job market, vulnerable households and transfer incomes). The darker the colour on the map, the more disadvantaged the area. For more information about the Index and its limits, see Grippa et al. (2015) p. 9 and sq.

Lafleur and Stangherlin (2016) identify a number of issues in relation to the integration of immigrant populations in the city. Regarding the employment and socio-economic situation, the authors note that while foreigners constituted only 15% of job seekers in 2014, poverty is particularly high in those areas characterised by a high proportion of new immigrants. Some foreign populations, such as the Moroccan and Turkish populations, are also particularly exposed to the risk of poverty.

Regarding housing, Liège is characterised by its old buildings and the subdivision of many houses into small apartments, making it difficult for vulnerable families (including immigrant families) to find decent housing opportunities in the city. In addition, the authors note that access for populations of foreign origin to decent housing is made more difficult by enduring practices of discrimination at different stages in the process of renting an apartment (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016, 200; Centre interfédéral pour l'égalité des chances et la lutte contre le racisme 2014).

Education and language proficiency is another important issue associated with the integration of immigrant populations in the FUA. In Liège, many newcomers experience difficulties accessing French language classes due to insufficient availability and long waiting lists. A low level of French proficiency is observed in some areas characterised by a substantial proportion of immigrant populations, such as Bressoux-Droixhe, Sainte-Marguerite and Saint-Léonard (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016, 201). In terms of education, the level of education of the foreign population in the area is lower than the level of education of the Belgian population (Lafleur and Stangherlin 2016:200).

Lafleur and Stangherlin(2016) also mention the active policy of the city of Liège in recognising its cultural diversity and taking a stand against racism, as well as the active participation of local immigrant communities in the associative and political life of the city. In 1995, for example, the city adopted a charter against racism. In 2017, after an intense civil society campaign in favour of improved inclusion of undocumented migrants, the city was the first Walloon city to declare itself a 'welcoming city' (ville hospitalière) (Lambert and Swerts 2019).

4.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

4.3.1 The Integrated Urban Strategy of Liége

Several levels of governance are involved in the drafting and implementation of the Integrated Urban Strategy.

The ERDF operational programme (OP) is conceived at the level of the Walloon region. The OP for the 2014–2020 programme, titled 'La Stratégie wallonne pour une croissance intelligente durable et inclusive en partenariat avec l'Union Européenne' has been approved by a supervisory committee and by the European Commission. The OP describes the different 'priorities'. Among these priorities, Priority 5 focuses on 'Integrated Urban Development.' (IUD) A regional task force has been created to draft an integrated urban development strategy (IUDS) out of this priority and to contribute to the selection process of the individual projects.

The management of the IUD priority has been outsourced by the region to sub-regional entities (entités infrarégionales). The sub-regional entity appointed by the region to manage the IUD priority for the cities of Liège, Seraing, Herstal and Verviers is the GRE-Liège. The GRE-Liège is a not-for-profit association created in 2004, employing between 5 and 15 people. Its board of direction, strategy committee and executive committee includes representatives from business owner unions, worker unions, business organisations, universities, political parties and economical operators in the region. Its missions regarding the implementation of the IUD strategy are as follows:

— To produce an Integrated Urban Development Strategy (IUDS) for the priority areas of Liège, Herstal, Seraing (Liège FUA) and Verviers.

— To present this strategy to the regional task force of the Walloon government and present recommendations for the type of projects to be selected.

— To select the projects.

— To present the projects that have been selected.

The strategy drawn up by the GRE-Liège on the basis of the 5th priority of the regional OP is built on a top-down and bottom-up approach in that it considers the objectives of both regional and supra-regional entities (UE and Wallonia) and of local actors (municipalities. The strategy identifies different themes emerging from the initiatives of the different actors: reindustrialisation and diversification of the local economy; revitalisation of the central urban areas; sustainable mobility; connectivity and attractiveness; culture and tourism (GRE-Liège 2015).

Together with the elaboration of an IUDS in collaboration with the University of Liège, the selection process is another core mission of the GRE-Liège. However, this mission was also dependent on the decisions taken by the regional task force. Indeed, it was decided that the GRE-Liège would only consider projects that would receive (from the regional task force) the guarantee of co-funding by the Walloon region.

The individual projects are drafted and submitted by the municipalities or by public institutions working in collaboration with the municipalities. They are also managed and implemented at local level.

At this stage of the research, no organisations specifically dedicated to immigrant populations have been identified as taking part in the drafting of the IUDS or the selection process. However, at local level, municipal authorities did organise — at least in some of the cases that have been explored in this study — public consultations. During these consultations, local associations aware of the diversity of the population were able to participate.

In addition to the IUD projects, the city of Liège is also a member of an URBACT initiative, which involves a programme of exchange between cities in order to address issues of sustainable urban development. The city is also a part of the ROOF network, which aims to fight homelessness by promoting rapid access to decent housing for homeless people.

4.3.2 Description of the projects and target areas

In the FUA of Liège, the priority 'Integrated Urban Development' of the 2014–2020 ERDF programme includes six projects, concentrated in three municipalities (Liège, Seraing and Herstal).

The projects are as follows:

1. The development of access to the multimodal area of Bressoux: The project involves the transformation of the end of the highway entering Liège and bordering the neighbourhood of Bressoux-Droixhes. The project aims to improve access to the neighbourhood of Bressoux and to open up the neighbourhood south of the railroad; to improve the attractiveness of the new infrastructure (exhibition hall and tramway terminal) built in the area; and to downsize the current highway into an 'urban boulevard' while reducing the flows of automobile traffic and encouraging collective and soft transportation modes.

2. The rehabilitation of the 'ateliers centraux', an old industrial site in Seraing. The project includes the construction of a parking area, the establishment of pedestrian access through the old industrial building and the creation of a pedestrian and cyclist connection with the train station.

3. The creation of an 'urban boulevard' traversing the city of Seraing and facilitating mobility throughout the valley.

4. The rehabilitation of an old station (MarexheGare) in the centre of Herstal. The project is part of a larger urban renewal project aimed at improving housing infrastructure and public space. The station is set to welcome local associations. At the time of the study, two associations have been identified as possible candidates: the local office of the Red Cross and the Herstal 'Régie de quartier', an association dedicated to socio-professional inclusion and to the animation of the city's neighbourhood. This association develops activities (such as language courses) that could potentially benefit migrant populations.

5. The transformation of the 'Espace Browning' — a former industrial site in Herstal — into a park and a junction between the station and the city centre. The aim of the project is to create a public space that would be open to the local population. It includes discussions about intergenerational cohabitation as well as attention to the multicultural aspect of the local population (see below).

6. The transformation of the 'Place Gilles Gérard' in the periphery of Herstal. In comparison to the other projects, this one is rather less ambitious. Indeed, the ERDF funding only concerns the creation of a few parking spots.

The city of Seraing is also part of an URBACT network called ALT/BAU. This network is dedicated to the sharing of strategies to 'activate unused and decaying housing stock resulting from demographic, economic and social change.'[48]

The map below (fig. 5) shows the localisation of the IUD projects in the different municipalities of the FUA.

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[48]https://urbact.eu/alt-bau

Figure 5. Localisation of the IUD projects and share of foreign-born migrants in targeted municipalities
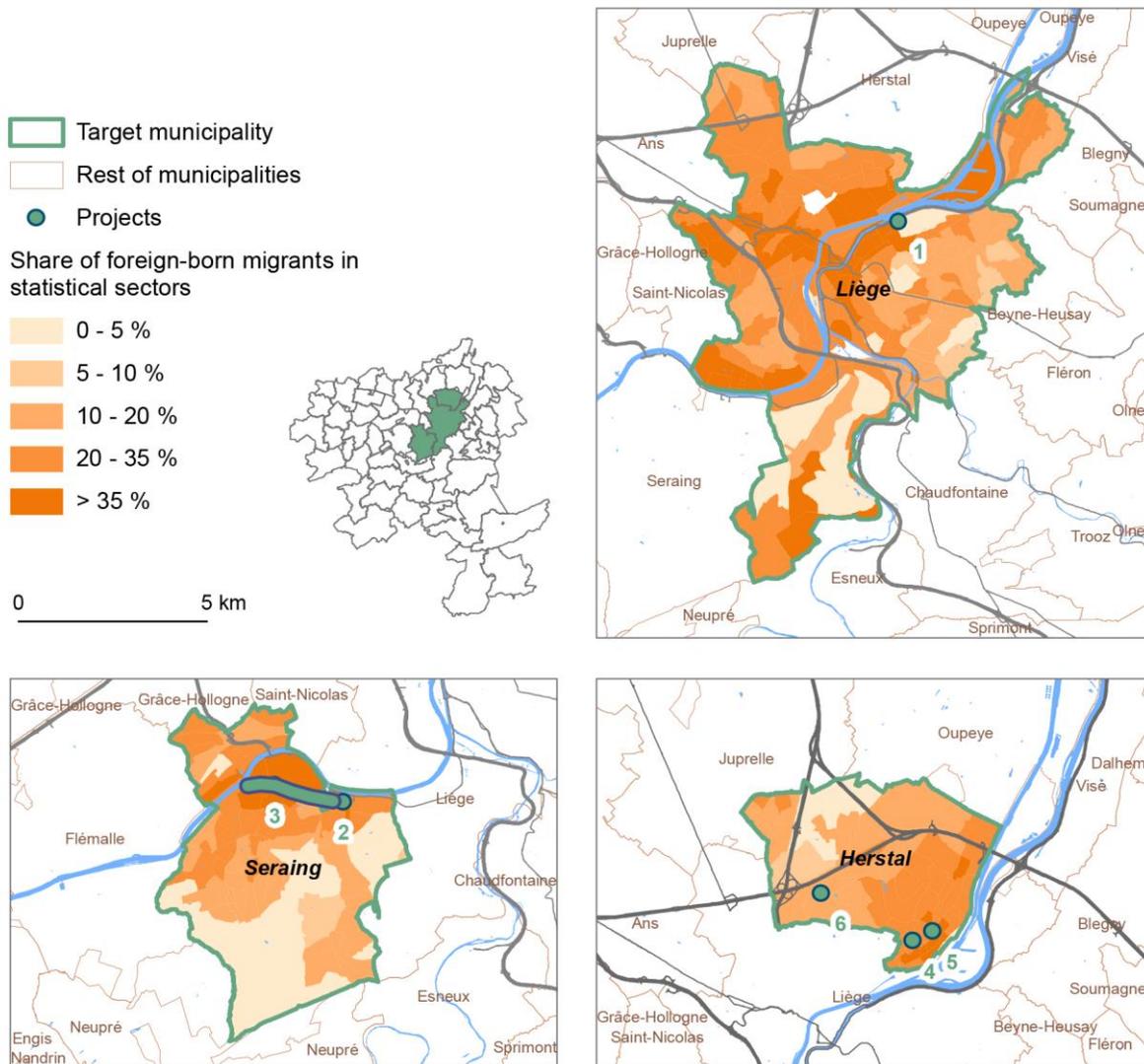
Source: Statbel (Directorate-general Statistics—Statistics Belgium), 2018

Figure 6. Localisation of the IUD projects and difficulty index in targeted municipalities
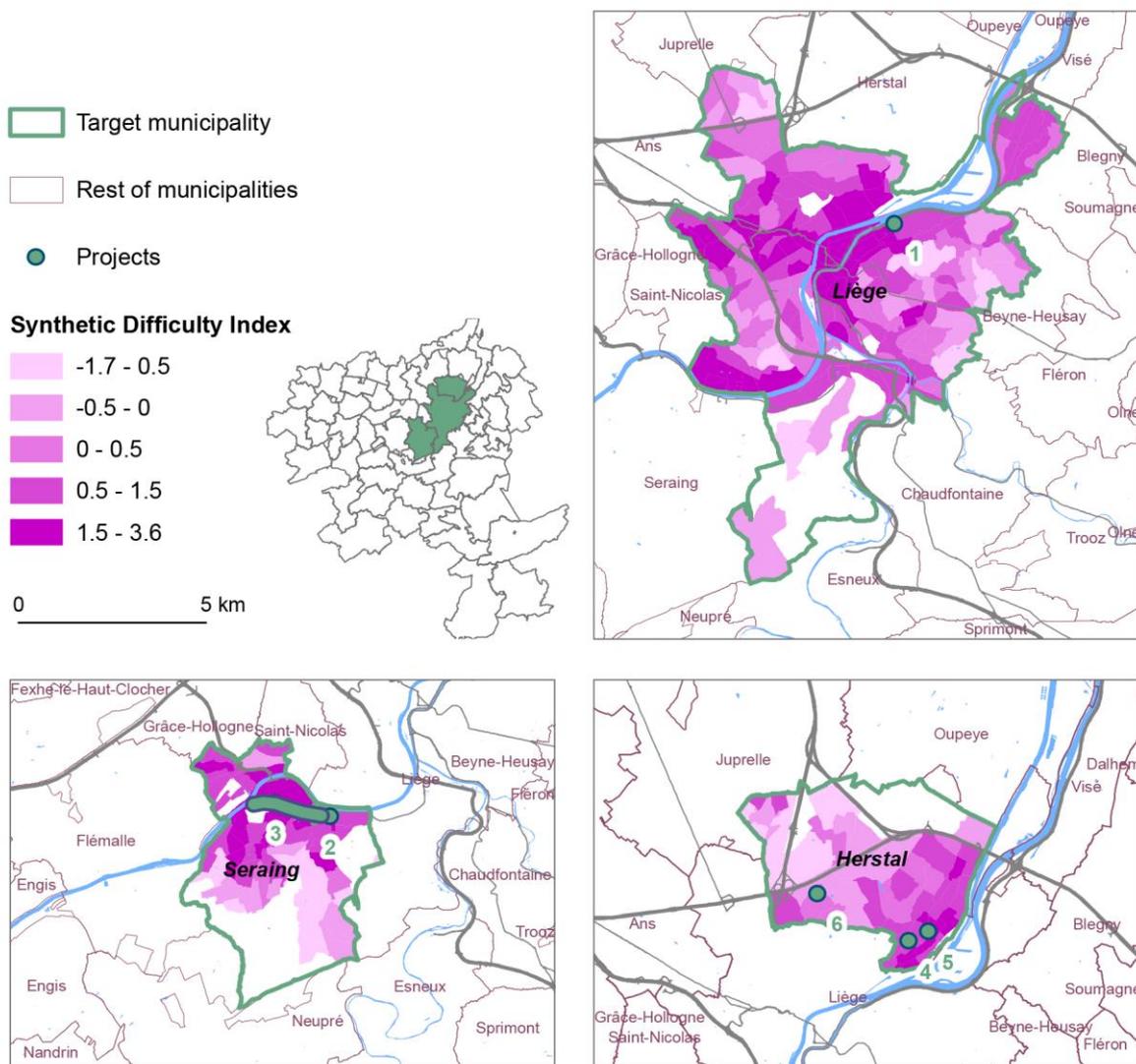
Source: Grippa et al. (2015)

Looking at the documents available online related to these different projects, it is noticeable that the topics of migration or integration are never explicitly mentioned in the description of the projects. However, some correlations can be observed.

Looking at Figure 5, the first observation that can be made is the fact that most of these projects are actually implemented/planned in or close to areas that are characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA. More specifically, the projects in Herstal and Seraing involve areas that are characterised both by a high proportion of foreign-born populations and also by the poor quality of its urban infrastructures with ageing buildings, unused industrial sites, poor housing infrastructure, etc. Figure 6 also illustrates that (except for Project 6) the projects are implemented in areas that experience correlation between the presence of populations of foreign origin and other socio-economic difficulties.

A second observation is that the ERDF projects are also very often associated with larger urban renewal projects aimed at improving the economic attractiveness of the urban areas, attracting new jobs and improving the quality of housing facilities and public spaces. This (as described earlier in the chapter) echoes some of the issues encountered by the migrant population in the FUA.

These two types of correlation (spatial and thematic) indicate an indirect relation between the projects and the living standards of local foreign populations, even if this relation is not explicitly mentioned in the documents consulted for this study. The following section will try to expand on how this relation is addressed in programme documents and perceived (or not perceived) as relevant by different actors.

4.4 THE POLICIES AND THE INTEGRATION OF FOREIGN POPULATIONS

This section analyses how the topics of migration, integration and the presence of foreign populations are addressed and regarded as a problem in the 2014–2020 programme. It builds on an exploration of different documents available online, including the operational programme document and the description of the different projects available online. Interviews with different stakeholders acting at various level of the implementation process allow to explore the different representations revolving around the projects and their impact on the local immigrant populations.

4.4.1 The strategy level

The previous section shows that the different projects in the 2014–2020 programme are often aimed at the reconversion of areas characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign populations when compared to the FUA general population. The question then becomes: to what extent do the strategy and the different projects address topics such as migrant integration, ethnic diversity, or intercultural policy?

The first part of the answer is that the relation is not explicit, neither at OP level, nor with regard to the selection of the projects by the GRE-Liège.

A rapid analysis of the Operational Programme (OP) document reveals that migration-related vocabulary is little used. Some direct references are made to the 'population of foreign origin'. Such a reference appears on p. 21 of the OP on the enumeration of the 'principal needs' encountered in the FUA territory. The mention of the population of foreign origin appears under the tenth point, titled 'territory'. In the quote below, I present the part of the text where this mention appears:

> *[…] It is also in the highly urbanised centre where – more than anywhere else (except in the border areas) – populations of foreign origin are concentrated, whose integration in the job market is sometimes made difficult because of cultural and linguistic differences.*[49]
>
> (Région Wallonne 2020:21)

This quote illustrates how the mention of 'population of foreign origin' is mainly present in the strategy document only as contextual information that is used to explain the difficulties that are supposed to characterise some urban areas in Wallonia.

The issues of migration and integration do not appear either in the objectives listed in the 5ᵗʰ priority of the OP (Integrated Urban Development) or in the indicators used to evaluate the development of the projects.

Similarly, migration and integration were not specifically identified as relevant subjects in the process of selection conducted by the GRE-Liège. According to a worker from the organisation, the objectives of the ERDF projects developed in the FUA were mostly of an economic nature (phone interview, April 2021). Indeed, the presentation of the Integrated Urban Development priority in the OP document highlights three main lines: employment in urban centres, densification of urban areas in order to boost their attractiveness, and contribution to the reduction of greenhouse gases (Région Wallonne 2020:143). In the same conversation, the worker also stressed the fact that the projects were supposed to 'benefit everybody' (phone interview, April 2021). So, even if a thematic and spatial correlation appear, migrant populations are not explicitly targeted in the OP or in the IUDS.

To conclude, the OP makes reference to populations of foreign origin. However, this reference seems to be limited to the description of the context of the Walloon urban areas and to the identification of the socio-economic weakness of specific parts of these areas. In this context, the presence of migrants and populations of foreign origin is largely addressed as a weakness and not, for example, as resources or as relevant actors for the process of urban development. The issues of migration and integration seem also to be absent from the Integrated Urban Development Strategy drawn up by the GRE-Liège and from the selection process. Finally, it is important to identify the limits of the conclusion. Indeed, no interviews have been conducted with officials involved at regional level (Walloon region). The findings are therefore limited to the programme documents, which do not necessarily exclude the fact that the officials who drafted the policy were aware or willing to address issues related to migration or integration.

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[49]Translation of the author from French

4.4.2 The implementation of projects at local level

This section moves from the OP and IUDS level to question to what extent issues related to migration, integration and diversity figure in the implementation of SUD projects at local level. As described in section 3.2, the projects are mostly located in areas characterised by a relatively high concentration of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA. Therefore, the question here is the following: how is the presence of migrant populations and the specific issues/needs these populations might encounter integrated in the implementation process of the projects at local level?

The goal of this section is not to provide an exhaustive description of how issues of migration, diversity and integration are addressed in all of the eight projects described above. Rather, it will focus on two 'cases', which allows us to open a discussion about the diversity of ways in which the question of migration and integration may emerge within the SUD projects. The cases have been selected because they offered the possibility of 'entering the field' and collecting interviews.

In addition to the available documentation, the section also draws on the content of three qualitative interviews (individual or collective) held with four officials involved in the implementation of different local projects.[50] The four officials are working either in municipal administrative departments or in municipal property management companies.

It is important here to keep the institutional position of the interlocutors in mind. Working for the city, the interviewees mostly speak from a position where they are themselves actively involved in the implementation of the projects. From this perspective the material collected is not so much about the actual impact that the projects might have on local populations of foreign origin, nor is it about how the local foreign populations perceive these projects. Rather, it is about the representations that the institutional workers have of local diversity as well as their representations of the possible impacts that the projects might have in terms of integration or diversity. From this perspective, the material provides us with an insight into the specific ways diversity is considered by municipal administrative workers as well as into the systems of representation circulating within this institutional field. Finally, due to the exploratory nature of the research, the relatively small number of interviews prevent any attempts to produce an exhaustive description of the above-mentioned systems of representation.

A focus on the case of Herstal

As mentioned above, three projects are currently being implemented in Herstal: the rehabilitation of an old station building into a complex hosting local associations ('Marexhe-Gare' project); the rehabilitation of an old industrial site into a public park ('Espace Browning' project) and the creation of parking spots in the context of the renewal of a public square ('Place Gilles Gérard' project).

The projects — with the exception of the 'Place Gilles Gérard' project — are located in neighbourhoods characterised by a relatively high proportion of foreign-born populations when compared to the rest of the FUA (see Map 4 above). The areas are also characterised by the presence of industrial brownfield (Espace Browning), and of ageing buildings and poor housing infrastructure. Both the 'MarexheGare' and 'Espace Browning' projects are located in the city centre, which is characterised by relatively precarious socio-economic conditions. Both projects are also part of a broader project of urban renewal targeting the city centre.

It is important to state that at the time of the study the projects were not finished. The Marexhe-Gare project was nearly finished but the list of associations to be hosted in the building still had to be formalised. The 'Espace Browning' project was still at an early stage, the depollution of the site being an important task to be completed before the start of the construction of the project.

As in most of the SUD projects implemented in the Liège FUA, the subjects of migration, integration and diversity do not really appear in the presentations available online.[51] During the interviews, however, the officials involved in the drafting and implementation of the projects generally recognise the multicultural dimension of the areas where the projects take place. C., a worker involved in the Herstal projects, described the neighbourhood where the rehabilitation of the Marexhe station is taking place:

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[50]Because of the time constraints of the project and of the specific context of the Covid-19 pandemic, it has not been possible to conduct interviews with actors involved in the projects implemented in Seraing.

[51] See for example : https://www.urbeo.be/projets/rehabilitation-de-lancienne-gare/
https://www.urbeo.be/projets/amenagement-de-lespace-browning-en-parc-urbain/

C: Now, it is clear that this neighbourhood, at least in terms of construction, is a neighbourhood that is ageing. I mean relatively impoverished in the sense that there are and there were before the project [...] poorly maintained buildings, multiple constructions in a single building. There are a lot of apartments [that are typical of] slum landlords who do not take proper care of the apartments, who rent the place [...]
JM: With precarious housing...
C: Yes, housing that is more precarious. In terms of the population profile, I don't know... but you know, multicultural. A relatively balanced multiculturalism in my opinion, [multiculturalism] that works. Well, in the current state, the built infrastructure is more penalizing.[52]

Field Interview, Herstal, May 2021

While C. recognises the multicultural dimension of the centre of Herstal, the dominant elements in their description of the area are the poor quality of the ageing buildings, poverty and the predatory practices of some local landlords. This illustrates the fact that, for the interviewees, the issues that are identified as central in the SUD projects are principally focused on the poor quality of the urban infrastructure (old buildings, industrial brownfield) and on the local problems of housing precarity and poverty. Put differently, while housing is indeed one of the issues that migrant populations have to deal with in the FUA, the officials interviewed do not seem to perceive their actions as particularly oriented toward the migrant population and its needs.

This does not mean, however, that the multicultural dimension of the areas where the projects are implemented is not taken into account. For example, A., a worker in the city administration of Herstal, describes the 'spirit' of the project of creating an urban park in the old industrial site 'Espace Browning':

JM: How would you describe this 'Espace Browning' project? Its spirit. What is expected with this project?
A: Well, we wanted to create an urban park that would be multicultural and intergenerational. So the goal is that in this park, you have a central axis that connects the centre of Herstal to the railway crossing [...] and the goal is to create different places in this park, places for everybody, for every generation. You have places to sit, places for children to play, places with fitness equipment for younger adults, you have a skate park, a basketball hoop, you have places to relax, a water fountain, a hall that stays open where you will be able to perform leisure activities, hold events, and at the top you have a Nordic track for running, picnic tables and more areas for relaxing.

Field Interview, Herstal, June 2021

Later in the interview, V., also working in the city administration, explains how the multicultural dimension of the area was taken into account in some aspects of the project design:

V: I have a small anecdote [...] I did part of my training in Herstal before coming here and when I arrived, we went to Brussels to [...] a meeting and a woman was describing how to deal with the designs [...] and I remember that she told me about [...] Moroccan women, Algerian, who talked a lot together, and who always eat sunflower seeds. And it was super important to have this kind of bench in a semi-circle. These benches especially, where they would be able to come and talk and stay here for hours and I found this very interesting [...]. And so this is something that was mentioned for the project.

Field Interview, Herstal, June 2021

These two accounts illustrate how, while not being primarily directed toward the local migrant population in particular, the multicultural aspect of the area is nevertheless integrated — at least to a certain extent — in the elaboration of the project. More specifically, it seems integrated as part of a broader attention to the local 'diversity' not limited to the dimension of origin but also including generational dimensions.

It is unclear however, to what extent this recognition of the multicultural dimension of the local population has been translated into actual practices during the elaboration of the projects. During the interviews, the interviewees mentioned the organisation of consultation sessions with the population (either associations or the public), and while the interlocutors mention the diversity of the people present during these sessions (in terms of age, origin, profession, etc.) they were not able to tell whether representatives of migrant associations were part of the process.

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[52] In this chapter the author translated all the interviewees' quotations from French to English.

The previous subsection described how — while not explained as the primary focus of the projects — the diversity of the local population was indeed taken into account in the elaboration and implementation of the projects. The question then became: What impacts could such projects have on population diversity?.

During an interview, C. explained what he identifies as one of the objectives pursued throughout the different urban renewal projects taking place in Herstal:

> C: [...] People think that Liège is the centre, Herstal is... it is a secondary area. So capture investment, capture new inhabitants I mean who... are middle class... because I don't want to stigmatise, well it's more complicated in Herstal. And this is also the idea behind all these projects. That is to say: we are innovative, we aim at making a better living environment, hoping that indirectly, in the near future, it will encourage other populations to come to live here. To create a true mix. Because we are absolutely not against... we want a mix, we don't want Herstal to become a bourgeois city, absolutely not! But you know, a good balance.

> Field interview, Herstal, May 2021

One of the imagined — and indeed hoped for — effects of the urban transformation within which the SUD projects take place is to attract ('capture' as C. puts it) investors as well as a new population in the city. C. describes this population using the category of class. This objective of attracting a new 'middle-class' in the centre of Herstal also needs to be contextualised in regard to the proximity of the city to Liège. One of the aspects of the urban renewal of Herstal is also to encourage a form of continuity between Liège and Herstal, allowing people working in Liège to come and live in Herstal.

The goal of 'transforming' the local diverse demographic into a more middle-class one was also sometimes expressed in relation to the local migrant population. For example when I asked A. and V. to describe the population of Herstal in terms of migration, A. again emphasised the multicultural dimension of the city and described the attention being given on a municipal level to controlling the types of shops that are created in the centre of the city.

> V: Then yes, we have an immigrant population, which is very present, which is very precarious also.
> A: Especially in Marexhe.
> V: Especially in Marexhe, exactly.
> A: It is really a multicultural area and... before you had many Italians. Now, there are still many Italians but you also have other nationalities, more from the South, more from the East and...
> JM: Yes, we are really in the centre of Herstal.
> A: Yes, and you can see this with the shops which appear here. Not all the permits are accepted but we have many applications for night-time shops, many kebab shops too, and so we try to be careful and to diversify so that it does not become... Well, you know, it needs to remain open for everybody. [...] We try to diversify.

> Field interview, Herstal, June 2021

These two accounts also illustrate how the dimension of class and ethnicity are connected when it comes to describing the local context. In this perspective, the presence of immigrant populations is often associated with social characteristics such as poverty or precarious situations.

One of the objectives of the local urban renewal projects is the transformation of the urban infrastructure to attract middle-class families in the city centre in order to transform the local diversity. The way this transformation is envisioned is interesting in the sense that it is based on the attraction of relatively prosperous individuals and families to the relatively impoverished areas of the city. This echoes the observation of Van Criekingen (2013) about the 'incorporation of gentrification among the objectives of urban policies' (Van Criekingen 2013:1).

At this stage of the research the impact of the SUD projects on the living standards of local migrant populations is not easy to see, also because some of the projects have not yet been finalised. One can, however, formulate a number of hypotheses:

On the one hand, the urban transformation project which integrates the SUD projects contributes to the renewal of ageing or abandoned infrastructures and in particular old and poor quality housing. As we know that finding quality housing is one of the issues that newcomers are likely to face in the FUA, the renewal project might

have a positive impact on local migrant populations. It is additionally important to note that the city authorities are also trying to ensure that a share of the new buildings constructed include social housing apartments. A positive impact can also be postulated in the case of the 'Espace Browning', especially as local inhabitants were able to give their feedback and to make suggestions about which equipment should be built in the park. By providing a green space with leisure facilities, the project certainly carries potential for a positive impact on the local population (including migrants).

On the other hand, such urban renewal projects that aim to create a new form of diversity by attracting middle-class families to impoverished areas (and thus encouraging forms of gentrification) also run the risk of negative impacts for more disadvantaged populations such as those who are part of the local migrant population. The renovation of the urban context and the subsequent attraction of new middle-class candidates for housing may increase competition for access to housing opportunities, and therefore push less advantaged populations to deteriorated parts of the city (Van Criekingen 2008:160).

4.4.3   The URBACT network ROOF

ROOF is an URBACT network bringing together stakeholders from nine partner cities: Ghent (leader partner), Thessaloniki, Toulouse, Braga, Timisoara, Glasgow, Liège, Poznan and Odense.

The goal of the network as described on its official website is to end 'structural homelessness'.[53] From this perspective the goal of the network is clearly distinguished from other initiatives that focus on homelessness management (emergency shelters for example), rather than on the eradication of homelessness.

The ROOF network focuses on two principal missions. First, it aims to consolidate the collection of data regarding homelessness. Second, it promotes a specific approach to the issue of homelessness called 'housing first; housing led'. This approach breaks with the 'housing ready' paradigm, which is based upon the provision of temporary accommodation for homeless people as well as training programmes before providing more long-term accommodation. The housing first, housing led approach aims for rapid access to permanent housing for the homeless, and at the same time for the provision of appropriate support for the person.

Unlike the SUD projects explored during the study, migration and migrant populations are more explicitly presented as an issue that the ROOF network has to deal with. For example, the paragraph of an online article published in January 2020 on the website of the network reads:

> *Even though the numbers are difficult to collect and compare, studies show that more than 4 million people are affected by homelessness each year in Europe. 'Only crisis — actual or perceived — produces real change,' said Milton Friedman. And for homelessness, the multiple crisis level is evident: the Global Financial Crisis brought higher levels of poverty; the Housing Crisis today makes the housing market become highly inaccessible for most vulnerable people and the European migrant crisis causes difficulty for migrants in finding affordable housing and a homelessness risk, due to their complex situation (such as lack of finances, language barriers, cultural differences, (mental) health issues.[54]*
>
> (URBACT ROOF 2020)

In this case, the issue of housing is directly connected with some of the difficulties that migrants might experience when arriving in the city: weak financial resources, lack of local cultural capital, network, (language, knowledge of local knowhow) and health issues. This echoes the issues listed earlier in this chapter. Another dimension that could be added to this list is the lack of resident status for undocumented migrants present in the FUA.

In Liège, this attention to migration as one of the dimensions of the homelessness issue also comes from the fact that some local officials involved in these networks are well aware of the situation of immigrant populations and their integration in the city. This is the case for interviewee R., who has a good knowledge of the different social dynamics (including migration) at play in the city. While, in the case of Herstal, migration and integration appeared as secondary considerations, R. explained how the relation between homelessness and migration became clear very early in the project:

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[53] https://urbact.eu/roof
[54] https://urbact.eu/9-european-cities-acting-together-end-homelessness-ambitious-hell-yes

R: And in this project, for example, we clearly see that there is an overlapping of the problem of undocumented migrants [on the one hand] and of the... of the drug addict and of traditional homelessness [on the other hand].

<div align="right">Field interview, Online, March 2021</div>

R's account illustrates how migrants appeared as one of the groups facing risks of homelessness. Moreover, they are also characterised by a specific profile, at least partially different from the rest of the homeless population. In addition to the dimensions already described above (lack of status, lack of economic or cultural capital, etc.) R. also describes how homeless migrants are much less afflicted by drug addiction problems in comparison to the Belgian-born homeless population.

R. points out the difficulties in properly addressing the issues faced by this group within the ROOF network. R. mentions different types of difficulties, some of which are not directly connected to the URBACT program specifically but — from his point of view — to the programmes funded by the EU in general.

The first difficulty identified is the specific situation that characterises the migrant population at risk of homelessness:

JM: Is the question of migration, of migrants and of their integration, part of the discussion about homelessness [that is carried out within the ROOF network]?
R: In fact, this is precisely a big problem. So when we look at the numbers, we see that migrants are here among the population of homeless people. However, implementing the 'housing first' strategy, so the fact to house people, of course, is only possible with people who have a prolonged residence permit.
JM: I see...
R: So it is not possible to... to do this with undocumented people. So this is a real question for us. We have the feeling that they are a forgotten population. Forgotten by Europe but also by the local authorities [...]

<div align="right">Field interview, Online, March 2021</div>

The specific situation of the migrant population facing high risks of homelessness in the FUA (i.e. lack of long term residence status) prevents them from being included in the scope of the 'housing first' approach promoted by the network. In this case, the difficulty of including the migrant population in the scope of the project is not exactly due to resistance or lack of attention on behalf of the local actors involved in the network. Instead, it is the local, national and European rules regarding migration which are contributing to the exclusion of part of the migrant population from these projects by making access to a regular status more difficult for part of the population.

A second set of difficulties identified by R. is related to the way powers are divided between different levels of authority in Belgium. For example, while R. would favour a cross-cutting approach on the question of homelessness (thus including the migrant population as a focus of the programme), city authorities are sometimes reluctant to do so because migration policy is a regional jurisdiction. This tends to reduce the scope of action of the Liège stakeholders involved in the ROOF network on the particular topic of migrant homelessness.

A third set of difficulties is not directly connected to the ROOF initiative but to the programmes funded by the EU in general. The quote below shows what R. perceives as the rigidity of the funding programmes, as described in the interview:

R: I mean when you send the project... you have to define a priori the... the logical framework with your... your goals, your indicators and you almost define for your three, four, five years programming the different steps of your action plan that you will implement! This is something that is very restricting [...]

<div align="right">Field interview, Online, March 2021</div>

The rigidity of the programmes, which R. identifies with the need to establish the objectives and indicators that will frame the entire project from the start, can also be seen as reducing the capacity of local actors to adapt to the problems that might emerge on the ground during the project (such as the issues faced by specific populations, e.g. migrant populations). However, R. tends to consider that the URBACT programme is less

<div align="center">64</div>

exposed to this third set of difficulties as it allows the co-construction of projects within networks of cities, thus allowing more flexibility and adaptability.

To sum up, the ROOF network is paradoxically characterised both by the explicit recognition of migrant issues as an important element and by the difficulty of including this element in the project, in particular due to the national and international rules regulating the migrant access to stable statuses in Europe.

As described above, the ROOF project is characterised by significant restrictions in addressing the issue of homelessness faced by migrant populations in the FUA. From this perspective, it is difficult to assess the impact (positive or negative) that the project might have on local migrant populations. In the interview, R. describes what he thinks would be an achievement of the ROOF network regarding the question of migrant homelessness.

> R: And the only thing that would be able to take them out [of homelessness by accessing housing first opportunities], is a regularisation. To have the same rights as everybody else. But again, this project allows us to throw some light on this, that... this problem exists. That among the homeless, you have many... migrants. But we already know this, in the data, in all the data from emergency shelters and day care, we see this for a long time.

Field interview, Online, March 2021

From R's point of view, the main impact that the project might have on the condition of homeless migrants is rather symbolic. It is limited to the possibility of raising awareness about this issue rather than being able to act on it.

4.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter showed that migrants' integration is not explicitly addressed in the ERDF operational programme of Wallonia. While the presence of populations of foreign origin is mentioned as an element of context and as a factor of difficulty for some urban areas, at strategy level, the main objectives guiding the general policy are related to the creation of employment in the urban centres, the densification of urban areas, and the contribution to the reduction of greenhouse gases. Strong emphasis is placed in the programme document on the improvement of the 'attractiveness' of the targeted urban areas. The lack of explicit mention of migrant integration as a specific focus of the policy is confirmed by the absence of this subject area in the project selection process.

At local level however, the relation between the projects and the lives of local migrant populations seems more visible. While it is still not explicit in the document available online, the interviews do touch on some aspects of this relationship. In the case of Herstal for example, the projects are part of a larger programme of urban renewal targeting the centre of the city. The interviews suggest that the question of 'diversity' is important in the way local actors perceive the project. This diversity however, does not only involve markers of origin but also dimensions of class and generation. In this perspective, one of the implicit goals of the renewal is to 'attract' a new population of young and active middle-class workers in areas that were previously characterised by the predominance of working class populations.

In the case of the URBACT network ROOF, consideration of the local migrant population seems more explicit. However, while homeless migrants are clearly identified as a reality in Liège, the project faces the impossibility of including this community in its projects because these individuals lack valid administrative status. This illustrates the fact that the limited inclusion of migrant populations in the scope of SUD projects is not always the result of resistance or lack of consideration from the local actors. It is also sometimes the result of structural limits resulting from national and European regulations preventing part of the migrant populations from accessing stable residence status where they live.

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5 Urban and local strategies in Malmö Functional Urban Area and the integration of migrants

Righard E., and Bevelander P.[55]

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The Swedish case study focuses on two kinds of place-based strategies, namely sustainable urban development (SUD) and community led local development (CLLD) strategies as these were implemented in the Malmö functional urban area (FUA) during the programming period 2014–2020. The SUD strategy is part of the Skåne-Blekinge Programme and is implemented in the inner urban area of the Malmö City[56]. The CLLD strategy is implemented in two CLLD areas, the areas of Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt. These are the two southwesternmost CLLD areas[57] in Sweden, and they encircle the city of Malmö, located on the west coast of Scania, connecting Sweden with Denmark and the continent via the Öresund bridge. Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt comprise five municipalities each[58]. For the purpose of this report the functional urban area of Malmö along the outer borders of these municipalities has been considered. In fact, the case study perimeter deviates slightly from the functional urban area as defined by EUROSTAT; in our case study the Eslöv municipality is included, although it is not in the area defined by EUROSTAT (see figure 1)[59]. This definition also means that one municipality, the Burlöv municipality, is included in the Malmö functional area though it is not targeted by any of the strategies.

Figure 1. Map of Malmö functional area as defined by EUROSTAT (red line) and in case study (green area)
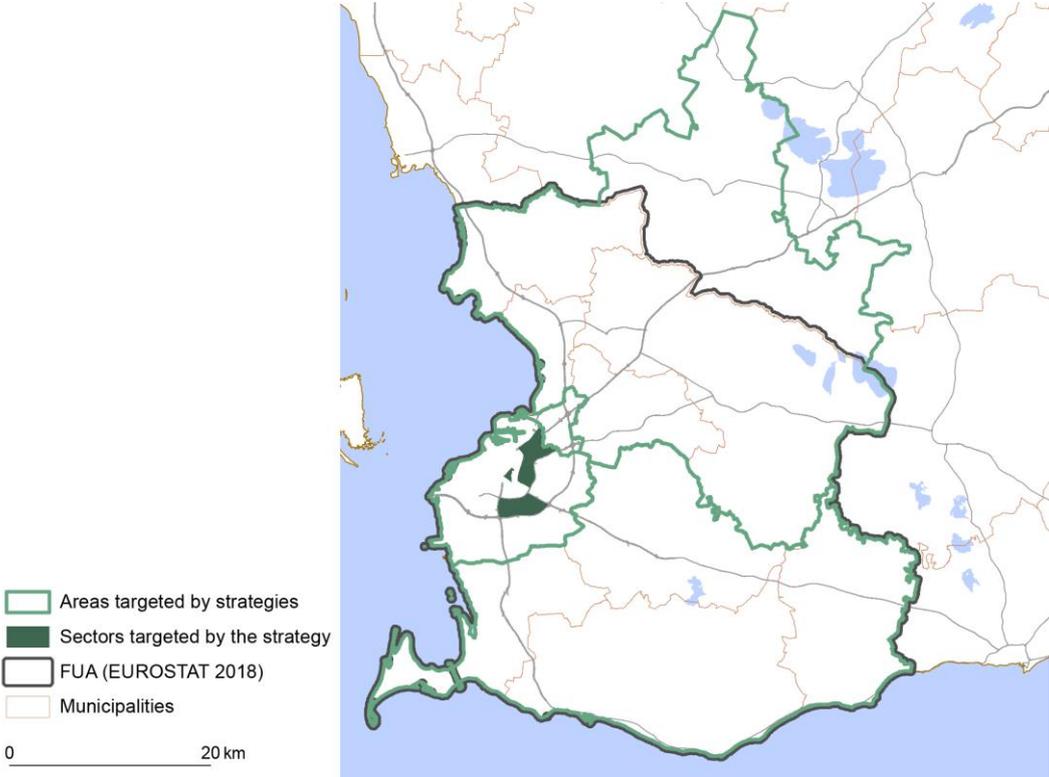
Source: Own elaboration based on EUROSTAT

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[55] Malmö University
[56] Malmö City (Malmö stad) is the municipal area and organisation of Malmö.
[57] In Swedish language policy documents, the areas defined for the implementation of the strategy are referred to as leader areas (leaderområden), but here we chose to refer to them with reference to the strategy instead of the method, i.e. as CLLD areas instead of leader areas.
[58] However, and as we describe in detail below, not necessarily the entire municipality.
[59] The authors would like to thank Miguel Torres for the contribution in elaborating all the maps contained in this chapter.

The analysis responds to questions about how these SUD and CLLD strategies, during the programming period 2014–2020, have, explicitly and implicitly, responded to goals of migrant integration in their respective local contexts. After a short description of the methodology, Malmö functional urban area is presented focusing on demographic variables in the geographical areas of the selected strategies. Secondly, SUD and CLLD strategies implemented in Malmö functional urban area are introduced. Thirdly, it is discussed how these respond to aims of migrant integration in their respective areas. The chapter ends with a short conclusion.

Methodology

The analysis builds on three types of data: administrative data describing the FUA and contextualising it in Sweden; national and local policy documents; and interviews with civil servants and decision makers with insights into the implementation of the SUD and CLLD strategies at local level.

The administrative data used in this study is based on the national Swedish population register containing all kinds of individual demographic information about all the legal residents in Sweden. This information is linked with several other individual register sources including the educational register, the employment and income register and the voting register. Data for 2018 were used to calculate a number of demographic and integration outcomes for country of birth groups and according to in which municipality or area they live. The policy documents consist of steering documents from multiple levels of governance. On the national level it involves the Partnership Agreement (PA) between the EU and Sweden and other relevant national regulations. The selected policy documents also consist of operational plans and project descriptions with relevance for the local implementation of the selected strategies.

The analyses of policy documents are complemented with expert interviews. Interviewees with broad and deep insights into the selected SUD and CLLD strategies were selected from Malmö City, Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt respectively[60]. The interview questions revolved around how migrant integration was considered in the selection and implementation of funded projects, and how it was considered in relation to municipal strategies and other priorities from the third and private sector.

5.2 ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

As the third largest city in Sweden, the functional urban area of Malmö is large and includes the surrounding small municipalities of Burlöv, Eslöv, Lomma, Kävlinge, Staffanstorp and the larger university city of Lund in the north[61]. On the southeast side of the city, the municipalities of Skurup, Svedala, Trelleborg and Vellinge are included[62]. Together the functional urban area had 713 892 inhabitants in 2018 and almost half of the population lives in the city of Malmö. The SUD strategy were implemented in Malmö within the inner circle road, and in the local plan four areas were targeted by the strategy (although the projects selected for funding at the end were also located outside those areas, see policy analysis below): Sofielund, Lindängen, Rosengård and Östervärn and comprise 12.5 percent of the population of Malmö or about 42 000 individuals.

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[60] The interviewees were first contacted via mail or telephone. They all received written information about the project and agreed to participate before the interviews were conducted. Two interviews were conducted via zoom and one in a face-to-face meeting. The interviews were recorded and transcribed.
[61] The CLLD area Leader Lundaland consists of the municipalities of Kävlinge, Lomma, Lund, Staffanstorp and parts of Eslöv. The municipality of Burlöv is not part of any CLLD area.
[62] The CLLD area Leader Söderslätt consists of the municipalities of Skurup, Svedala, Trelleborg and Vellinge along with Malmö outside of the inner circle road.

Table 1. Population in Malmö Functional Urban Area, 2018

	Number	Percentage
Malmö City	339 313	47.5
by target area		
–Sofielund	6 891	(2.0)
–Lindängen	8 336	(2.5)
–Rosengård	15 092	(4.4)
–Östervärn	12 127	(3.6)
Leader Lundaland	255 843	35.8
by municipality		
–Lund	122 948	(48.1)
–Kävlinge	31 491	(12.3)
–Lomma	24763	(9.7)
–Staffanstorp	24724	(9.7)
–Eslöv*	33557	(13.1)
–Burlöv**	18360	(7.1)
Leader Söderslätt*	118.736	16.6
by municipality		
–Vellinge	36499	(30.7)
–Svedala	21576	(18.1)
–Skurup	15759	(13.3)
–Trelleborg	44902	(37.8)
Total	713.892	100

*Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland but here data on the whole municipality were included

**Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area

***Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here

Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018 (Numbers in brackets are percentages by SUD and CLLD respectively)

As a classical harbour town with a high industrial output in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s, absorbing Nordic and European migrants into the labour force, deindustrialisation and globalisation resulted in the renewal of Malmö as a post-industrial town based on a growing public and private service sector while trying to incorporate an increasing diverse population. Structural landmarks during the last 30-year period that led to the revitalisation include the establishment of a University, the Öresund Bridge (connecting Malmö to Copenhagen and the European continent), the underground and a renovation of the Western part of the harbour into an upscale housing area. With respect to the growth of the population, shown in the figure below, between 1990 and 2017, the city grew by 43% from 233 000 to 333 000 inhabitants. As can be seen in figure 1, the population growth of the city over the last three decades was largely due to migration and the growth in second-generation migrants. While the population of Swedish-born to Swedish parents during the period 1990-2017 remained around 180 000, the other groups with either one or two parents born abroad and immigrants increased.[63] Immigration to the city, the main driver for the growth in population of the city, has changed over time from primarily Nordic and European to a very diverse population with people born in South Asia and the Middle East.

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[63] In Swedish official statistics those born abroad are depicted as foreign born. Children born in Sweden to foreign-born parents are classified as having a foreign background. Children born in Sweden to one foreign-born parent and one Sweden-born parent have a Swedish background.

Figure 2. Population development city of Malmö, 1990-2017
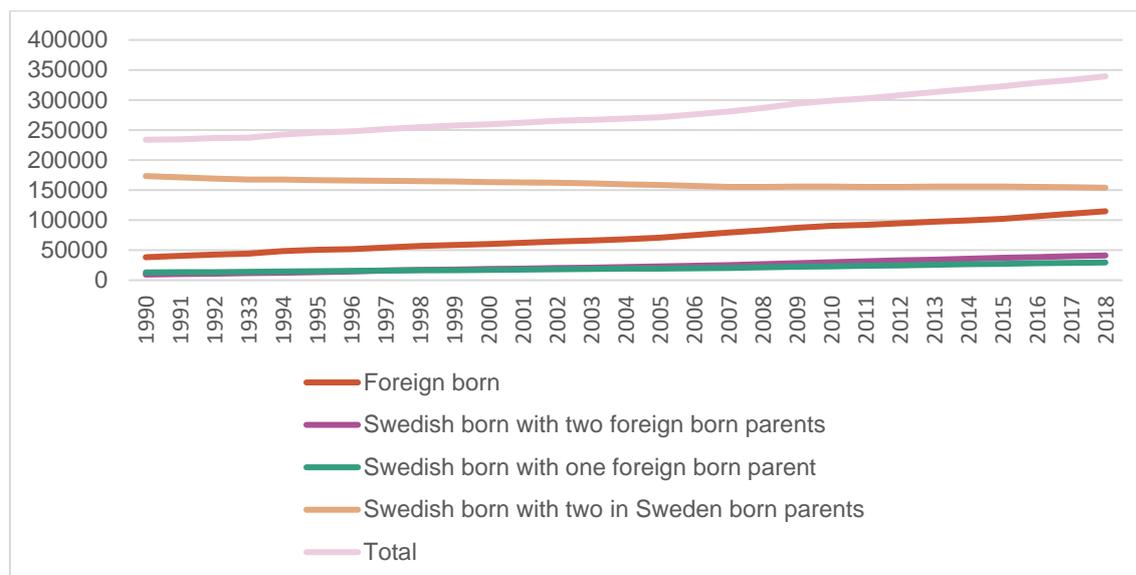
To give an overview of the main immigrant groups in the city over the last three decades, table 2 shows the ten largest immigrant groups in number and total number. The table shows a change in number and origin, with an increase in number for the ten largest groups of about 120%. There is also a shift in origin as five groups from Nordic and neighbouring European countries were part of the top ten countries in 1990, whereas five countries from outside Europe were part of in the top ten in 2017.

Table 2. Ten largest foreign-born groups in Malmö for the years 1990, 2000, 2010 and 2017

1990		2000		2010		2017	
Country	Number	Country	Number	Country	Number	Country	Number
Yugoslavia	6 536	Yugoslavia	9 333	Iraq	9 940	Iraq	11 655
Poland	4 892	Poland	5 412	Denmark	8 972	Yugoslavia*	7 831
Denmark	3 920	Bosnia–Hercegovina	5 001	Yugoslavia	8 426	Denmark	7 444
Finland	2 015	Iraq	4 476	Poland	7 053	Poland	6 989
Hungary	1 940	Denmark	3 613	Bosnia–Herzegovina	5 969	Syria	6 440
Germany	1 926	Iran	2 737	Lebanon	3 780	Bosnia–Herzegovina	6 360
Iran	1 556	Lebanon	2 736	Iran	3 375	Lebanon	4 309
Chile	1 237	Hungary	1 957	Turkey	2 110	Iran	3 863
Lebanon	953	Finland	1 835	Hungary	2 038	Afghanistan	3 649
Romania	909	Germany	1 718	Romania	2 014	Romania	2 429
Total	25 884		38 818		53 677		60 969

* Persons born in Yugoslavia builds on personal statistical information from before the dissolution of the country, and persons born in, for instance, Bosnia-Hercegovina is based on information after this dissolution. This is how personal statistical information is given in Sweden Statistics.
Source: Statistics Sweden

By calculating the population in the FUA of Malmö (Table 3, figure 2), differences in origin exist between the selected SUD and Leader areas and for Sweden as a whole. It is clear, and in line with the general overview described above, that the city of Malmö has a larger share of foreign-born residents than either of the two leader areas (34% versus 19 and 13% respectively). In addition, three of the SUD areas, Sofielund, Lindängen and in particular Rosengård have a higher share of foreign-born residents than the city of Malmö on average (44, 61 and 76% respectively versus 34%). The only exception to this general picture is the municipality of Burlöv, just north of Malmö where one third of the population is foreign born. With respect to the share of

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Swedish-born residents with a Swedish background living in the SUD areas and Malmö in general as well as the leader areas, in Rosengård only 9% of inhabitants were born in Sweden to Swedish-born parents. At the other end of the scale, in the municipality of Vellinge in Leader Söderslätt, 80.5% of individuals were born in Sweden to Swedish-born parents, and the municipality of Lomma in the Leader Lundaland area has 80.8%.

Table 3. Population in Malmö Functional Urban Area by background (Swedish/Foreign born)

	Foreign-born	Swedish-born (2 foreign-born parents)	Swedish-born (1 foreign-born parent)	Swedish-born (2 Swedish-born parents)
Malmö City by target area	33.8	12.1	8.7	45.4
-Sofielund	44.1	6.6	7.1	42.2
-Lindängen	61.0	8.6	4.0	26.5
-Rosengård	75.5	13.7	2.1	8.7
-Östervärn	36.5	6.2	6.8	50.5
Leader Lundaland by municipality	18.7	5.1	7.9	68.3
-Lund	21.7	5.3	8.5	64.6
-Kävlinge	10.5	2.7	7.4	79.4
-Lomma	9.8	2.2	7.4	80.8
-Staffanstorp	13.3	4.5	8.1	74.1
-Eslöv*	18.5	5.8	6.8	68.9
-Burlöv**	32.3	12.1	7.8	47.9
Leader Söderslätt* by municipality	13.2	3.7	7.9	75.2
-Vellinge	9.4	2.0	8.1	80.5
-Svedala	11.2	3.7	8.1	77.0
-Skurup	13.2	3.1	7.5	76.1
-Trelleborg	16.9	4.7	7.9	70.5
Sweden	18.1	5.4	7.1	69,4

* Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland
** Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area
*** Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here
Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018
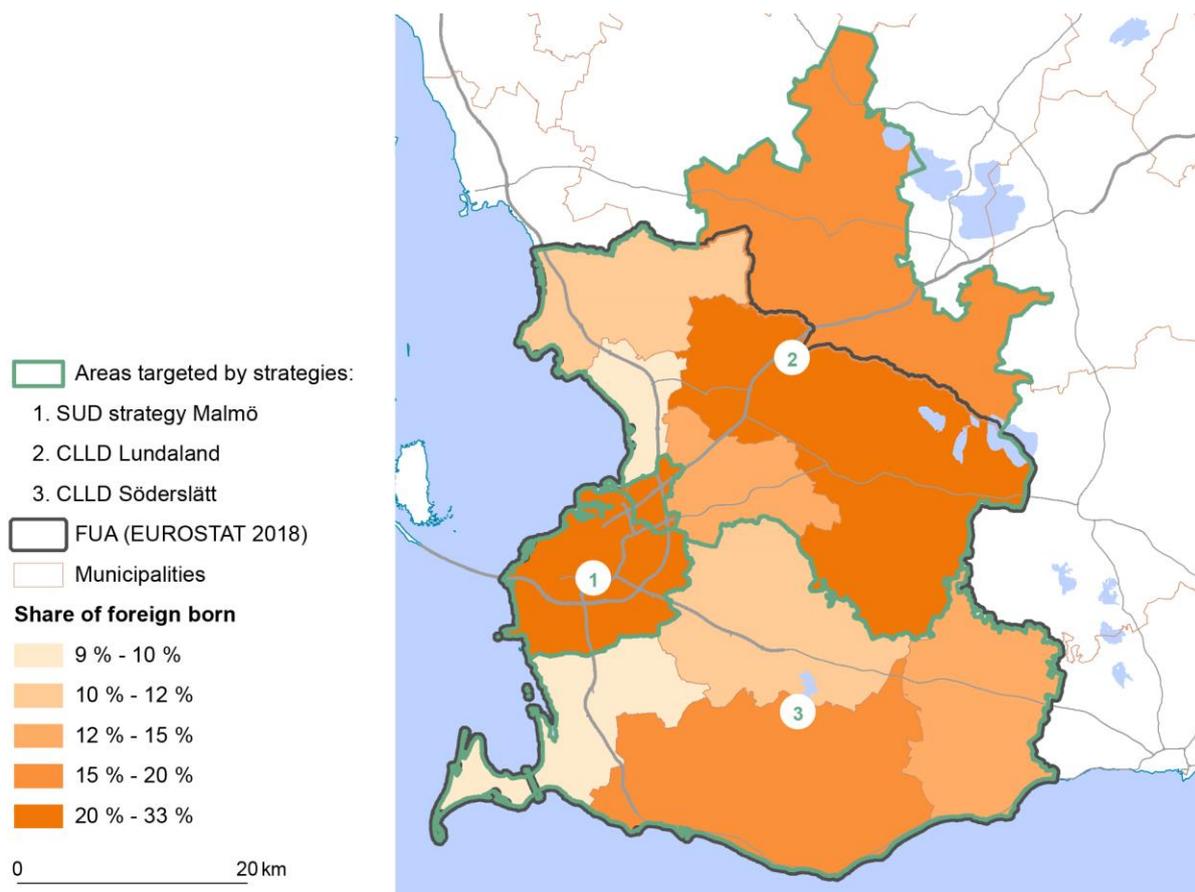
Source: Own elaboration based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018

Integrating the population (diverse due to country of origin and to reason for migration (labour migration, student migration, family reunion and refugees) into the labour market has been the main challenge facing the city of Malmö, and in particular certain areas of the city, over the last three decades. On studying a key indicator of integration, employment, it is possible to observe a varied picture in Sweden, but this becomes even clearer when looking at disaggregated data. In general, for the country as a whole, the Swedish-born male and female populations have had a general employment rate of about 80%, whereas for foreign-born individuals, this is at least 20% lower. The employment level of the population of Malmö and in particular the foreign-born population, was lower compared to the national level, and the Swedish-born population only reached a similar level in 2015 (figure 4). However, what is clear from figure 4 is that foreign-born males and females have substantially lower structural employment levels compared to Swedish-born males and females throughout the period.
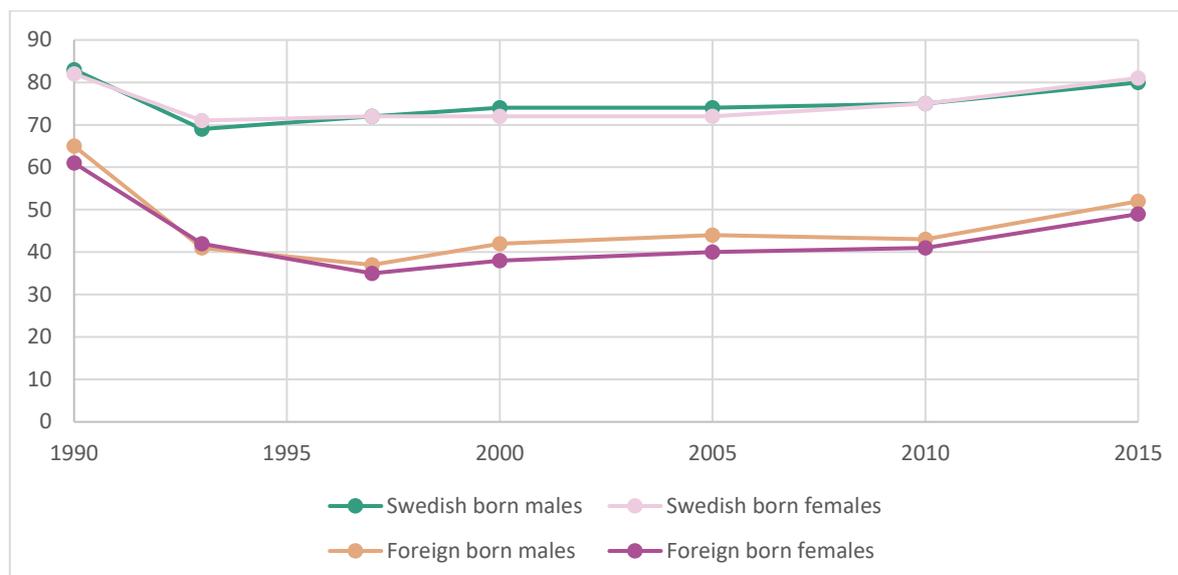
Swedish-born individuals in Malmö in general, the SUD area of Östervärn and the leader areas have close to the average employment level of the general population in Sweden, about 80% in 2018. Swedish-born individuals with Swedish backgrounds have lower employment levels in Sofielund, Lindängen and especially Rosengård where the level is only 55%. There is a clear tendency in all SUD and leader areas for those born in Sweden to one or two foreign-born parents to have lower employment levels than Swedish-born individuals with Swedish-born parents, but higher than foreign-born individuals. A comparison between the SUD and leader areas in regard to the employment levels of foreign-born shows similar levels and close to the national average of 60 percent in the CLLD areas of Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt and the SUD area of Östervärn. The exception is the city of Lund which has an overall lower employment level for all categories. This result is mainly due to the fact the city is a university city where about one third of the population is enrolled as students (see also table 5 which shows 68% of the population of Lund have a university degree). Other SUD areas and the city of Malmö in general have lower employment levels for foreign-born individuals and the SUD area of Rosengård has the lowest with 43%.

Table 4. Employment level in Malmö Functional Urban Area by background (Swedish/Foreign-born)

	Foreign-born	Swedish-born (2 foreign-born parents)	Swedish-born (1 foreign-born parent)	Swedish-born (2 Swedish-born parents)
Malmö City by target area	51.0	63.6	72.3	79.6
–Sofielund	48.0	50.7	67.0	74.5
–Lindängen	51.5	61.2	64.2	70.2
–Rosengård	42.9	52.3	48.4	55.2
–Östervärn	57.7	65.8	68.0	78.4
Leader Lundaland by municipality	57.2	65.8	72.1	79.2
–Lund	53.1	60.7	66.4	74.0
–Kävlinge	65.1	80.0	83.1	86.1
–Lomma	63.3	78.4	81.5	86.0
–Staffanstorp	66.7	72.9	82.4	86.8
–Eslöv*	60.5	68.7	74.8	83.4
–Burlöv**	62.3	65.3	71.1	81.1
Leader Söderslätt* by municipality	60.9	76.4	78.5	82.9
–Vellinge	57.2	78.5	79.3	83.7
–Svedala	65.1	84.1	83.2	85.9
–Skurup	58.7	75.3	77.6	83.7
–Trelleborg	62.3	74.4	77.1	82.8
Sweden	62.3	73.0	79.0	84.1

* Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland
** Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area
*** Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here
Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018
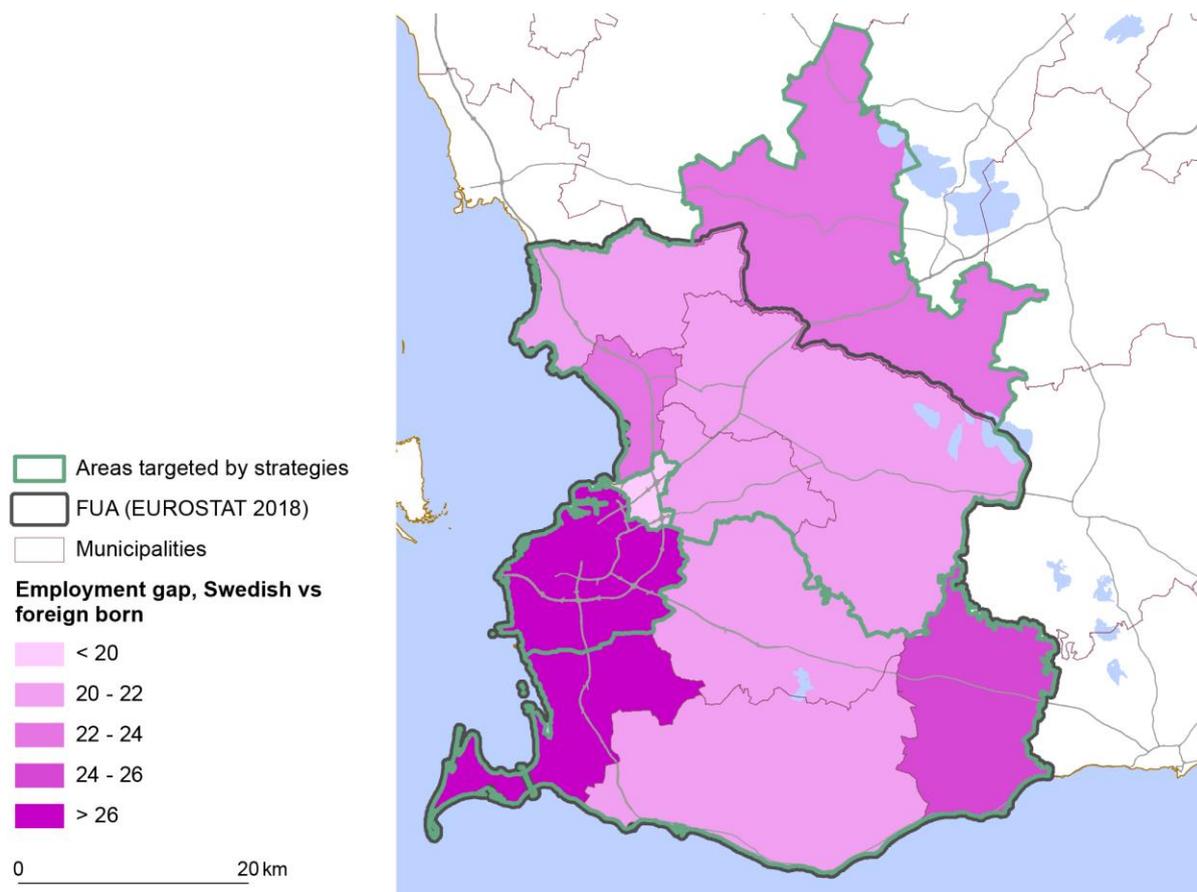
Source: Own elaboration based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018

According to the human capital theory (one of the most well-known economic approaches explaining differences in economic integration between individuals) the educational level of the population could be a significant indicator for explaining differences in employment levels between areas and groups. Earlier studies have, to some extent, indicated that having a secondary education or higher, yields high employment levels. Table 5 depicts the educational levels of the population in the SUD and leader areas of the FUA of Malmö. The table indicates a very high share of individuals with higher and University education for the Leader Lundaland which includes the University city Lund. More importantly, only 10% of the population in this leader area have received primary education only (the municipalities of Lund and Lomma in this leader area have 6.5 and 7.3% primary educated respectively). Also in the populations in Leader Söderslätt, a high percentage of individuals living in the municipality of Vellinge have a university education and a low percentage have only primary schooling. In the SUD area Östervärn and Malmö as a whole, only 15 and 14% respectively, and these are the areas with high employment levels. Other areas have lower educational profiles and in general also lower employment levels. A high proportion of the population of Rosengård has only primary education while a lower proportion has higher and university education, and this may explain the lower employment levels in this SUD area. The SUD area of Sofielund is probably also slightly different to other SUD areas due to its high educational level but relatively low employment level. This may indicate a selection of high-skilled foreign-born individuals in this SUD area.

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Table 5. Level of education in Malmö Functional Urban Area

|	Primary education	Secondary education	Higher and University education
Malmö City (by target area)	14.3	37.2	48.5
–Sofielund	17.0	32.6	50.4
–Lindängen	21.9	48.5	29.6
–Rosengård	34.2	42.1	23.8
–Östervärn	14.7	42.0	43.4
Leader Lundaland (by municipality)	9.6	34.5	55.8
–Lund	6.5	25.4	68.1
–Kävlinge	11.3	45.8	42.9
–Lomma	7.3	31.1	61.6
–Staffanstorp	10.7	43.6	45.8
–Eslöv*	16.1	49.2	34.8
–Burlöv**	17.4	47.3	35.3
Leader Söderslätt* (By municipality)	12.8	49.9	37.3
–Vellinge	8.3	42.4	49.3
–Svedala	12.0	50.9	37.1
–Skurup	15.8	55.0	29.2
-Trelleborg	15.2	53.5	31.2
Sweden	13.1	44.3	39.8

* Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland
** Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area
*** Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here
Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018

High human capital also predicts higher productivity of the individual and therefore higher income. Table 6 includes information on the yearly income by gender for the SUD and Leader areas. With respect to income, the populations in Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt have somewhat above average incomes compared to those in Malmö as a whole and the SUD area Östervärn. Income levels in the other SUD areas are substantially lower, and again individuals in Rosengård have the lowest incomes.

Table 6. Average yearly income from work in Malmö Functional Urban Area for males and females (in 1000 Swedish Kronor)

	Males	Females
Malmö City (by target area)	3991	3365
–Sofielund	3084	2804
–Lindängen	3205	2797
–Rosengård	2866	2538
–Östervärn	3645	3182
Leader Lundaland (by municipality)	4634	3673
–Lund	4502	3682
–Kävlinge	4817	3615
–Lomma	6103	4401
–Staffanstorp	4719	3655
–Eslöv*	4013	3259
–Burlöv**	3912	3239
Leader Söderslätt* (**by municipality)	4534	3507
–Vellinge	5574	3950
–Svedala	4377	3451
–Skurup	3928	3198
-Trelleborg	3972	3233
Sweden	4283	3464

* Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland
** Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area
*** Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here
Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018

Finally, another interesting indicator of integration is participation in local elections. This is not connected to any necessity, such as the need for employment, income or housing, but participation is free for everyone (immigrants after three years in the country) (Bevelander and Pendakur 2011). Moreover, earlier studies have shown that foreign citizens vote to a lesser extent than those who have naturalised. In addition, individuals that have been in Sweden for a longer time are naturalised and subsequently vote to larger extent. In general, in Sweden, participation in voting is high and reached over 91% in the 2018 (latest) election. Swedish-born individuals with Swedish parents have close to 90% election rates in all areas except for Lindängen and Rosengård. When it comes to foreign-born residents, including both naturalised individuals and foreign citizens who have been in Sweden for at least three years, the general tendency is for about 60% to vote. Exceptions here are Sofielund and Lindängen. Interestingly, those born in Sweden with two immigrant parents vote to a significantly larger extent than foreign-born, and have about 10% higher voting rates. Moreover, those born in Sweden to one immigrant parent vote even more and in some areas the figure is close to 90% (Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt). Our understanding of these results are that context matters and that children born to immigrant parents, raised and educated in Sweden, have increased political interest and voting participation. Furthermore, in an international comparison, immigrants in Sweden have higher voting rates in local elections. This is probably due to high naturalisation rates (Bevelander and Hutcheson 2021).

Table 7. Voting participation in 2018 local elections in Malmö Functional Urban Area by background (Swedish/Foreign born)

	Foreign-born	Swedish-born (2 foreign-born parents)	Swedish-born (1 foreign-born parent)	Swedish-born (2 Swedish-born parents)
Malmö City by target area	60.0	77.7	87.0	92.8
–Sofielund	54.0	69.4	86.6	91.2
–Lindängen	51.9	73.4	72.7	82.2
–Rosengård	59.9	73.1	73.5	78.3
–Östervärn	57.6	76.3	83.7	90.4
Leader Lundaland by municipality	62.3	81.5	90.2	93.8
–Lund	62.1	83.0	91.1	94.4
–Kävlinge	62.2	81.1	90.8	93.8
–Lomma	72.9	91.7	94.6	96.1
–Staffanstorp	65.5	82.8	91.0	94.6
–Eslöv*	62.8	78.5	83.9	90.4
–Burlöv**	56.4	74.2	85.6	90.9
Leader Söderslätt* by municipality	59.7	83.3	89.0	93.0
–Vellinge	68.0	90.0	93.0	95.6
–Svedala	65.2	83.2	89.4	93,4
–Skurup	59.0	86.2	85.7	91.1
–Trelleborg	54.7	79.8	86.8	91.0
Sweden	61.1	79.3	87.3	91.3

* Only the south of Eslöv is part of Leader Lundaland
** Burlöv is not part of Leader Lundaland but is located within its geographical area
*** Malmö outside of the inner circle road is part of Leader Söderslätt but is excluded here
Source: Own calculation based on register data, Statistics Sweden 2018

5.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

This section focuses on sustainable urban development (SUD) and community led local development (CLLD) strategies as implemented in Malmö functional urban area. These strategies are funded by European Structural and Investment Funds (ESIF) and regulated by policy documents at multiple levels. In Sweden, a total of 27 programmes were funded by the European Regional Development Fund (ERDF), the European Social Fund (ESF), the European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD) and the European Maritime and Fisheries Fund (EMFF) during the programming period 2014–2020 (see Annex 3). The selected SUD and CLLD strategies are part of two of these programmes, the Programme Skåne-Blekinge funded by the ERDF, and the CLLD Programme which is funded by all four funds.

The ESI funds are regulated at multiple levels. The Partnership Agreement (PA) between the EU and Sweden stipulates overarching priorities for how the funds are to be used. For each fund there are additional regulations within the national context. This section starts by introducing the overarching goals as set out in the PA, and then focus on the SUD first, and then the CLLD strategies. In the analysis of the SUD and CLLD strategies it is observed how these are implemented through their multilevel settings, with prime focus on the local implementation of the funded projects, and if and how these relate to migrant integration.

5.3.1 Contextualising the European Structural and Investment Funds in Sweden

All EU Member States are obliged to propose a Partner Agreement (PA) between the Member State and the European Commission, which set out the national authorities' plans on how to use funding from the European structural and investment funds. In Sweden the government drafted a proposal in collaboration with relevant organisations at local, regional and national level, which was submitted to the European Commission in April 2014. The aim of the PA is to function as an overarching framework for the ESI funds in Sweden, including coordination between the funds. The Swedish priorities are discussed in relation to the EU priorities. While 'a better integration of legal migrants' is emphasised under the EU priorities of employment, the Swedish priorities state that employment should be increased among 'groups with weak labour market integration, such as young and foreign-born residents' (Skr. 2013/14:218, p. 6). This means that the Swedish approach, at least as drafted in its steering documents, does not limit migrants to legal migrants. The discussion about development needs and potentials in Sweden states that while employment in Sweden is close to the 2020 goals, challenges remain in relation to certain groups, including young and foreign born residents. In effect, increased employment is one out of three overarching priorities in the PA for Sweden. The three overarching goals are (Skr. 2013/14:218, p. 10):

1. Enhance competitiveness, knowledge and innovation.

2. Sustainable and efficient utilisation of resources for sustainable growth.

3. Increase employment, enhance employability and improve access to the labour market.

Furthermore, according to the common EU regulations, a number of horizontal principles characterise all programmes, namely partnership, multilevel governance, gender equality, anti-discrimination and sustainable development. These are all considered in the PA (Skr. 2013/14:218, p. 13–15).

In view of the aims of the EU cohesion policy, the PA also relates to the meaning of territorial development. A number of strategies, drawn from the common EU regulations, are related to the Swedish context. As regards the CLLD strategy, this is briefly described and it is stated that it will be implemented in Sweden through funding from all four ESI funds in Sweden (Skr. 2013/14:218, p. 16). As regards the SUD strategy, the central role of cities is emphasised in relation to the implementation of the EU 2020 strategy. It is also declared that while the strategy for sustainable urban development is primarily managed through the regional development programmes, collaboration between funds is possible, for instance with the ESF. Moreover, approximately five percent of the total regional programme funding is devoted to sustainable urban development and the implementation is to be established by regional and local organisations. Cross-sectoral integrated plans and strategies are mentioned from one of the interviewees as a measure for linking challenges (Skr. 2013/14:218, p. 17, authors' translation):

> "Cross-sectoral integrated plans and strategies are a way of linking challenges such as labour market integration, innovation, entrepreneurship, social inclusion, spatial segregation, cultural diversity, environmental problems and climate change affecting certain urban areas."

Only three out of the eight regional development programmes implemented in Sweden prioritised sustainable urban development: Stockholm, West Sweden and Skåne-Blekinge. These are the regional programmes with the largest cities in Sweden: Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. This is interesting with respect to the Swedish case as one of the interviewee explained:

> *"in Sweden we do not talk that much about cities. Instead, here [in Sweden] it is central to regard the totality, but in the rest of the EU, cities are very important. The discussion on the continent is very different compared to here [in Sweden]."*

This means that in Sweden, how the SUD funding was to be used was queried. Malmö City, through its strategic work in Brussels, claimed that funding for development in the major urban areas was urgent. This was, among others, questioned by Region Skåne (a regional governmental body) who were in favour of all funds being available to the whole region, instead of limiting certain parts to projects in the inner city of Malmö alone. In the end, the Ministry of Business and Innovation (Näringsdepartementet) decided that funding for SUD strategies was to be allocated to the urban areas of Stockholm, Göteborg and Malmö. Malmö received EUR 11 million (SEK 92 million), which was doubled with co-funding. This was the explicit wish and a success for Malmö City, and an acknowledgement of long-term and intense strategic work[64].

5.3.2 Sustainable urban development (SUD) in the Malmö FUA

During the programming period 2014–2020, a share of the European Regional and Development fund was earmarked for sustainable urban development. As mentioned above, in Sweden this funding was allocated to three of the regional programmes, Stockholm, West Sweden and Skåne-Blekinge, in which the three largest cities are located. While in Stockholm the complete sum was implemented through an operational programme entirely devoted to sustainable urban development, both Göteborg and Malmö were invited to present cross-sectorial integrated plans, which should be guidance for calls for project proposals funded through the two regional operational programmes. In practice this has also meant that in Stockholm the funded projects were implemented within the Stockholm County (26 municipalities), while in Göteborg and Malmö the funded projects were all implemented within the respective municipality, that is Göteborg City and Malmö City (Hallin and Lindquist 2019). Our focus here is limited to the projects in Malmö City, which are part of the Skåne-Blekinge programme[65]. In the following sections the focus is on the Operational Programme and the local implementation of the SUD strategy in Malmö.

The Skåne-Blekinge Operational Programme

The Skåne-Blekinge Operational Programme (OP) stipulates that 'the region's three principle challenges are low productivity, a low employment rate and wide intra-regional differences' (p. 3). As in the PA, the OP also emphasises the role of cities (OP, p. 4):

> *"The PA highlights the significance of the cities as drivers of development for their surrounding areas. This approach is also a feature of the regional Structural Funds programme. Malmö is the largest city in Skåne-Blekinge and the strongest driver of growth in the region. It is also in Malmö that the social challenges are most concentrated. The programme is intended to achieve social sustainability in the city through innovative and entrepreneurial initiatives that utilise the resources and development potential that exist in Malmö."*

It is in the framework of this description of the problem, that the OP identifies 'social inclusion' as one (out of four) strategic consideration. The OP identifies five priorities (insatsområden), and the SUD strategy is implemented through priority five in Malmö within the inner circle road:

— Priority 1. Smart growth — innovation. The priority comprises the objective 'Strengthening research, technological development and innovation'.

— Priority 2. Smart growth — small and medium-sized enterprises. The priority covers the objective 'Enhancing the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises.'

— Priority 3. Sustainable growth — low-carbon economy. The priority comprises the objective 'Supporting the shift towards a low-carbon economy in all sectors.'

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[64] Malmö City was the first municipality in Sweden to base a strategist in Brussels, and in our interview Malmö is described as a municipality which, by Swedish standards, has a strong and developed EU funding strategy.
[65] See https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/atlas/programmes/2014-2020/sweden/2014SE16RFOP001

— Priority 4. Inclusive growth — broadband. The priority comprises the objective 'Enhancing access to, and use and quality of, information and communication technologies.'

— Priority 5. Sustainable urban and community development. The priority covers the objectives 'Strengthening research, technological development and innovation' and 'Enhancing the competitiveness of small and medium-sized enterprises.'

As described in our interviews, the fifth priority contains all the other priorities except for broadband. Hence it is rather broad in its scope.

In the OP, Malmö is identified as a place with many challenges, but also with growth potential: 'as Malmö is the region's largest driver in growth, it is very important to carry out operations in sustainable urban development which benefit sustainable growth in the region as a whole (p. 16). It is on this understanding, that Malmö City is tasked to develop a cross-sectoral integrated plan.

In this respect, the OP develops an understanding of the challenges in Malmö. This is based on commission work for a socially sustainable Malmö that was initiated by Malmö City and undertaken in 2010–2013[66]. A number of reports were published and, as indicated in our interviews, at the time, they were often referred to in municipal reports and decisions. In the OP it is formulated as follows (p. 17):

> "Malmö is described as a divided city, a successful node in global economic development, while socio-economic disparities and poverty among the inhabitants of the city have deepened. The significance of focusing on social sustainability was emphasised by the Commission for a Socially Sustainable Malmö which, on behalf of the Malmö Municipal Executive Board, in 2013 drew up objectives and strategies for greater social inclusion through reduced differences in health. The Commission's research-based work represents a knowledge base for the priority axis."

Obviously, the SUD strategy makes a good match with local policy strategies. Importantly, the commission work is inspired by The Marmot Review[67] and takes as its starting point a relational understanding of social inequality. Furthermore, there is a strong focus on place-based patterns of inequality, not least how patterns of poverty and migrant backgrounds overlap with patterns of housing segregation. In the OP it is formulated as follows (p. 17):

> "Segregation is concerned with both geographical and socio-economic demarcations between different groups in society. The divides between inhabitants have doubled in Malmö since the 1990s. Income poverty has increased and affects three out of every ten inhabitants of Malmö, while the proportion of households dependent on municipal economic assistance has increased sharply in the past decade. Segregation in Malmö also tends to be ethnically based, as areas with a high proportion of people on low incomes and people of low educational attainment often coincide with a high proportion of inhabitants born outside the Nordic countries and Western Europe. In contrast, affluent areas of the city tend to be home to highly educated citizens of Swedish or Nordic origin. The ethnic segregation in the city agrees closely with the social exclusion in society at large, where people born outside the Nordic Region are over-represented in the unemployment statistics. The employment rate in Malmö among people born outside the Nordic Region is almost 30 percentage points lower than among people of Swedish birth. This pattern can be identified in several of the major cities in Skåne-Blekinge."

Obviously, these patterns of inequality are reflected in our description of the Malmö functional area above. It is against this background that Malmö City, in the OP, is commissioned to prepare a cross-sectoral integrated plan in accordance with the investment priorities and specific objectives of the priority. However, and as already mentioned above, this is also the result of a local EU funding strategy that the city itself has developed and promoted in Brussels. The OP also stipulates that this plan will form the basis for funding operations of priority 5 (p. 18).

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[66] See more info about this on Malmö City webpage, link:https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Hallbar-utveckling/In-English---Sustainable-Malmo/Commission-for-a-Socially-Sustainable-Malmo.html.

[67] The Marmot Review into health inequalities in England was published on 11 February 2010. It proposes an evidence based strategy to address the social determinants of health, the conditions in which people are born, grow, live, work and age and which can lead to health inequalities.

The Malmö Model

The Malmö Model (Malmömodellen) was developed in response to the requirement to draw up a plan for sustainable urban development. The model was developed on behalf of the Malmö City group of directors of administration departments and companies[68] (Malmö stadsförvaltnings- ochbolagschefsgrupp) and is formulated in the 'Cross-sectoral integrated plan for sustainable urban development in Malmö 2014–2020' (Sektorsövergripandeintegrerad plan förhållbarstadsutvecklingi Malmö 2014–2020). As described in our interviews, the basis of the Malmö Model is that all municipal departments are involved and that they jointly identify common future challenges:

> *"This is the idea of the Malmö Model, and the challenge we faced at the time was the refugee crisis of 2015. And we realised that we must join forces and collaborate to deal with this"*

Figure 6. Map with prioritised geographical areas.
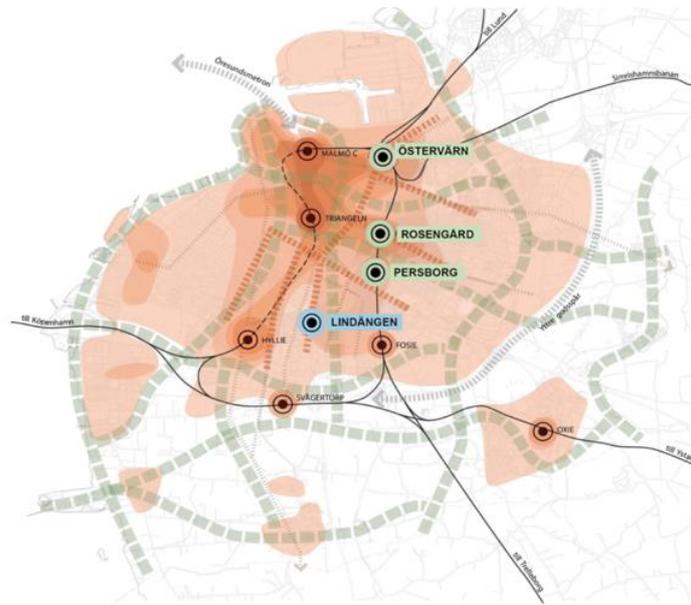
Source: Sektorsövergripandeintegrerad plan förhållbarstadsutveckling, p. 8.

According to the plan, the Malmö Model is based on four building blocks:

1. Priority areas.
2. Focus area.
3. Challenges.
4. Coordination of funds.

In order for projects to be selected for funding, they should fall within one of the four geographical priority areas. Three areas are categorised as 'close to public transport station area' and one as a 'regeneration area'. The areas of Östervärn, Rosengård and Persborg[69] are 'close to station' areas and Lindängen is a development area (see figure 6). However, as indicated in one of our interviews, this geographical focus was challenging and controversial in the implementation phase. It was criticised for limiting funding only to certain areas, while relevant projects were proposed outside of these areas, our interviewee explains. Consequently, the priority areas were abandoned half-way through the programming period. Instead, projects were selected in relation to the focus areas and challenges set out in the cross-sectoral integrated plan. Nevertheless, several of the funded projects are located in the priority areas, not least in Sofielund.

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[68] See Malmö City webpage, link: https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Omvarld/EU-samarbetet/Malmomodellen-for-insatsomrade-5.html
[69] In our analysis of Malmö functional area above, Persborg station area corresponds with Sofielund.

The plan contains three thematic focuses: employment, housing development and infrastructure. The first focus area is due to the high unemployment rate in Malmö and the fact that Malmö has a potential for economic growth and increased employment opportunities. The second focuses on the development of housing against the need for more affordable housing, and the involvement of new actors in this work. The third focuses on infrastructure in the prioritised areas, and considers transport and development in line with the needs of the residents. Furthermore, the plan identifies three interrelated challenges: segregation and social exclusion, housing supply, and sustainable development of housing and housing areas. Relevant to our analysis is that these challenges are partially discussed in relation to ethnic segregation and the position of newcomers. Finally, the fund coordination refers to the need for collaboration between regional and social funds, which it is dealt with in a more detailed way in the following paragraphs.

Sustainable urban and community development projects in Malmö

Funding for implementing the cross-sectoral integrated plan were allocated through priority 5 of the operational programme. The funds were managed by the Swedish Agency for Economic and Regional Growth office in Malmö in charge of the ERDF operational programme. This implementation mechanism was new to both the municipality and the Agency for Economic and Regional Growth, and initially, as described in our interviews, it was unclear how the funds were to be distributed. Early on, coming from within the Malmö City, there was an idea to implement only one extensive project, funded by both the ERDF and ESF. This idea was however never implemented, in part due to previous negative experiences with such large projects. Instead, an application procedure was developed enabling different project owners, including different municipal departments, to receive funding. In this way it was possible to fund projects designed directly by beneficiaries with hands-on experience of the actual needs targeted by the projects; this was a way of creating a bottom-up process in the allocation of funding. Moreover, in order to create feedback loops among projects responding to the consequences of the ongoing refugee immigration, the projects were brought together in a platform named Integrate More Persons Faster (Etablera fler snabbare)[70]. In our interview, this coordination arrangement is described as successful. Firstly, it created a productive working environment for the project leaders involved, who are otherwise rather isolated. It also provided department directors with a good overview of what was going on, which was helpful in planning and coordinating. Here the focus is on the projects funded by the ERDF[71].

Altogether, eight projects were funded through priority 5 of the Skåne-Blekinge Programme[72]. Seven of these are managed by Malmö City, though by different departments within the city. One is managed by Malmö Ideella[73], a network that coordinates a large number of third sector organisations in Malmö. Table 8 provides a short description of the funded projects.

Table 8. List of projects in priority 5

PROJECT NAME* (ID NO)	DESCRIPTION*
Malmö Innovation Arena (MIA) (20200980)	The overarching goal of this project is to create a cross-sectoral innovation arena for physical urban development. Housing construction and physical development is prioritised, and an important goal is housing for the growing population as well as the involvement of different stakeholders in the process. Project owner: Malmö City
Collaboration for increased entrepreneurship (20201212)	This project aims to create structures, methods and capacity for persons in the Introduction Programme for newly arrived refugees and their families to establish businesses, and consequently to promote employment and integration. It seeks to identify forms and methods within the existing support structures for entrepreneurs, able to enhance and accelerate the system's ability to promote innovation and business potential among newly arrived refugees and their families. Project owner: Malmö City
Wisdome Malmö – Innovative meeting arena for visualisations and sustainable development (20201402)	This is a pre-study to investigate how an innovative meeting area can develop together with young residents, relevant business partners, public sector and research milieus in the city and region. It aims to create an innovative arena focusing on visualisations of sustainable urban development. Project owner: Malmö City

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[70] See presentation on Malmö City webpage, link:https://malmo.se/Sa-arbetar-vi-med.../Omvarld/EU-samarbetet/Malmomodellen-for-insatsomrade-5/EU-projekt-i-plattformen-Etablera-fler-snabbare.html
[71] See this report for an overview of all projects involved in the platform: Malmö stad (2020) Rapport 2020 – Malmö stadsprojektplattformEtableraflersnabbare. Stadskontoret.
[72] As presented in the project data bank mentioned above.
[73] See their webpage, link: https://malmoideella.se

Case Sofielund entrepreneurship (20201523)	The overarching goal is to promote local entrepreneurship in Sofielund in order to enhance employment, growth and boost area-identity. The project goal is to increase the number of entrepreneurs and businesses, to help existing businesses to grow, improve the physical conditions of businesses, foster collaboration among entrepreneurs, businesses, the third sector and strengthen trust between the local community and the city administration. All this with regard to the SDG 2030 with a particular focus on women's businesses. Project owner: Malmö City
Case Sofielund 2030 (20201524)	The overarching goal is that the Sofielund-process can be used in other city districts, as a model for how a neighbourhood can develop and create growth by anchoring the UN sustainability goals through the participation and engagement of the local community. The aim of the project is to ensure that new and innovative collaborations and processes are able to function in order to strengthen businesses and public participation in the implementation of sustainability in the local community. Project owner: Malmö City
Wisdome Innovation (20201772)	This is a collaborative project involving Malmö City, Lund University and Altitude Meetings and aims to develop a physical space including a dome theatre, digital lab, and learning environments at Malmö Museum, with the overall aim of boosting innovation and growth among SME in Skåne-Blekinge. In particular, the outreach to under-represented groups, including women, foreign-born residents and children from families without academic education, is emphasised. Project owner: Malmö City
Malmö Together – A people-controlled innovation platform (20292896)	Malmö is the city where the challenges of sustainable urban development are most concentrated. There is need to decrease segregation, increase employment, stimulate housing construction and the sustainable development of housing areas. At the same time these challenges create opportunities for growth and employment that can further the region. Consequently, in this collaborative project Malmö Ideella, Malmö City, the study association Sensus and Entrepreneurial Centre Öresund (Nyföretagar Centrum Öresund) seek to establish a people-driven innovation platform able to enhance sustainable urban development along the Malmö priority. Among other things, it aims to develop housing area-based 'grassroots incubators' focused on people and business-driven urban development. Project owner: Malmö Ideella
Increased growth in the Malmö-Lund Region (MLR) (20293183)	High unemployment rates among certain groups in the labour market, such as young people, persons with less than upper secondary school education, and persons born outside the Nordic countries is a challenge for Malmö City. At the same time, the city lies in a region with high innovation potential and good communication infrastructures. Consequently, in this project 12 municipalities set out to collaborate and strengthen business and employment in the Malmö-Lund Region. Project owner: Malmö City

*All translations to English by the authors

Of particular interest to our analysis are the two projects in the residential area of Sofielund (close to Persborg station). These are related to the regeneration of the area with a strong focus on the participation of the residents, including migrants and migrant-led organisations. The project, under the lead of Malmö Ideella, also builds on a strong involvement of migrants and migrant-led organisations.

5.3.3 Community-led local development (CLLD) in the Malmö FUA

The community-led local development strategy in the Malmö functional urban area is implemented in two CLLD areas, Leader Lundalund and Leader Söderslätt. These are the two southwesternmost CLLD areas in Sweden[74]. In both Leader Lundaland and Leader Söderslätt, five municipalities are represented. Within the functional urban area, there is one municipality that is not part of any CLLD area, this is the small municipality of Burlöv, located just outside the municipal border of Malmö City and sometimes even considered as part of Malmö. As indicated in our interviews, the Burlöv municipality has repeatedly been invited but rejected becoming part of Leader Lundaland, arguing that it has no rural areas. Two municipalities, Malmö City and Eslöv municipality, are only partially included in their respective CLLD area.

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[74] See annex 4 for a map of all 48 CLLD areas in Sweden.

Contextualising the CLLDs in Sweden

In Sweden, the CLLD strategy is, in addition to a number of EU regulations, regulated through the national ordinance about locally led development (SFS 2015:407) and managed through the Swedish Board of Agriculture (Jordbruksverket). Support to CLLD comes from all four ESI funds in Sweden. Sweden is divided into 53 LEADER areas, but only 48 out of these are recognised by the Swedish Board of Agriculture and it is only in these areas that projects can receive funding. Each Leader area has a Local Action Group (LAG) and a Leader office. It is the LAG that decides which projects should receive funding. The LAG consists of representatives from the public, private and third sectors and its mandate is to some extent regulated by the Act about local action groups (SFS 2015:266). Two kinds of funding can be allocated for locally led development projects: Funding to implement projects and funding for collaboration with other CLLD areas or partners outside of the applicant's CLLD area. In order to be approved, the project must respond to the local development strategy.

Leader Lundaland

Leader Lundaland joins five municipalities: Kävlinge, Lomma, Lund, Staffanstorp and the south of Eslöv[75]. It has a LAG board consisting of 15 members and four substitutes. According to its statute there should be five representatives each from the public, private and third sector, and all municipalities are to be represented. The local development strategy[76] focuses on the rural parts of the area, particularly from a historical and geographical perspective. As described in the strategy itself, it was developed through a series of participant driven workshops. The result is shown in figure 7. The vision is to be supported by overarching (övergripande mål in fig. 7) and horizontal goals (horisontella mål in fig. 7) and five priorities (insatsområde in figure 7). The overarching and horizontal goals are (authors' translation):

Overarching goals

1. Stimulate green inclusive sustainable growth, innovation and entrepreneurships

2. Increase the attraction for living, working and visiting Lundaland

3. Promote cross-sectoral approaches with a landscape perspective

Horizontal goals

4. Contribute to sustainable development (ecological, economic, social and cultural)

5. Strengthen gender equality and diversity

The goal, Strengthen gender equality and diversity, refers to 'increased understanding of peoples' equality of value and rights regardless of gender, ethnicity and cultural background' (authors' translation).

The five priorities are (translation and rephrasing into English by authors):

— Priority 1. Support to entrepreneurs

— Priority 2. Enhancing growth of small and medium-sized enterprises

— Priority 3. Increased information and accessibility to Lundaland's natural and cultural resources and environments

— Priority 4. Increased health in Lundaland

— Priority 5. Enhance research and innovation in Lundaland

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[75] Its border corresponds with telephone number area prefix, instead of municipal borders.
[76] Lundalands utvecklingsstrategi 2014–2020. Strategier för organisationer verksamma inom lokalt ledd utveckling i kommunerna Kävlinge, Lomma, Lund, Staffanstorp och södra Eslöv.

Figure 7. Illustration of Leader Lundaland's Vision, priority and project selection
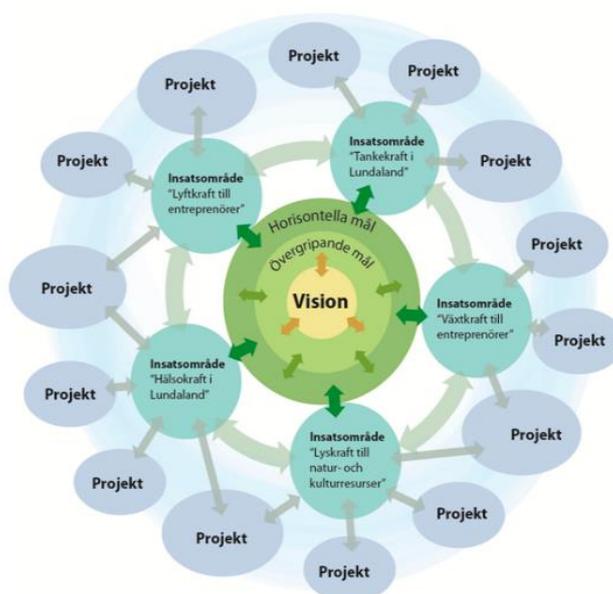
Source: Lundalandsutvecklingsstrategi 2014–2020, p. 19

Projects within priorities 1, 3 and 4 are funded by the EAFRD, projects within priority 2 are funded by EAFRD and ERDF, and projects within priority 5 by EAFRD, ERDF and ESF. In total, as presented on Leader Lundaland's webpage[77], 33 projects were funded in the programming period 2014–2020.

Most of the projects focus on rural development in terms of the cultural-historical heritage, including Viking settlements, local and traditional Scanian food production, and recreational outdoor activities in nature. Only a couple of projects focus on social issues and health.

Two of the projects focus on migrants. One is named 'New Jobs in Lundaland – Pay Salary Privately' (ID 2018–6984). In the description, it is claimed that many employers do not know that private individuals can pay salary directly to workers. The project aims to establish an e-service managing this administration in line with the regulations. It is assumed that grey jobs will become white, and lead to increased working opportunities for young people and newly arrived refugees and their families as well as increased access to services for pensioners and families with small children in the countryside. Our interviews indicate that while the project is not limited to the geographical area of Lundaland, the funding approved by Lundaland is focused on information activities in the villages, to increase employment among its inhabitants, including newcomers, and to strengthen the links between cities and rural areas, by enhancing working opportunities in the villages in Lundaland. The other project is named 'SAVED – Restaurants and catering from saved groceries' (ID 2019–2707). This is a collaboration between a church in Staffanstorp (CentrumkyrkaniStaffanstorp) and a study association (Medborgarskolan). The project collaborates with grocery stores and catering firms which donate leftover food, which is elaborated and distributed to persons in need. Both cooking and distribution is managed by project participants. The participants are foreign-born women and young people. While participating in the project, they also receive an education in cooking and business management provided by the study association. In this way, the project seeks to diminish hunger and to help the project participants by providing training in food handling and entrepreneurial skills.

Even though the local development plan of Leader Lundaland does not have any focus on migrants and migrant integration, there are in fact two projects with this specific focus. As indicated in our interview, this simply reflects the applications that were submitted. The interview in Leader Lundaland also indicates that while other projects do not focus on migrants or migrant integration in their project description, in their implementation this might still be the case, since all residents in the area are targeted:

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[77] Link to webpage with list of projects: http://www.leaderlundaland.se/projekt-i-lundaland/

> *"Probably we will not have integration in the next programming period either, rather we look at the areas, and here we consider culture, working opportunities … we will target young people, and that is everybody, everybody, everybody …. "*

The interviewee also emphasised that the CLLD strategy is a rural development tool, focusing on local development and collaboration at local level.

Leader Söderslätt LLU

Five municipalities are involved in Leader Söderslätt: Skurup, Svedala, Trelleborg, Vellinge and Malmö outside the inner circular road, i.e. outside the urban centre of Malmö City. According to its statues, the LAG board should consist of 15 members and 5 substitutes (not presented on the webpage). The elected board is the LAG, and they select which project applications will be approved for funding. Each sector and each municipality announce their board member.

The local development strategy[78] of Leader Söderslätt consists of a goal, vision 2020, structured along four overarching objectives (authors' translation):

— Objective 1. Create conditions for rural entrepreneurs working in food production and who can take advantage of new innovative and climate-adapted industries (energy, gardening). Develop innovative forms of business that more actively involve customers.

— Objective 2. Manage the valuable water around us so that it is a resource for the whole of Söderslätt.

— Objective 3. Give young people, women and newly arrived refugees and their families the opportunity to create their own companies that in turn will provide work for more people.

— Objective 4. Create a hospitality industry that connects Söderslätt's main resources - land and water, with the creative industries all year round.

Interestingly, and in contrast to Leader Lundaland, here the local development strategy explicitly focused on newly arrived refugees and their families. Our interviews explain that this was in response to the refugee immigration that was ongoing at the time of writing this study. Furthermore, they also explain that the geographical connection with Malmö has an impact on this, including LAG members from Malmö pushing this perspective. The local development strategy's focus on newly arrived refugees is also reflected in the selection of funded projects. Leader Söderslätt presents a list of 44 funded projects on its webpage[79]. Out of the 44 projects, eight seem to focus on migrant integration.

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[78] Published online on Leader Söderslätt's webpage, see link: http://www.leadersoderslatt.se/om-oss/lokal-utvecklingsstrategi/
[79] See Leader Söderslätt webpage, link: http://www.leadersoderslatt.se/nyheter/

Table 9. List of projects focusing on migrants integration in Leader Söderslätt

PROJECT NAME	OWNER	DESCRIPTION
TFF – A resource in society	Third sector	The project is led by Trelleborg Football Club (TFF) and focuses on anti-discrimination work among children and young people.
Skurup's Heroes	Public sector	The project consists of a platform through which the municipality collaborate with third sector organisations, companies and other local actors in order to promote inclusion of people outside the labour market. It seeks to increase employability among young people and newly arrived refugees and their families.
Botildenborg Educational farm	Third sector	In this project the Botildenborg educational farm continues its work with urban farming cultivation. It aims to create employment opportunities, including new facilities, safe pathways and small roads in the field, electricity and light in wintertime.
City Farming (Stadsbruk) Söderslätt – Botildenborgh Foundation	Third sector	The Botildenborg foundation has managed the City Farming innovation project (Stadsbruk) in Malmö, aimed at entrepreneurship and integration through farming in the city. This project aims to develop this method in other municipalities.
The World's Kitchen – Botildenborg	Private	The project aims to construct a professional kitchen at Botildenborg farm for training newly arrived refugees and foreign-born women, and provide café management, courses and knowledge about diversity and ecologically sustainable food.
Farming without borders	Third sector	The project aims to bring together Scanian faming tradition and the influences offered by 'new Swedes'. It will be implemented at Botildenborg farm.
Maths for everyone	Private sector	The project aims to produce a model for homework assistance through an innovative technique, while it also provides young people and newly arrived refugees with employment opportunities.
FemNet – from idea to development	Third sector	The project aims to create a platform for dialogue with 'new Swedes', and create opportunities for both 'old' and 'new' Swedes. One part is for both men and women, and one for women only.

Four of these eight projects are located at Botildenborg, originally an old farm, and today a kind of centre for urban farming close to the city district of Rosengård, the most immigrant dense area in Malmö (see our description of Malmö functional urban area above). The other four projects basically aim to connect people with migrant backgrounds with people with Swedish backgrounds, as a way of counteracting discrimination and enhance network building, and to increase educational achievements and labour market integration. It seems that the geographical connection with Malmö, and in particular with its most immigrant-dense housing area and activities there, has an impact on how the local development strategy is drafted and on the selection of funded projects. Importantly, and as was the case in Leader Lundaland, the scope of the funded projects depends on the applications submitted. As indicated in our interviews, it is challenging to involve migrants themselves in the application process. While newly arrived refugees were settled in the countryside of Leader Söderslätt, many never intended to stay there. Rather the countryside was some kind of transit between arrival to Sweden and more permanent settlement (typically in an urban area). The interview also describes how they actually had at least one case of a person with a refugee background who had only been in the country for a short time, who wanted to apply for funding. However, while the person had a suitable idea, s/he lacked relevant networks and contacts to manage a project[80]. This might be something to consider for further development of the strategy.

5.4 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The implementation of the SUD and CLLD strategies functions under rather different conditions. While the SUD strategy target only one municipality, and is primarily implemented by a single municipality which receives most of the funding; this is not the case at all for the CLLD strategy. Instead, the CLLD areas (and their respective Local Action Groups and directors) must coordinate and balance the wishes of a handful of municipalities and other stakeholders, sometimes with conflicting aims, or at least conflicting with the overall scope of the CLLD strategy.

The SUD strategy and the integration of migrants in the Malmö FUA

In the Malmö functional urban area, the implementation of the SUD strategy explicitly addresses migrant integration. The OP matches well with existing local development strategies. This good match is, at least as

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[80] Instead of funding through Leader Söderslätt, this person received another form of funding from another funder.

described in our very limited number of interviews, the result of a long-term and dedicated strategic work from Malmö City. Interestingly, and also this as indicated in our interviews, in this regard Malmö City is more proactive and strategic compared to other major cities in Sweden. Focus on migrant integration is also visible in how the funding is used and implemented on the local level. In some projects, migrants and migrant-led organisations are also involved in the design and implementation of the projects. For instance, in the project Case Sofielund, a participatory approach is implemented in the (municipality-led) project. This is also the case in the project led by the NGO umbrella association Malmö Ideella.

When it comes to the relationship between the targeted areas of the policy and areas with higher presence of migrants, the strategic document (the cross-sectoral integrated plan) focused on precisely these areas. In fact, what in the integrated plan is defined as 'station-close areas', corresponds to the areas that Malmö City urban development policies has, for a long time, defined as areas in need of regeneration. However, in the implementation of the plan this geographical focus was soon abandoned, since it was found that it limited the possible impact of the funding, considered key for their allocation, as emphasised in our interviews. Instead, it was estimated that a broader geographical focus, enable better impact, also for migrants' integration.

The CLLD strategy and integration of migrants in the Malmö FUA

The implementation of the CLLD strategy in Leader Lundaland and in Leader Söderslätt diverge regarding their relation to migrant integration. In Lundaland, there is practically no such focus at all, instead it is local heritage and traditions that are emphasised. Yet there are two funded projects focusing on training and employment for newcomers. This is, as can be expected, more dependent on the project owners than the local strategy as such. By contrast, in Leader Söderslätt, there is an explicit focus on migrant integration in the strategic document for local development. Our interviews indicate that this is due to the geographical connection with Malmö and not least Botildenborg, an urban farm close to Rosengård, focusing on international farming and food traditions. When it was asked about the involvement of migrants and migrant-led organisation in the design and implementation of projects, our interviews confirm that this is a challenge. They also explain that in the end, the scope of the funded projects depends on which applications are submitted.

5.5   CONCLUSION

The analysis presented indicates that while the share of migrants in the geographical area is crucial for the political initiative to address migrant integration in EU-funded projects, political will is decisive. Malmö City was the first Swedish municipality to establish an office in Brussels, and the city has a strategy not only on how to merge EU funding with local development goals, but also to have an impact on how the EU funding in Sweden is designed, so that it matches the needs of the city. The local priorities of Malmö City, are very much about migrant integration, which reflects the migration history of the city, and also a political will about how to approach it. Unsurprisingly, CLLD areas cannot influence the process to this extent. CLLD area directors and Local Action Groups are instead concerned with the coordination of its members, coming from different sectors and municipalities. When it comes to migrant integration, it seems that while the implementation of the CLLD strategy depends on bottom-up initiatives, the SUD strategy manages to enable bottom-up participation and integration among migrants, through projects initiated by the city administration and NGOs.

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# 6 Migrant integration and ITIs in the urban region of Paris

-4Cremaschi, M.[81]

6.1 INTRODUCTION

France has gained 9.4 million inhabitants in the last thirty years, half in metropolitan cities (20% in Paris, the rest in the 13 largest urban areas: Clanché 2014). In most metropolitan areas, the city centre is losing inhabitants to neighbouring municipalities. Besides, an overwhelming share (90%) of immigrants lived in large urban areas in 2012, a share confirmed in the last five years. Much about Paris metropolitan policies is explained by its economic prominence, the social and geographical inequality, and the effort to balance the internal redistribution process.

The Paris region is France's economic and commercial capital, the tenth most prosperous region in Europe and a leading financial and stock market with a third of the French GDP (€709 billion in 2019). The Paris conurbation is more tertiary than the French average, and it is less specialised than other global cities, notably London. Nevertheless, the capital remains well ahead of other French cities regarding its economic strength, choice of higher education courses and schools, exceptional cultural opportunities, health care and quality of access to new technologies. However, environmental quality is mediocre, air pollution is increasing, green areas are scarce, and housing prices seem to soar endlessly (even after the Covid-19 pandemic). Leisure tourism, with more than 45 million visitors per year (18 million international visitors), supports 500 000 in cafés, hotels, restaurants, and related services (Comité Régional du Tourisme Paris Ile-de-France: CRT 2019). Tourism and business tourism (trade fairs, conferences, etc.[82] are among the most significant economic sectors.

Figure 1. The metropolitan area (1a) and travel-to-work areas (1b) in the Region Île-de-France
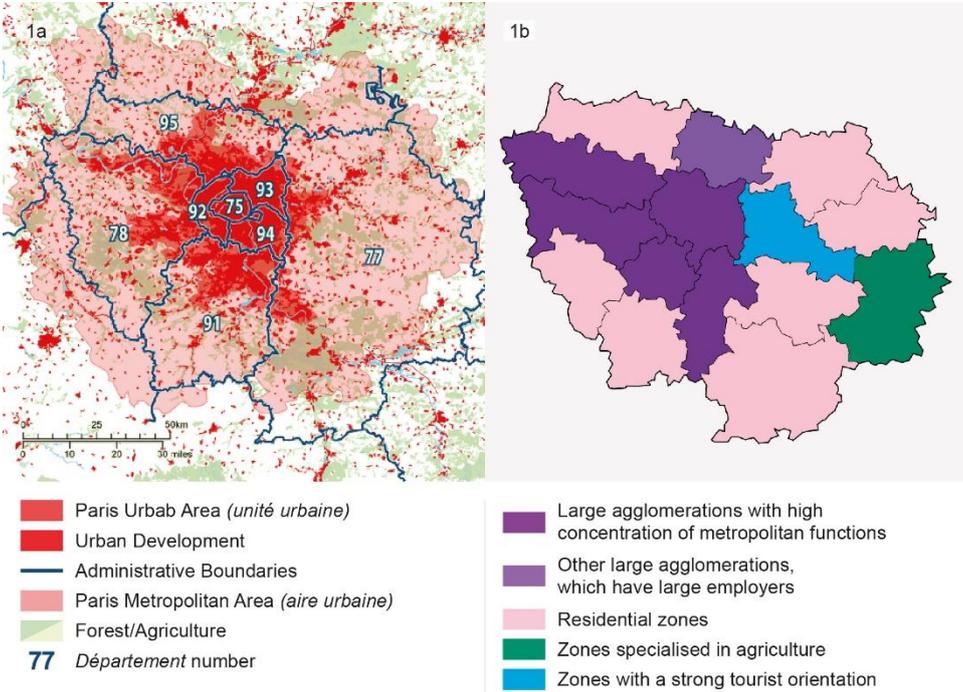
Source: Insee, 2020

The Paris metropolitan area is the economic core of the nation with 3.8 million jobs in 2017, comprising two-thirds of the region's employment. Moreover, the concentration of activities and skilled jobs is highly attractive

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[81] Sciences Po Paris
[82] Source: ICCA country and city ranking measured by number of meetings organized in 2016 (2017).

for commuters from the surrounding areas: jobs in metropolitan, qualified and strategic functions[83] total 18.3% compared with 9.1% at the national level.

The statistical metropolitan area (UA: 'aireurbaine de l'Insee') is rather dynamic in terms of employment containing the headquarters of several large firms. On the other hand, the housing market is under pressure as in all other global cities; however, a high rate of second homes is also present due to its traditional commercial and tourist ranking.

The urban region carries the weight of a small-medium country of the EU (9th out of 27, after the Netherlands). The urban region targets many strategies, most obviously on the model FIRE (Finance, insurance, real estate) and other more socially redistributive models. Besides, the different strategies depend on the multi-scalar nature of the political space of the capital, where the central government intervenes directly along with the region, the metropolitan body and the major municipality. Scholars criticise the complex and fragmented political governance for often being inefficient and overcomplicated.

There are several available references to identify the Paris metropolitan area. However, with respect to economic functions, the area of influence is vast and includes almost the whole of the North of France. The blue perimeter in fig. 1 (part on the right) is the Île-de-France (IdF) region. Nearly 12.6 million people, almost 19% of France's population, reside in Île-de-France.

From a metropolitan perspective, the French statistical bureau INSEE defines the Urban Area (UA) as a statistical unit including suburban development around core cities when at least 15% of the active population work in the core area[84]. The INSEE statistical metropolitan area ('aireurbaine': Urban Area, UA), consistent with the EUROSTAT/OECD definition of Functional Urban Area (FUA), is coloured in pink in fig. 1a, while the INSEE depicted the perimeter of the continuous urban built-up area in red.

The UA is the largest in France: as of 2020, it covers 1 771 communes (17 194 km^2) and extends geographically beyond the Île-de-France region (12 012 km^2; 12 628 266 as of 2017), making it the most significant urban region in the European Union.

In the 2017 Census, the Urban Area of Paris accounted for 10 785 092 inhabitants[85]. Over thirty years, the population growth has been twice as high as the national average (+1.2% per year on average compared to +0.5%). The Paris region attracts young adults thanks to the number of university and training courses on the one hand, and the offer of entry-level jobs on the other.

The UA area includes several employment zones: each day, sizeable flows of commuters come to work in the core area (881 000 inbound, 281 000 outbound: INSEE, population censuses 2016 and 2017). In fig 1 b (on the left), the region is divided in travel-to-work areas based upon commuting and job profile. The MGP roughly corresponds to the central area, yet a large part of region concentrates tertiary jobs in advanced sectors (the purple areas on the south-western side).

Moreover, the FUA's principle of territorial continuity conflicts with the functional principle of the economic influence basin, which would impose an even more comprehensive geographical reference. The influence of the Parisian basin extends well beyond the region over a radius of 100 km around the capital (Clanché 2014). For instance, the distant port Le Havre has a solid financial link with the capital and a significant degree of exchange and flux of commuters, yet it is not part of the metropolitan area. The same applies to other regional and urban regions that are strongly interconnected with Paris through late decentralisation of production chain segments.

In 2016, a new institutional level gave representation to the metropolitan area, the 'Métropole du Grand Paris' MGP (Greater Paris metropolitan authority), the Paris-centered intercommunal cooperation. MGP covers a much smaller size than the INSEE' statistical area (Paris Urban Area). The MGP corresponds roughly to four departments: the city of Paris ('department' 75) and the three surrounding departments (92, 93, 94) plus a few adjacent municipalities (fig. 1a).

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[83] The presence of 'cadres des fonctions métropolitaines' (CFM), tertiary jobs in advanced sectors, measures the influence or attractiveness of a territory (Van Puymbroeck, Reynard 2010).
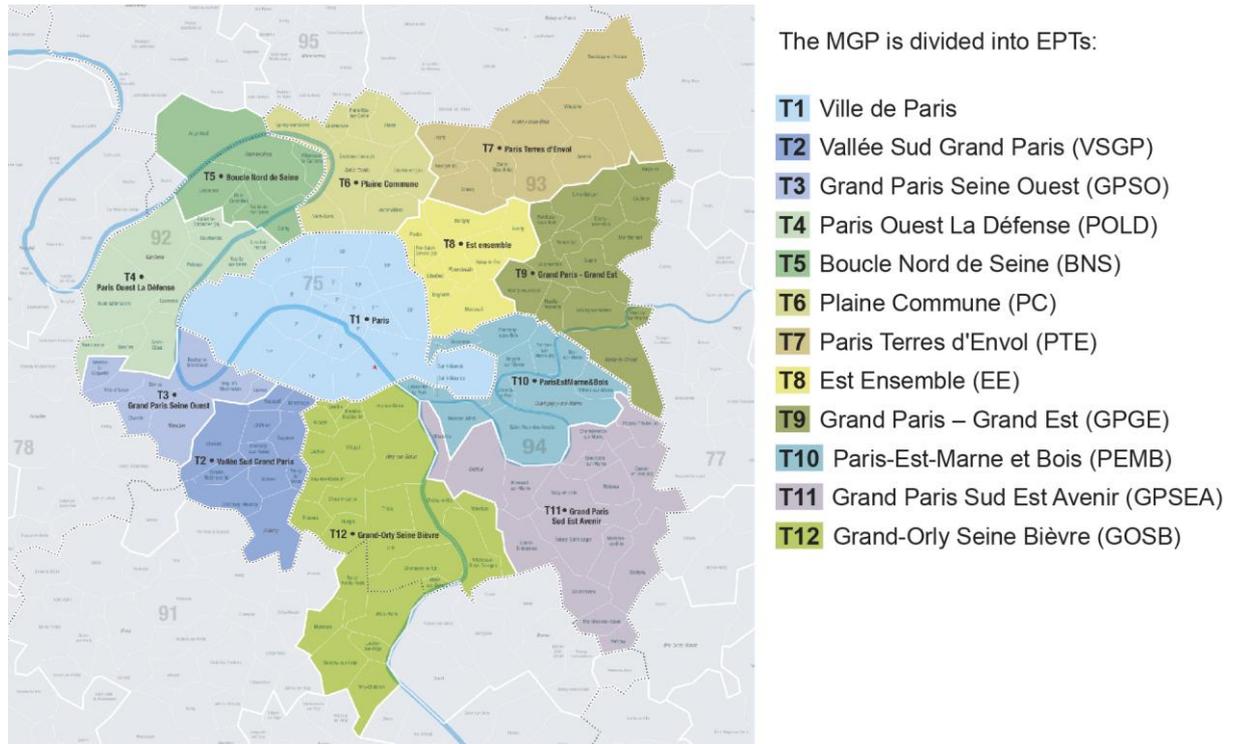
[84] The INSEE definition of Urban area is the following: 'an urban area, or a 'large urban area' is a group of adjacent municipalities, without territorial interruptions, encompassing an urban centre (urban unit) providing at least 10 000 jobs, and by rural districts or an urban unit (urban periphery) among which at least 40% of the employed resident population works in the centre or in the municipalities attracted by this centre'. It defines the extent of a city's influence on the surrounding municipalities. An area is a group of municipalities, in a single block and without enclaves, consisting of a population and employment centre and the surrounding municipalities in which at least 15% of the working population work in the centre. The most populated municipality in the centre is called the central municipality. The definition of the UAs is consistent with the definition of 'functional urban areas' developed by Eurostat and the OECD (INSEE 2015).

[85] Paris UA gained one million inhabitants in 20 years before 1990, another million in the following twenty (INSEE, 2020). In the last ten years, the growth continued almost at the same pace.

The metropolitan institution is subdivided into 12 territories (EPT Etablissements publics territoriaux: intermediate representative bodies: fig 2a) that unified all the institutional tiers at the intermediate level between the new metropolitan body and the communes. MGP has 7 057 905 inhabitants and has become the standard political reference for the metropolitan definition in the region: Paris accounts for 2 187 526. The Paris population has not grown since the 60s, while the metropolitan area has increased by half.

Of the various possible spatial scales, this study adopts the scale corresponding to the MGP. Although spatially and demographically limited, the MGP is the emerging political element and comprises the central part of the metropolitan territory with sufficient internal variety.

Figure 2. The MGP (metropolitan body) and the EPTs (second tiers institutions)

The MGP is divided into EPTs:

T1 Ville de Paris
T2 Vallée Sud Grand Paris (VSGP)
T3 Grand Paris Seine Ouest (GPSO)
T4 Paris Ouest La Défense (POLD)
T5 Boucle Nord de Seine (BNS)
T6 Plaine Commune (PC)
T7 Paris Terres d'Envol (PTE)
T8 Est Ensemble (EE)
T9 Grand Paris – Grand Est (GPGE)
T10 Paris-Est-Marne et Bois (PEMB)
T11 Grand Paris Sud Est Avenir (GPSEA)
T12 Grand-Orly Seine Bièvre (GOSB)

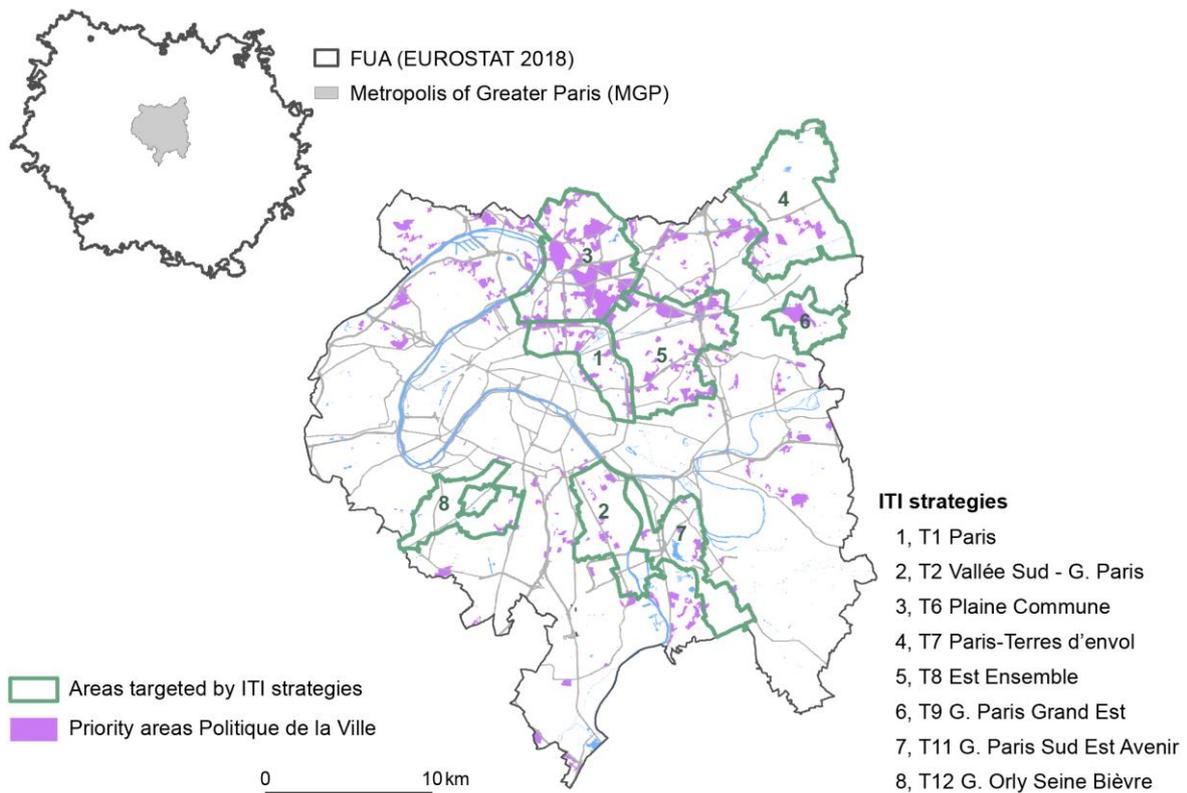Source: MGP and Region, 2020

Methodology

The study analyses eight ITI strategies [86] within the metropolitan body of Grand Paris (Métropole du Grand Paris: MGP)[87], funded during the 2014-2020 by the Region's Operational Programmes (OP) and the national framework for the 'politique de la ville' (PdV) (fig. 3)[88].

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[86]   The research has considered the following cases in the boundaries of the MGP : T1 Paris ; T2 Vallée Sud – Grand Paris; T6 Plaine Commune; T7 Paris-Terres d'envol; T8 Est Ensemble; T9 Grand Paris Grand Est; T11 Grand Paris Sud Est Avenir; T12 Grand Orly Seine Bièvre. In total, there are 15 ITIs in the Ile-de-France region for the 2014-2020 period, and some have been studied for comparison (Melun, Roissy Pays de France, Grand Paris Sud, Grand Paris Seine et Oise) but are not reported, though sometimes cited in the text.
[87]   The field work and the interviews are largely thanks to research assistants Francesca Bonalda, Elena Covic, Anna Jacquin, Anaëlle Varvoux who also contributed to a report for parallel research that inspired this chapter (Cremaschi et al. 2021).
[88] The author would like to thank Miguel Torres for the contribution in elaborating the maps contained in figure 3, 4 and 5 of this chapter.

Figure 3. The perimeters of the ITI strategies analysed and the priority areas of the Politique de la Ville.

ITI strategies
1, T1 Paris
2, T2 Vallée Sud - G. Paris
3, T6 Plaine Commune
4, T7 Paris-Terres d'envol
5, T8 Est Ensemble
6, T9 G. Paris Grand Est
7, T11 G. Paris Sud Est Avenir
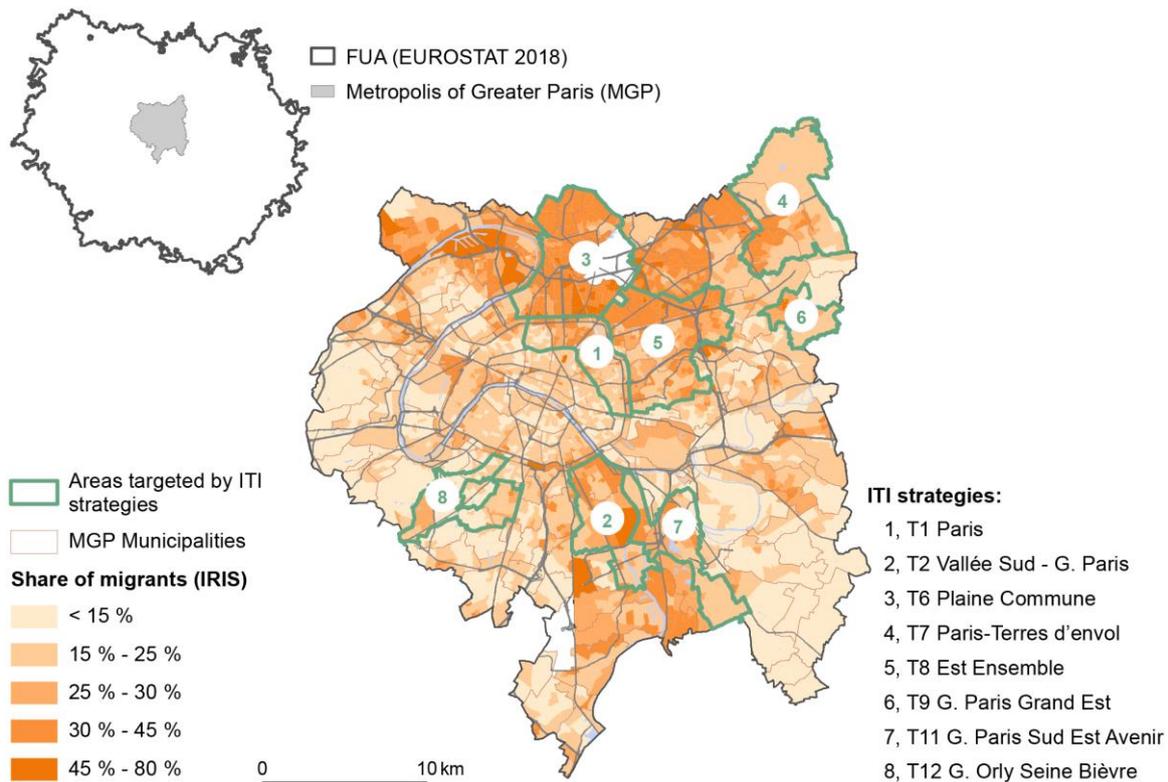8, T12 G. Orly Seine Bièvre

Source: data.gouv.fr, 2015

The study compares the geography of local measures from these policy tools to the distribution of the foreign-born population (fig. 4). A strong geographical structure emerges with a concentration of migrants in the northern fringe and the southern part of the North–South transportation corridor. The case studies coincide with the area of concentration of migrants.

The research retrieved and compared the regional and local ITI programme documents, and held interviews with the teams of local managers for each ITI during April and May 2020. In addition, regional managers and researchers and experts were interviewed.

Figure 4. Foreign-born population per municipalities and case study areas in the MGP

FUA (EUROSTAT 2018)
Metropolis of Greater Paris (MGP)

Areas targeted by ITI strategies
MGP Municipalities

Share of migrants (IRIS)
< 15 %
15 % - 25 %
25 % - 30 %
30 % - 45 %
45 % - 80 %

0   10 km

ITI strategies:

1, T1 Paris
2, T2 Vallée Sud - G. Paris
3, T6 Plaine Commune
4, T7 Paris-Terres d'envol
5, T8 Est Ensemble
6, T9 G. Paris Grand Est
7, T11 G. Paris Sud Est Avenir
8, T12 G. Orly Seine Bièvre

Source: Own elaboration based on INSEE, 2020

6.2 ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

Inequalities in a growing capital

In France, migrants (resident foreign-born citizens) accounted for 10.2% of the population in 2020 (INSEE 2021). Migrants were 4.4 million, those having acquired French citizenship a further 2.4 million, totalling 6.8 million; in addition, there were almost 0.8 million foreigners born in France (hence total number of foreigners 5.1 million).

Migration to France has a long history: migrants already made up 4% of the population in 1920. Also, the variety of figures and aspirations is often underestimated. For example, France has a higher proportion of former immigrants and children of immigrants – later naturalized and now citizens – than any other major country (27% according to INSEE 2012; or 21% according to the criteria of the High Council for Integration: OECD 2018). Ethnic and cultural diversity might affect the general public's perception of migration more than actual numbers.

In terms of flows, only half of the migrants per year correspond to the average image of migrants from the Global South. In 2018, a third of the 265 000 residence permits issued in France were for student immigration. France also hosted 30 000 minors and 76 000 new European immigrants the same year, under the EU freedom of movement treaty (France Stratégie 2019).

Migration composition is coherent at the different scales, region, metropolitan area and city (Table 1). The Paris Urban Area is home to an immigrant population of 2.2 million (38.2%: INSEE 2020). More recently, the Paris UA has become slightly less attractive.

Table 1. Migrants in the region by geographical scale

	Total Population 2018	Annual growth rate 2013-18	Migrants	% migrants
Paris	2 175 601	0.5	440 464	20.2
MGP	7 075 028	0.4	*1 551 420	*22.1
Statistical Metropolitan Area (Aire Urbaine : FUA)	10 816 803	0.4	2 200 000	20.3
Region Ile de France (IdF)	12 213 447	0.4	2 378 567	19.5

Source : INSEE, RP2018 exploitation principale

+ INSEE 2012.   * INSEE 2015

As a European hub, the region of Paris has the most diverse population in France. The number of immigrants living in Île-de-France increased by 19% from 1999 to the 2005 census at regional scale. France migration has a strong regional structure due to the colonial past. Half of the migrants are from Africa, 27% from Europe and 18% from Asia. Migrants from Europe have halved since 1982, the share from the Maghreb remained stable, while migrants from Asia and sub-Saharan Africa more than doubled (Boussad, Couleaud, Sagot 2017). Just eight national groups account for half of the migrants (Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Turkey, China and Mali outside the EU, Portugal and Italy among the EU countries) (Table 2). In addition, Île-de-France received around 40% of the asylum seekers who arrived in France in 2016 (24 020 out of 63 649), nearly half in Paris (OECD 2018).

The city of Paris has a long history of attracting foreigners. 14.3% of the population in Paris have a foreign nationality, and 20% are foreign-born (among whom more than a third have acquired French nationality: OECD 2018). The city website claims that more than 150 nationalities are represented in the city; the colonial past itself tends to replicate the concentration of migrants from a few countries (Table 2).

Table 2. Foreign-born inhabitants per country of birth in the four departments corresponding to the MGP

| Dept.		Foreigners	% of the tot population	Country					
				UE	Algeria	Morocco	Tunisia	Turkey	Total of the four countries
75	Paris	310 145	14.3	27.9	8.9	6.1	4.6	0.9	20.5
92	Hauts-de-Seine	204 659	12.6	25.4	13.0	13.2	5.5	0.8	32.5
93	Seine-Saint-Denis	400 051	24.5	17.9	15.4	8.4	5.0	3.9	32.7
94	Val-de-Marne	221 051	15.8	27.0	14.0	5.9	5.9	2.1	27.9

Source: Insee, Census 2018

As shown, migrant residents are not equally distributed in Greater Paris (Table 3): deprived neighbourhoods host 30%, 10% more than the city average (INSEE 2015). Most of the migrants are concentrated in the northern fringe of the metropolitan territory (INSEE 2015), corresponding to the EPTs from T5 to T9: Boucle Nord de

Seine, Plaine Commune, Paris Terresd'Envol, Est Ensemble et Paris Grand Est; and Grand Orly Seine Bièvre(T12) on the Southern side. These EPTs register a percentage of foreign-born residents above the regional average (21%), peaking in Plaine Commune (T6) with 37.5%. Foreign-born residents are concentrated in some municipalities: for instance, about 40%in La Courneuve, Aubervilliers and Saint-Denis, cities with 45 000, 88 000 and 112 000 inhabitants respectively. All these EPTs also register high percentages of young populations (under 20 years old); large families (three or more children younger than 25 years old); unemployment; people on social benefits (RSA); and social housing (Cremaschi et al. 2021).

All EPTs have more blue-collar workers, with a share ranging from 46% to 65% of the active population, while high skilled workers are limited in number. As for the level of education, people over 15 without a diploma range between 30 and 45%.

Figure 5. Unemployment rate per municipalities and case study areas in the MGP
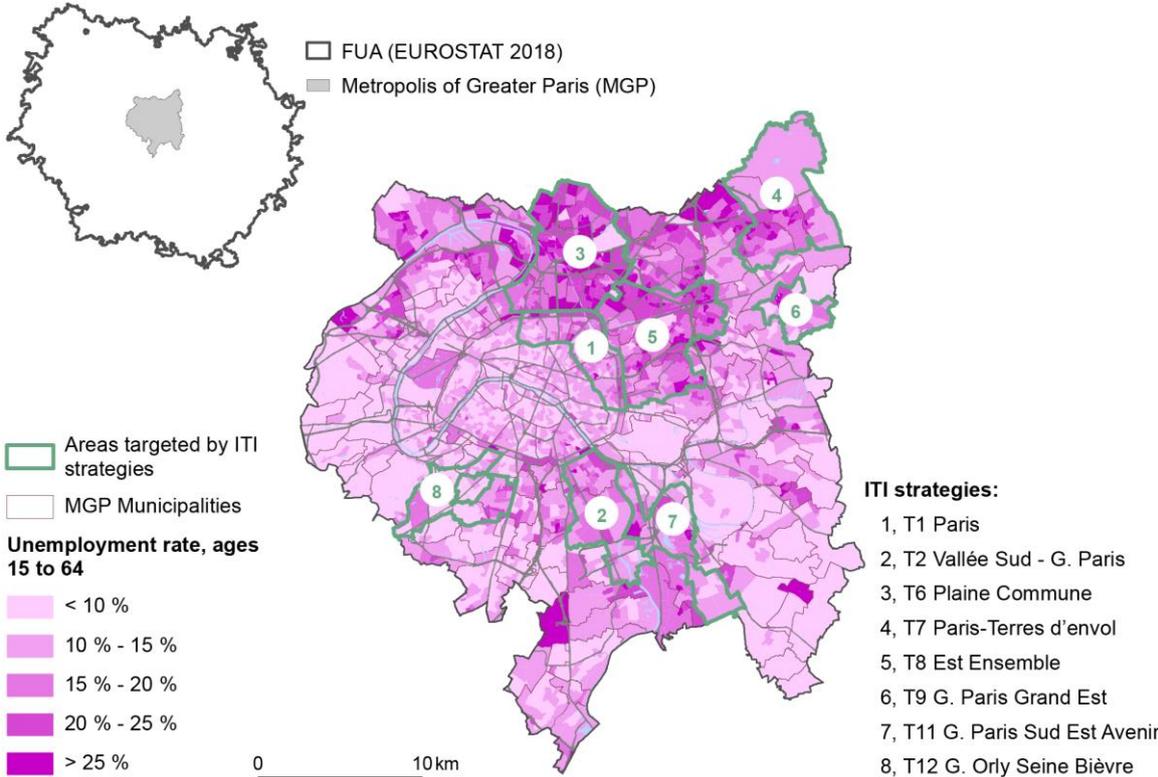
Source: Own elaboration based on INSEE 2020

The geographical distribution of migrants corresponds to other factors of exclusion, for instance unemployment (fig. 5). Even though the population is relatively young, the overlapping of unemployment, social housing, and low education levels raises the question of the degree of segregation within the metropolitan region of Paris. Scholars tend to prefer a multidimensional approach to segregation, considering residential distribution, ethnic isolation and concentration: migrant and non-migrant groups are not equally distributed (Préteceille 2005). This inequality in localisation depends heavily on the housing market. According to this approach, there is little evidence of the concentration of ethnic minorities in 'ghettos' and a prevalence of comparatively mixed neighbourhoods in a very dense urban fabric, as opposed to the US model.

Finally, patterns of gentrification are emphasised in much of the literature on the Parisian metropolitan area. At the end of the 2000s, it concerned the capital as a whole: a concentration of social housing and a large stock of old, run-down housing units may explain the resistance of the last working-class neighbourhoods in the North-East sector of Paris and the peripheral belt. Gentrification is widespread in spatial extension as well as for the share of the population it concerns (Clerval 2016). Furthermore, the gentrification of Paris is changing the regional social mosaic. The working-class residential options are restricted to the inner suburbs or suburban communes far from the metropolitan centre (and the whole of Paris). Gentrification can explain why the metropolitan area of Greater Paris has the highest income inequalities among French urban areas (Clerval 2016: 142). Social inequalities are larger in Paris than in the metropolitan area of Paris. The Northeast neighbourhoods

concentrate high unemployment rates and social housing, whereas central and western districts and most southern districts are more affluent (Clerval 2016: 92).

Table 3. Migrants in the metropolitan region of Paris per EPT

Paris and EPTs	Total Population	Migrant population %	Foreign nationals %
T1 – Ville de Paris	2 206 488	20.4	14.6
Paris Arrondissements 18, 19, 20	574 778	22.7	NA
T2 – Vallée Sud GrandParis (VSGP)	395 761	16.1	10.2
T3 – Grand Paris Seine Ouest (GPSO)	316 653	15.1	10.1
T4 – Paris Ouest La Défense (POLD)	559 982	17.1	11.7
T5 – Boucle Nord de Seine (BNS)	439 561	24.8	18.1
T6 – Plaine Commune (PC)	429 266	37.5	30.8
T7 – Paris Terres d'Envol (PTE)	357 568	29.9	22.6
T8 – Est Ensemble (EE)	412 972	28.7	22.2
T9 – Grand Paris – Grand Est (GPGE)	392 857	22.0	16.6
T10 – Paris-Est-Marne et Bois (PEMB)	506 882	16.2	11.3
T11 – Grand Paris Sud Est Avenir (GPSEA)	310 159	20.2	13.5
T12 – Grand-Orly Seine Bièvre (GOSB)	692 061	23.9	17.8
Total MGP	7 020 210	22. 1	16.1

Source: APUR 2019 on INSEE 2015 data

6.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

6.3.1 The policy framework for migrant integration

In France, the French republican model inspires the integration of migrants (OECD 2018). The Constitution guarantees universal rights and equal treatment to individuals regardless of their origins, and the state promotes national 'republican' values. Therefore, differently from the 'multicultural' model, this model negates using certain criteria (such as ethnicity) to categorize individuals and to treat them as specific communities.

In 2006, the government introduced immigration quotas and enhanced the fight against illegal migrants. It also introduced a 'republican contract' for the integration of foreigners established on an individual, five-year path. As for refugees, Refugee status and Subsidiary protection were granted to almost 40% of the applications (70 052). Recently, the countries of origin of asylum applicants have included Sudan, Syria, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Haïti and Bangladesh.

The French system of government introduced several tiers over time, and central and local institutions have considerable responsibilities with respect to social policies. The following sections present the multilevel framework influencing local policies in IdF and describe some prominent ITI programmes. In the last section, a table classifies the MGP ITIs according to substantive features of migrant conditions and policy responses (Table 4).

6.3.2 Urban policies and cities

The Politique de la Ville (PV) has addressed social exclusion by targeting urban areas with high social deprivation since the 1980s. A place-based approach characterises the PV: it focuses on disadvantaged urban areas and combines local resources and external support (networking and financial). The implementation of PV is delegated to local level, thus entailing a certain variability, and must involve local stakeholders and the public.

EU structural funds dedicated to sustainable urban development (art. 7 of the European Regional Development Fund Regulation 2014-2020) are used in France in coordination with PV.

A significant feature is the 'contractual' dimension, a partnership between the Government and local authorities, other public bodies, and housing associations. Since 2014, a scheme identifies 1514 priority neighbourhoods targeted by the partnerships to foster urban renewal, social inclusion, and new economic activity and opportunity.

Though the national government is responsible for migration policy, local governments and local councils oversee services to refugees. The provincial governments (the 'départements', combined in the case of the MGP) have general responsibility for health and social assistance for children and families, accommodation in reception centres, and the management of the active solidarity income (RSA).

The involvement of a few large cities in the issue of integration dates to the early 1980s (Flamant 2014). A refugee camp was opened in Paris in 2016 following the example of the small northern municipality of Grande-Synthe, near Calais where the government dismantled the informal settlement (known as the 'jungle') and resettled the migrant population in distant towns and villages not previously affected. This example triggered an increased demand for resources, skills and know-how from the associations and local authorities in charge of reception, though engagement is voluntary. For instance, a bipartisan petition signed by mayors in December 2019[89] called for financial support and relaxation of police pressure on migrants.

In the urban region of Paris (where the percentage of immigrants is exceptionally high), policies are heavily dependent on the political affiliation of the mayor of the district. Following the 'migration crisis' of 2015, local authorities have supported employment, apprenticeship, and vocational training for the less qualified, a label that applies to many people of foreign origin. In addition, municipalities are responsible for social housing, schooling, childcare facilities, nursery and primary schools, school catering and extracurricular activities. In Paris alone, the city's budget allocates more than 38 million euro to the reception of foreigners, even though these expenses are usually the responsibility of the State; the SAMU social de Paris (an NGO providing emergency assistance to sans domicile fixe) participates in the accommodation of families seeking asylum.

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[89]The petition was signed by the Mayors of Paris, Aubervilliers, Saint-Denis in the MGP, and Grande-Synthe, Grenoble, Lille, Metz, Nantes, Rennes, Strasbourg, Toulouse et Troyes (Libération, 2019).

The French urban policy pursues 'mixité', a policy goal that fights social and ethnic segregation mainly through the redevelopment of social housing estates, demolishing old towers to make room for more commercial middle-class units.

6.3.3 The regional policies

Since 2014, the regional councils have been responsible for the EU Structural funds: the ERDF regional operational programme (OP) received 482.5 million the 2014-2020 period. Île-de-France decided to rely on the tool of Integrated Territorial Investments (ITIs) to address sub-regional disparities and territorial inequalities through a Sustainable Urban Development (SUD) approach. Beyond the minimum earmarking of 5% established by EU regulations, the region invested nearly 24% of ERDF resources in the ITI scheme, with a total of € 112 million devoted to sustainable urban development.

In 2015, a call for projects identified 12 regional territories (plus three territories in 2016, after a change in the regional government) out of 19 candidates. Among the conditional criteria, the candidate had to include at least one urban policy district benefiting from the New National Urban Renewal Programme (NPNRU) 2014-2024. The programme promoted by a National Agency aims to increase social diversity in the 450 priority neighbourhoods of the national urban policy (QPV) where 3 million inhabitants live, reducing density and renovating housing.

One of the ERDFOP priorities addresses the inclusion of migrants, as it aims to foster integration arrangements for marginalised populations (such as Roma), tackle discrimination and promote equality between women and men. Other priorities address the inclusion of migrants in a less straightforward way, such as priority 5, titled 'Investing in education and adapting skills'. Most of the 29 references to migrants focus on the inclusion of Roma groups (mostly migrants from Romania) through access to social rights and employment and the reconversion of precarious housing. The guiding principles for selecting operations suggest 'measures favouring job seekers and the inactive, with particular attention to the inhabitants of priority neighbourhoods of the city, young people, women and migrants'.

Migrants are mentioned several times as a vulnerable category without any further explanation. With respect to synergy with other European instruments, the regional OP suggests that other EU funds could intervene to better complement social and infrastructural measures, while emphasising the controls to be carried out to avoid double funding.

The Youth Employment Initiative aims to promote access to employment for young NEETs with low qualifications in the Seine-Saint-Denis and may target migrants, among other groups in vulnerable condition. Seine-Saint-Denis has a concentration of 20.4% of the inactive young people of the region with a much lower schooling rate and the highest proportion of migrants (29% in 2013). Some of these measures are likely to address people with an immigrant background.

The region designated the EPTs as Intermediate Bodies (IB) for a SUD strategy focused on restructuring community services totalling a minimum of 5 million euros on average. Only a few EPTs had a proper strategy at the beginning of the process; most ended up building a vision and a project in progress. These projects must correspond to the territorial project (TP) of the EPT. A TP is the local action plan that establishes the spatial planning project and the development perspective for an association of municipalities[90].

In 2017, the Region issued a call for marginalised communities such as the Roma aimed exclusively at ITIs. Five ITI territories responded to the AMI (Est Ensemble, Grand Paris Grand Est, Grand Orly Seine Bièvre, Grand Paris Seine et Oise and Plaine Commune).

6.3.4 MGP and the ITIs

The EPTs address various issues in their TPs: economic development, inclusion, training, energy transition, etc. The ITIs was the delivery mechanism. It supported local partnerships, the project engineering and the selection of initiatives. However, ITIs connected 'the integrated urban strategies with the needs of the territories and the public policies already committed to these' (Evaluation Report of the ITI strategies: 2020).

ITI strategies are designed onto pre-existing strategic frameworks, including the Territorial Project of the national Quartiers de la Politique de la ville (QPV). Thus, for instance, the strategy of the EPT Grand Est mentions

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[90] First introduced in 1999, inserted in the Local Government Code in 2020, the territorial project is a voluntary and incentivising tool that has no precise legal definition or legal obligation.

'newcomers' in its TP, directing the ITI towards the neighbourhoods targeted by the national urban policies (QPV).

Due to the   fact that the OP priority is the matching of cohesion policy and territories, little flexibility remains for integrating beneficiaries in the process. As a result, migrants had little or no involvement in designing, selecting, and implementing projects and territorial strategies.

The governance put in place by the ITIs is usually broad, including a board of local officers and a political committee with representatives of local and national institutional administrations. Institutional organisations follow the projects until their implementation. Policymakers oversee the fine-tuning of the selected projects and the strategic aims of the EPT. This cross-cutting synergy also exists (although with more selective coordination) with the other projects established for the areas included in the ITIs.

The investment rate of ITIs is lower than the regional average, one of the reasons being that the ITI governance constrained the implementation process beyond the occasional delays. ITIs encountered administrative difficulties: for instance, the national reform of local authorities in 2015 introduced changes that the agreements with the ITIs did not mention. The Law consolidated the region, strengthened inter-municipal cooperation, and confirmed the MGP. The region pursued the national policy of consolidating the associations of municipalities (Intercommunalités) as a second-tier administrative reference. In France local authorities are very numerous and fragmented, and the government aims to consolidate local municipalities into larger bodies. To this end, sets of incentives encourage cooperation among local administrations.

Due to the new organisation of the MGP, the existing associations of municipalities merged in the new EPTs. As a result, already selected projects suddenly had to address a larger area. In these conditions, some of the stakeholders might have been disappointed with ITIs.

Moreover, the integration of the ITI into the local fabric also depends on the age of the associations of municipalities. The more experienced the association, the more it relies on mature sectoral strategies and a long-term strategic vision to help ITI structure its territorial project.

The ITI strategies try to take on a multi-sectoral dimension based on a partnership approach. However, the traditional administrative divisions, the coordination required for such a mechanism to become sustainable, and the skills required have contributed to a variable implementation. Moreover, when the scale of the territory (as predefined in 2015) is no longer relevant or when the governance arrangements are sometimes ambiguous or subject to constant change, performance is slowed, and the territory remains at a loss.

Despite some delays and implementation difficulties, the ITI scheme generally meets the objectives outlined in the regional operational program. However, it is necessary to consider the areas of activity where the ITI territories provide a clear added value and those where it is less obvious (principle of subsidiarity). For the next programming period, the ITIs will be invited to reapply for a new call announced in early 2022. Nevertheless, their implementation will likely to be sustained only through the ERDF. For the implementation of ESF funds, the region will operate through calls for projects. These policies can be explicit (identifying migrants as a target audience) or have broader objectives (indirectly targeting migrants through notions such as 'public in fragile/vulnerable condition).

6.4   A FOCUS ON FOUR ITI STRATEGIES

6.4.1   The ITI of Paris Municipality

The ITI concentrated on three Northeastern arrondissements (18th, 19th and 20th) close to the adjacent ITI of the EPT Est Ensemble. Hence, these two ITIs are very closely linked. The northeast of Paris is marked by the canal, railway lines, and infrastructures, and for a long time has been an industrial and storage zone. A densely populated area, the three arrondissements are very cosmopolitan with solid social inequalities and numerous urban, economic, and environmental issues.

The main aim is to support career paths and prevent breakdowns, considering the fight against discrimination and gender equality. The ITI complements other programs focusing on training, employment, and development. The local strategy is solidly based on the Politique de la Ville which was a vital factor of success. From the outset, the programme involved a significant number of beneficiaries in all sectors, digital innovation and social support.

The City council encourages third parties to design projects and apply for funds. However, the complexity of combining ESF and ERDF in the same project deters associations from preparing mixed projects. Associations

cannot design, manage, and engineer projects financed by the two funds, and even simple projects raise managerial issues. The ITI seeks to help project leaders to balance risk and workload, making EU funds more accessible: 'a fine job' in supporting 39 beneficiaries. The selection and support of project leaders is the critical key to a successful implementation. Project leaders also receive 30% of their funds in advance due to the pandemic crisis, to help start the project. However, they must finance all the subsequent steps before collecting the final instalments.

A housing association (Paris Habitat) manages the programme with four NGOs (Aurore, ADAGE, Grdr Migration, EmmaüsDéfi) besides the City Council and one company (LUDO-VIC).

The strategy does not mention migrants, however because of the QPV the programme will reach this public. Nevertheless, administrative rules and certification sometimes exclude migrants. The management avows candidly: 'It is difficult to know in specific terms who will benefit' (interview in Cremaschi 2021).

Before 2022, the ITI will help nearly 2 600 jobseekers, 1 160 business creators and 400 people suffering from discrimination and will make it possible to carry out seven innovative digital projects and two structuring developments to promote inclusion and the environment.

Among the main projects, the 'Chantierséducatifs' is directed at young people, aged 16 to 25; the 'Carré des Biffins' targets people in extreme exclusion who sell recycled and second-hand goods; 'Les femmes font leurcinéma' helps 24 women lacking basic French, preventing them from accessing services and training; a meta-community of entrepreneurs for migrants with previous training; language training for those having difficulties in finding employment; the Emmaüs'Défi' assists people in precarious and highly precarious situations.

6.4.2   The ITI of Plaine Commune

The EPT Plaine Commune includes nine cities north of Paris with more than 435 000 inhabitants (Aubervilliers, Épinay-sur-Seine, L'Île-Saint-Denis, La Courneuve, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine, Saint-Denis, Saint-Ouen-sur-Seine, Stains and Villetaneuse). Half the size of Paris, the EPT is home to 196 000 jobs and has an 18% unemployment rate and one of the most precarious populations in the country. On the other hand, the EPT demographic growth is high, 6.3% between 2013 and 2018 (+25 992 inhabitants) compared to 1.5% for the Greater Paris Metropolis. Plaine Commune also has the youngest population in Île-de-France and three universities (43 000 students). In the last two decades, the area has been undergoing economic, urban (including mobility), social, cultural, and environmental renewal.

Plaine commune has historically played an essential role in the reception and integration of migrants in the region of Paris. It is home to 134 nationalities and 130 000 immigrants, mainly from Africa and the Maghreb, and a large proportion of migrants is made up of women and children, an obstacle to employment being the need for childcare and the lack of French language skills.

With respect to the strengths, the EPT hosts large companies, universities, a dynamic business environment with promising sectors (audiovisual, cinema, digital). Among the weaknesses: a high unemployment rate, a low skilled population, and the consequent mismatch between the demand for jobs and the capacities of the local population The EPT local strategy focuses on inclusion and the fight against discrimination.

The ITI aims to improve the living environment sustainably, fostering the well-being and health of the population and future generations, as well as ecological and social transition, paying particular attention to planning and the built environment. For instance, one project concerns the biodiversity and mobility of the right bank of the St-Denis canal. The ITI also fosters economic and local development to replace the industrial basis and counteract unemployment. For example, one project builds office space in the eco-district of l'Île-Saint-Denis for start-up economic activity and SME. Finally, the EPT relies on the vitality of local life, the rich network of associations, and its cultural facilities to develop initiatives that promote the participation and integration of all categories.

Migrants are not mentioned in the strategic guidelines, but some projects directly concern them.

Among the projects involving migrants, socio-linguistic workshops aim to spread language learning, administrative and social skills; others offer support and information on social benefits and civic rights; a women's centre in Saint-Denis enables women to access rights and healthcare, and an anti-discrimination project by the city of Aubervilliers provides training for professionals and awareness-raising workshops. Moreover, the creation of economic activities indirectly addresses the socio-professional integration of migrants.

The EPT guides the programme with the cities and/or associations and acts as an Intermediate Body to support project leaders and pre-instruct candidate projects; the allocation of €9.4 million supports various measures.

The ITI unit assists project leaders seeking access to ESF funds. For instance, a project providing reintegration help towards employment, almost 50% funded by the ESF, would have been excluded from European funds without the support of the ITI unit.

6.4.3 The ITI of Est Ensemble

The ITI includes nine municipalities: Bagnolet, Bobigny, Bondy, Les Lilas, Le Pré Saint-Gervais, Montreuil, Noisy-le-Sec, Pantin et Romainville. The EPT has a significant proportion of people in vulnerable condition: the average household income is less than half the regional average; many social housing estates need attention; industries used to provide jobs are no longer influential; tertiary jobs do not match the skills and qualifications of the inhabitants.

The EPT targets 21 priority neighbourhoods requiring additional infrastructural and social policies.

The ITI establishes two priorities: the economic and social development of the area and the improvement of the urban environment. However, it was also selected due to the excellence in combining ERDF and ESF in a highly integrated project and the capacity to link to another local environmental programme.

Though not focusing on them, the programme dedicated a specific project to migrants in the context of adult language training, anti-discrimination measures, the rehousing of families from the Roma community, Roma teenagers and young people through a project of schooling and professionalization, and social entrepreneurship. The managing authority, however, considers that migrants are the target of other policies.

The ITI allows for more ambitious long-term projects in sustainable development, biodiversity, climate businesses and the fight against discrimination: counteracting school drop-out; promoting competitiveness; ICT applications; energy-efficient renovation of run-down buildings.

Among the other measures explicitly involving migrants, language training provides literacy courses in French as a foreign language and socio-linguistic workshops to address the trainees' social issues. In addition, there is an attempt to discourage discriminatory practices for job providers, training schools and organisations and local authorities. Furthermore, the Resonances Nord/Sud project aims to improve professional integration by creating small social enterprises in Africa and pooling partners' expertise (training, support/advice, monitoring) and financing (seed funds, guarantees, credit). Finally, a measure supported by both ESF and ERDF provides housing solutions to a Roma community in Montreuil, complemented by measures for the schooling and training of Roma youngsters.

The ITI project is based on previous strategic measures for local development, social policies and housing, and the Energy and Climate Plan to bring about overall coherence, a link that mobilises many public and private partners. The governance model is based on existing steering bodies to ensure efficient management of the funds. Two committees, one grouping all the directors of departments of the EPT, the second the directors of the services provided by the municipalities, monitor the implementation of the programme and select the projects on a weekly basis. The Community Bureau comprises the elected council members that steer the EPT and ITI strategy. Some frictions have occurred between the ITI steering bodies and the region, notably regarding payment deadlines, as the ITI steering bodies found it challenging to reassure project leaders on these issues and on constraints (changes in amounts because not all supporting documents could be provided).

6.5 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

The ITI agenda

Because of the flexibility of the ITI tool, it is up to each territory to decide whether or not to tackle the issue of the social inclusion of migrants. However, two levels of policymaking shape the ITI guidelines to include migrants:

— The social inclusion of migrants can be included as an objective in the official documents setting out the guidelines of the ITI, such as the diagnosis of the territory or the territorial project. This is the case of the EPT Grand Paris Grand Est, whose territory diagnosis indicates that the EPT's strategy is aimed at populations 'of immigrant origin'.

— The social inclusion of migrants can be addressed during the implementation of ITI projects. In this case, selected projects target migrants directly or indirectly. Some chose EPT projects that directly target

migrants from the outset, such as Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune, directed at 'adult migrants'. Thanks to a regional call, the EPT Grand Orly Seine Bièvre had the opportunity to add projects designed for the Roma population during the programming period. Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune also implemented housing projects for Roma populations following the AMIF of 2017.

However, most EPTs that set up measures benefitting migrants did not mention them among the targets. For example, the current projects of Paris (18th, 19th and 20th arrondissements), Grand Paris Grand Est, Grand Orly Seine Brève, Roissy Pays de France, Grand Paris Seine et Oise are indirectly directed towards migrants, offering language training, access to social benefits, and fighting discrimination. Finally, a few EPTs – ValléeSud Grand Paris, Grand Paris Sud-Est Avenir and Paris Terresd'Envol – did not retain any projects that indirectly or directly benefit migrants.

The emergence of these concerns depends on the needs and demographic characteristics of the territory: for example, the EPTs Est Ensemble and Plaine Commune recognise the vital role of reception and integration of migrants in the territory; Paris, where the presence of migrants is comparatively moderate (-9.5% compared to the regional average), the specific nature of the 'arrondissements' led to the implementation of projects concerning 'groups in vulnerable condition' which included migrants. To the contrary, the lower presence of migrants in the EPTs ValléeSud Grand Paris and Grand Paris Sud-Est explains the lack of specific initiatives.

A remarkable exception is the EPT Paris Terresd'Envol area, which does not promote initiatives despite having a considerable migrant presence.

Political representation is another factor playing a role in implementing projects related to the inclusion of migrants. For example, in Plaine commune and Est Ensemble, the local authorities traditionally engaged in these issues implemented inclusion projects targeting migrants. However, this is not the case for all ITIs: politically, some territories do not want to commit to the inclusion of migrants. For example, in Melun, outside the MGP, elected officials are reluctant to embark on this type of projects, according to the interviews.

The presence of involved and capable project leaders facilitates the implementation of projects targeting migrants, again in Plaine Commune and Est Ensemble. Often, however, the associations are too small to cope with European funding regulations. Local authorities are in a better position to manage these initiatives, as in ValléeSud Grand Paris.

In Grand Paris Sud, the failure to thematize migrants is due to a combination of these three factors, although the main reason is that the primary needs of the territory were not related to the inclusion of migrants.

The inclusion of migrants is part of the project of some EPTs that may either address the integration of migrants explicitly, implicitly or avoid it. We have identified four types of involvement (Table 4):

— A direct thematisation of the inclusion of migrants since the inception of the ITI and corresponding initiatives in different sectors (T8 Est Ensemble; T9 Grand Paris Grand Est). Although migrants are not directly mentioned in the target audience of the ITIs, they may be mentioned in documents supporting the ITI (Grand Paris Grand Est; Grand Paris Sud-Est Avenir; Grand Paris Grand Est).

— A focus on several projects aimed at the inclusion of migrants set up during the ongoing process despite limited or no thematisation of the inclusion of migrants (T12 – Grand-Orly Seine Bièvre) but measures targeting migrants are included in a call for marginalised communities 'such as the Roma'. The answer to this call raised the issue of stigma towards the applicant (Seine Amont).

— An indirect focus on several projects under the calls for the general 'inclusion' priority even with limited or no thematisation (T6 Plaine Commune; and, outside the MGP, Melun). Difficult to achieve because the actors do not detect the issue, so there are not many actors involved in this theme (Plaine Commune interview, Cremaschi 2021).

— A scarce interest or no mention of the migrant issue and consequently no projects even indirectly targeting them (T2 Vallée Sud Grand Paris; T3 Grand Paris Seine Ouest; T7 Paris Terre d'Envol).

Table 4. ITI in the MGP: content and strategies

Intermediate metropolitan body	Migrants %([1])	Thematisation	Type of project	Matching
1 – Ville de Paris	Moderate	Limited	Very finalised	High
T2 – Vallée Sud Grand Paris	Very Low	No	No project	Consistent
T5 – Boucle Nord de Seine	High	Limited	No projects	LOW
T6 – Plaine Commune	Very high	Strong:	Very finalised	High
T7 – Paris Terresd'Envol	Very high	Limited	No project	LOW
T8 – Est Ensemble	Very high	Strong	Very finalised	High
T9 – Grand Paris - Grand Est	Very low	Limited	Very finalised	High
T11 – Grand Paris Sud Est Avenir	Low	Limited	Limited finalisation	LOW
T12 – Grand-Orly Seine Bièvre	Moderate	Limited	Very finalised	Consistent

([1])   Presence of migrants compared to the regional average: Very low: 25% less; low: between 15 and 25%; Moderate: plus or minus 15%; High: above 15%; Very high: above 25%

The ITIs in the MGP have shown great collaboration potential between different tiers of the local government and the many different institutions of the regions (Cremaschi et al. 2021). The integration of funds challenges the inertia of administrative structures and encourages territorial collaboration. ITI enhanced the complementarity between central and peripheral areas, consolidating existing organisational structures and building trust among levels of government. ITIs are the response to an ad hoc policy conducted by the region. To this end, ITIs helped to enhance the funding management in the whole territory, providing support and capacity-building resources. Furthermore, this initiative helped create a pool of experts in the region, giving local authorities more chances to participate in future calls for EU funds and projects.

Private stakeholders, such as start-ups, interest associations, and NGOs, are less involved in the ERDF than the ESF. Concerning the ESF, associations often implement co-funded projects. It is hard for associations to obtain funding directly from the European funds, as this requires a lot of resources. Moreover, many local stakeholders learned new policy approaches and acquired skills in fund management. ITIs introduced additional tools for decision-making, management and the implementation of measures, and know-how. In this context, ITI helped to shift the 'cognitive' barriers of stakeholders, ' opening windows of opportunity to steer public action towards complex problems, in need of integrated solutions' (Cremaschi et al. 2021).

The implementation also reveals a few shortcomings. The ITI measures address issues relevant to the integration of migrants but rarely deal with basic needs and related policies such as housing and transport, the reason simply being that these are not ITI competencies (a notable exception is the rehousing of the Roma groups). This leaves open the question of whether public authorities deal with these needs through other means and policies.

In general, measures are not based on structural investments but rather on the 'empowerment' of migrants and their 'know-how'. Thus, most of the projects concern linguistic capacities, language learning (Grand Paris Grand Est; Est ensemble; Plaine commune; Paris; Roissy); access to employment (Melun; Est Ensemble; Paris); counteracting school drop-out, which implicitly benefits immigrant populations (Grand Paris Grand Est, Melun).

Some ITIs (Grand Paris Grand Est) organise initiatives as a series of steps involving beneficiaries, first with language platforms, followed by learning classes and training courses: language assessment, French lessons, job training and support towards employment (Plaine Commune). Some projects concern access to knowledge of the laws through information campaigns and the fight against discrimination (Plaine Commune, Paris). Therefore, most of the projects mobilise ESF funds. This is likely to pose a problem for the next programming period, given that the region will only delegate the management of the ERDF. However, some ITIs mobilised ERDF funds, particularly in the context of the inclusion of Roma people. For example, the Roma rehousing project in Montreuil uses both ERDF and ESF. In some cases, ERDF supports projects that benefit migrants: such as a cultural activity centre in Montfermeil and the renovation of the Emmaus premises in Paris. However, in most territories, the ERDF is also used for energy-efficient renovation, which indirectly benefits migrants.

Measures aimed at migrants are also restricted due to the constraints of monitoring ITI projects. Indeed, many supporting documents must be provided, including identity documents. However, these documents are difficult to obtain in projects where beneficiaries wish to remain anonymous or do not have papers. In addition, non-sedentary people have difficulty obtaining beneficiary monitoring documents. Requiring detailed information and monitoring beneficiaries may therefore be an obstacle. For instance, beneficiaries found it challenging to declare that they were part of 'marginalised populations such as Roma' during project monitoring.

6.6 CONCLUSION

Most of the Paris ITIs did not target migrants initially, but the issue of inclusion re-emerged even when not directly thematised. EPTs have framed inclusion policy in the broader national or EU framework. One of the main conclusions of this case is that some local authorities have been differently proactive and responsible, affecting the capacity to adapt the framework to local needs.

A few main strong points can be emphasised:

— ITIs consolidated pre-existing strategic frameworks, as desired by the region's programmatic guidelines. Paris ITIs are based on the national framework of urban policy, and integrated urban strategies result from the proximity between the two systems. However, a coherent framework for a local integration policy is anything but clear. The French policy tool of 'partnership contracts of the Politique de la Ville may be one of the ways to make it operational.

— EPTs may freely select the priorities they want to address (economic development, inclusion, training, energy transition, etc.) for their strategies. ITIs complement the territorial strategies already established but only marginally added new topics. Hence the high coherence between integrated urban strategy and pre-existing regional public policies (Regional Council, 2020).

— Local authorities are likely to carry out initiatives when larger projects and ERDF are required; local associations and NGOs intervene when a more fine-tuned approach with a cultural focus are needed, as is often the case with ESF funds.

— Migrants are mainly addressed through language tuition initiatives. Access to jobs is also important but less promoted; special needs groups like the Roma receive tailored policies.

— Project leaders and, in general, local governance strategic capacities grew with the experience of managing when supported by guidance from the managing authorities and intermediate bodies. Nevertheless, access to funding is subordinated to the capacity to manage projects and to advance financing, which excludes many associations due to the lack of technical and financial ability.

However, a few limitations also emerged:

— The administrative burden and payment delays penalise small organisations that rarely have the organisational and managerial resources to set up and implement complex projects.

— A second penalisation is financial since funds arrive at the end of the projects, excluding organisations without a large turnover, often hindering small organisations that are active towards migrants.

— Requested monitoring and the related burden of providing documentation (identity documents, pre- and post-participation questionnaires, etc.) are difficult to obtain from a migrant public.

— There is a need to harmonise cohesion policies and maintain consistency between territories, so there is no flexibility to integrate beneficiaries in the process.

— The complex multi-level EU funding process has left little room for the direct involvement of migrants, and migrants have little or no participation in the design, selection and implementation of projects and territorial strategies.

In conclusion, France deploys a strong national framework of social policies to integrate migrants targeting the neighbourhoods where most of the population experiencing a condition of disadvantage is concentrated, coming mostly from only eight countries in Northern Africa in particular. Beyond the continuing inequalities, France is also a success story: several significant political and cultural figures, such as the mayor of Paris, reflect these different migration situations.

An element of uncertainty concerns the notion of migrants. This is not immediately helpful due to the long story of immigration in the country, the lack of data on ethnic origins, and the republican model that tends to hide significant distinctive features among immigrants, foreign-born, second-generation citizens or citizens from former colonial countries.

The second element of uncertainty concerns the notion of integration, which is under review, due to the impending crises: Covid, the economy, the climate. The perimeter of integration has often evolved. Access to the job market today is still a significant issue in a situation of weakened economic outlook. At the same time, the notion of cultural integration is widely discussed and often criticised for diametrically opposed reasons.

Finally, the national social policies for housing, urban renewal and education have often been revised and suffer from a long-lasting lack of resources. ITI policies are deemed to complement this framework which however is adrift. Even the best cases therefore have to confront troubling trends.

In this evolving context, an affirmation of local integrated strategies seems consistent with the continued trend towards the decentralisation of the French system and with the need to encompass the challenge of the inclusion of migrants. The French case shows that a better match between EU and national policies is fruitful but has to be mainstreamed more swiftly.

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7 The neighbourhood-based approach of the Sustainable Urban Development strategies in Venice

Briata, P.[91]

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The Functional Urban Area of Venice is characterised by the dominant presence of the city of Venice comprising its historical centre with the lagoon, and the two main settlements on the mainland, Porto Marghera and Mestre. At the same time, Venice is, together with Padua and Treviso, one of the cities forming a 'polycentric city-region', the result of an urban sprawl generated by a diffuse industrialisation process. This 'città diffusa' – diffuse city – (Indovina 1990) is characterised by low density urban areas, where residential settlements mixed with small and medium enterprises are intertwined with agricultural land.

For many years, this area has been one of Italy's best-performing regions in terms of economic growth (OECD 2015). Understanding the presence of these two 'territorial systems' is a key point for studying the socio-economic and territorial dynamics of Venice and its metropolitan area.

Strategically positioned in North East Italy, Venice is the first port in the Adriatic Sea and an epicentre of maritime trade with the Middle East and Asia. Thanks also to the opening of the international airport in 1960, both the sea and air connections have played a core role in making the city a port of entry into Italy and Europe for immigrants arriving from Eastern European and Asian countries. The historical centre of Venice is an epicentre not only for tourism and all the related services, but also for the presence of very important institutions in the field of education (from a wide variety of secondary schools to universities), as well as regional and municipal offices. Porto Marghera is a commercial and industrial port, and is the main industrial pole in the whole lagoon area. Mestre is a relevant transport hub, and a tertiary pole, where other municipal and metropolitan offices are also located.

The Functional Urban Area (FUA) as defined in EUROSTAT (Dijkstra, Poelman and Veneri 2019) is not a point of reference in local policy making and it is never mentioned in policy documents. According to all the actors interviewed, this also happens due to a series of overlapping tasks on specific issues involving the territories governed by the different municipalities in the context of the metropolitan city, and the recently established Metropolitan City of Venice (law 56/2014). This territory comprises a large number of municipalities that tend to be very small in terms of both population and land. The metropolitan city covers the same territory as the former Province of Venice, and the fact that, in framing its boundaries and areas of work, the long term economic relationships between the Provinces of Padua, Venice and Treviso were not considered, is seen as a 'functional weakness' itself (OECD 2015; Calafati 2016).

Despite this, a territory involving most of the municipalities included in the FUA with some other municipalities included in the metropolitan city has recently been a point of reference to obtain funding from two national programmes for the peripheral areas: the Piano periferie launched in 2016, and the Programma Innovativo Nazionale per la Qualità dell'Abitare (PINQuA) launched in 2020 (Comune di Venezia 2016; 2021).

Venice with its port, airport and location is a natural hub between Europe on the one side, and the Eastern European countries, the Middle East and Asia on the other. For this reason, significant numbers of migrants started to arrive there before arriving in other Italian cities and territories, leading Venice to develop its own 'policy style' as an arrival city. Since the 1990s migrants from the Balkans have had a lot of support from the local authorities, and the Council also set up participatory approaches for dealing with the related sanitary, social, economic and cultural issues. Strategies to address the presence of immigrants and refugees were intended in the long term, and the goal was to support them in finding employment and housing and to integrate into the local society. Given this context, the current situation is characterised by new arrivals, but also by the significant presence of migrant families who are long-term residents within the metropolitan area, as well as by the presence of second generations (Cancellieri et al. 2014).

After 2010, the effects of the economic crisis led to a shrinking capacity for activity from the public sector, that was also reflected in integration policies. Moreover, after 2015 major changes in the political orientation of the

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municipality of Venice led to a more controversial public debate on the immigrants' presence, coupled with local initiatives to support them that are still carried out, but should be as 'invisible' as possible (Caponio 2006; Briata, 2014). The current policy narrative follows this style, and is thus dominated by the idea that policies should support immigrant and native inhabitants in need in the same way.

In this context, two strategies for Sustainable Urban Development (SUD) have been implemented in the framework of EU Cohesion Policy 2014-2020: the strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice funded by the national operational programme called PON Metro, and the Integrated Strategy for the Urban Area of Venice funded by the ERDF regional operational programme. In both cases, migrants were not a specific target, but were 'indirectly' concerned by at least three types of measures: (a) sustaining innovative and affordable residential solutions; (b) developing a greener public transport system that also led to improvement in connections with central Venice; (c) promoting regeneration of public spaces especially in Porto Marghera and Mestre, where the immigrant presence is higher.

Methodology

The methodology to develop this case-study involved the analysis of the documents related to EU policies carried out at local level (not necessarily Cohesion Policy); readings of grey literature; literature review on immigration and policies to deal with immigration in Venice and its metropolitan area, as well as literature on the governance system of this territory; analysis of census data in the different municipalities and at metropolitan level; press review; analysis of the coordinated web ecosystem developed to disseminate the implementation of the Cohesion Policy 2014-2020 projects and results; interviews with relevant actors and stakeholders[92]. Direct participant observation was not possible due to Covid-2019 restrictions, therefore documentaries such as Il pianeta in mare (The planet in the sea, 2019), by filmmaker Andrea Segre, or essays such as Marghera. Da città industriale a città degli immigrati (Marghera. From industrial city to immigrant city, 2019) written by the Senegalese anthropologist living in the area Simal Magatte, were used to include interesting ethnographical insights into the complex industrial and residential reality of Porto Marghera.

7.2 ANALYSIS OF THE LOCAL CONTEXT

7.2.1 Migration in the FUA/Metropolitan area

As reported by OECD (2015: 14-15) 'relying on population settlement and commuting data, the OECD identified a tightly intertwined functional urban area (FUA) around the municipality of Venice: this area accounts for 44% of the provincial territory, 32% of the province's municipalities, 64% of the population and 69% of total employment'. Despite this, describing the FUA of Venice using local data is not so straightforward, as most of the existing information (as well as policies) refer either to the single municipalities, or to the metropolitan area of Venice as a whole

The metropolitan area of Venice comprises 44 municipalities. The EUROSTAT FUA is smaller, covering only 15 municipalities (including the historical city of Venice with the lagoon, and the mainland areas of Mestre and Porto Marghera), and in territorial terms, it represents the core of the metropolitan area. The rest of the municipalities that are not in the FUA constitute a sort of 'second belt' around this core.

Finally, the Integrated Strategy for the Urban Area of Venice only considered Venice and the other five municipalities around it, defining another 'functional area', different to the EUROSTAT area (Fioretti and Pertoldi 2020).

From the demographical point of view, the population in Venice is decreasing, while increasing especially in Marcon, but also in Spinea and Salzano. From these data it is evident that these municipalities in the first belt around Venice (historical city, as well as mainland) are absorbing the demand housing that is not met in the core of the Venice municipality. In addition, Venice remains an epicentre for employment, secondary schools and universities. From 2004 to 2014, an ageing population appeared as a relevant issue, resulting in a demand for support especially in central Venice, Spinea and Mirano. Another significant demographic trend during the same time slot is related to immigration, as foreign residents in the urban area have increased from 7000 to 31 540. The increasing number of older people and immigrants coupled with the persisting economic crisis are

the main challenges for social cohesion in this area: new forms of weakness and poverty, new needs, new challenges for the public services and for the mobility system (Comune di Venezia 2020).

Data on the immigrant presence at FUA level are obtained by looking at the data for the municipalities included in the FUA by EUROSTAT (Table 1). From these data for 2018, it is evident that the distribution of foreigners in the 'città diffusa' is itself 'diffuse', and in most of the municipalities, in terms of immigrant presence, this ranges from 5% to 10% over the total population (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Foreign residents in the Functional Urban Area
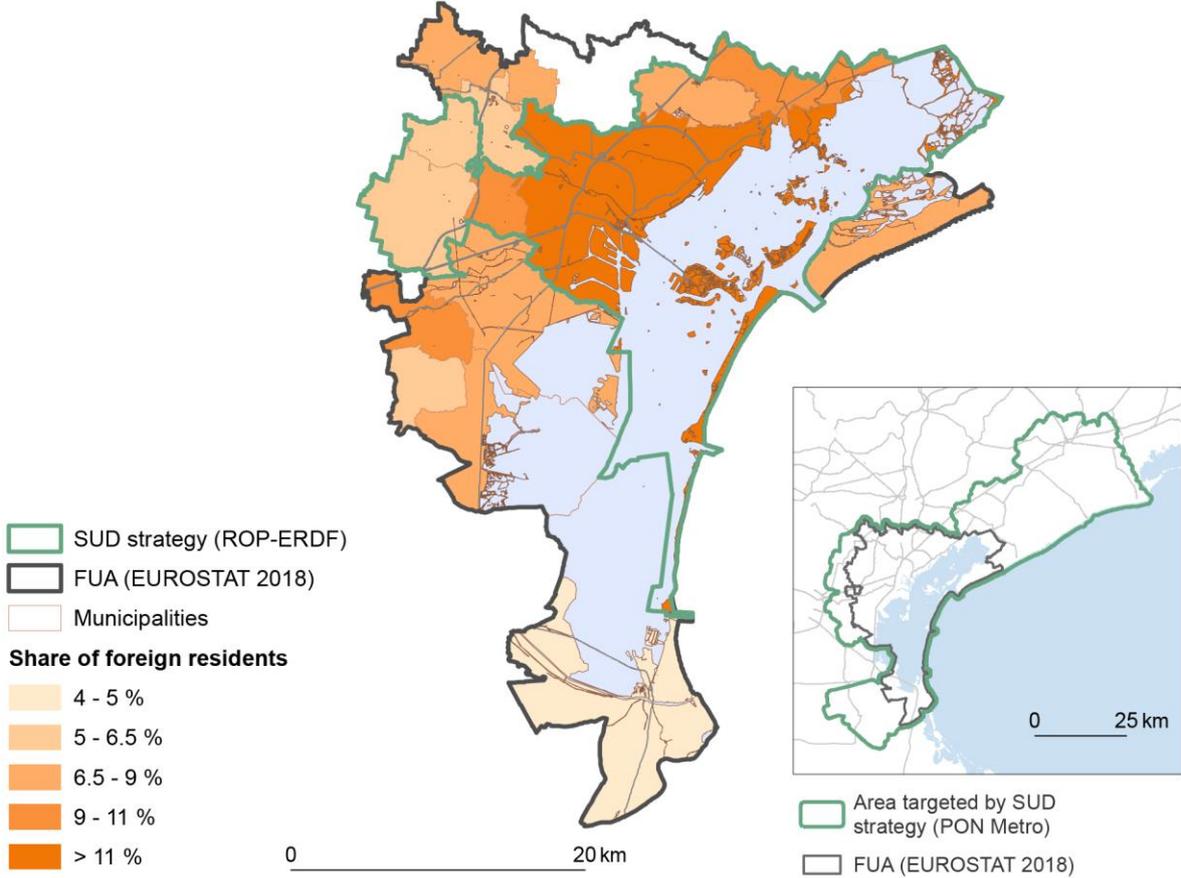
Source: Own elaboration based on ISTAT, 2018.

The places where the immigrant presence is higher are Venice (13.3%), Quarto d'Altino (10.5%), and Spinea (9.5%). All these municipalities have been involved in SUD strategies funded by the Cohesion Policy 2014–2020. Other Municipalities involved in SUD strategies such as Marcon, Mirano and Salzano, show a lower immigrant presence (respectively 6.6%, 6% and 5.1%).

Table 1. Residents and foreigners in the FUA Municipalities

Municipality	Residents	Foreigners	% Foreigners
Venezia	260 585	34 805	13.3
Campagna Lupia	7 236	551	7.6
Camponogara	13 177	764	5.8
CavallinoTreporti	13 552	1 117	8.2
Chioggia	48 886	1 959	4.0
Dolo	14 989	1 402	9.3
Marcon	17 366	1 138	6.6
Martellago	21 469	1 281	5.9
Mira	38 544	3 353	10.5
Mirano	27 181	1 649	6.0
Mogliano Veneto	14 123	1196	8.5
Quarto d'Altino	7 997	840	10.5
Salzano	12 881	660	5.1
Scorzè	18 761	1 475	7.9
Spinea	27 403	2 612	9.5
Tot FUA	544 150	54 800	10

Source: Istat, January 1st 2018.

Considering the Italian context, some of these proportions are higher if compared with the national situation as immigrants in Italy represent 8.5% of the total population. The proportion in Venice is slightly higher than in Rome (12.4%), but lower if compared to Milan, the most attractive city for immigrants (18.2%).

Venice is in line with another two major cities in the Veneto Region (13.9% in Verona, and 13.6% in Treviso), but has a lower proportion than in the neighbouring city of Padua (15.9%). The proportion of immigrants in the FUA is 9.9%, reflecting the tendency in the whole of the Metropolitan area (9.7%). The main countries of origin are Romania (21.5%), Moldova (10.3%), Bangladesh (9.3%), Albania (8.3%) and China (7.5%) (ISTAT, 2018). According to a report produced by Regione Veneto in 2019, 75% of the residence permits in the metropolitan area of Venice are granted both for long term stays and family reunions, evidence of quite an established group of immigrants.

Looking more in detail at the main area that constitutes Venice, in the historical city immigrant residents represent 13.3% of the population, while higher proportions can be found in Marghera (28.5%) and Mestre (18.9%) (Comune di Venezia 2018).

7.2.2 Between tourism, the industrial crisis and the 'diffuse city'

Since the end of the 18th Century, tourism has been at the heart of the local economy in the metropolitan area of Venice and, before the Covid pandemic, around 14 million tourists visited Venice each year. Most of the workers in the city – immigrant and native – are employed in tourism and related industries. Mass tourism has also created problems for local residents, particularly in terms of affordable housing and the depopulation of

the historical city. Also, for this reason, Porto Marghera, Mestre and other small municipalities in the first belt around Venice are the most attractive areas in terms of residential choices for families of any origin including immigrants, and for many students who attend Venice's universities. Here housing costs are lower, and connections with the historical city, including by public transport, work quite well.

Since the 1920s the industrial area of Porto Marghera has been dominated by the presence of a huge oil-refining and petrochemical complex, a key resource in terms of employment. However, its presence is also problematic as it has caused severe long term consequences in terms of pollution (Cerasi 2007). The complex has been progressively decommissioned, but the area remains one of the most relevant industrial poles around the lagoon, given the presence of mechanical, chemical and glass factories, the shipyard Fincantieri, as well as the establishment, in 1993, of the scientific and technological pole VEGA (Venice gateway for science and technology).

In 1970, people working in Marghera numbered 40 000, while the latest data from the Municipality of Venice (Osservatorio Porto Marghera 2019) reveal that today this figure is around 12 000, working in 915 factories [93]. In 2018-2019, the filmmaker Andrea Segre made a documentary about Marghera cooperating with the local politician and activist Gianfranco Bettin. *Il pianeta in mare* is an insightful work on life and work in contemporary Marghera. It follows the life of the older residents, young people working in VEGA, as well as the 'newcomers' – some are immigrants who arrived twenty years ago and have families in Venice, others arrived more recently and their families are still abroad. The documentary shows that half of the workers of Fincantieri come from among these 'newcomers', and that 60 different nationalities are represented in the job market of Porto Marghera.

Looking at the 'città diffusa', Venice and its tertiary pole, Mestre, play a key role within the larger economic system of the Veneto Region, based upon the production of export-oriented high-quality goods by small and family-owned businesses in the manufacturing sector. In this context, among the municipalities included in the FUA and interested in Sustainable Urban Development Strategies (2014-2020), Spinea to the West of Venice is the most densely populated and is perceived as a neighbourhood of Mestre; Marcon and Quarto d'Altino to the North are characterised by the presence of small factories and places for the storage of goods. In these areas, housing is very affordable, and good connections with Venice make them another attractive area for immigrants and families with low budgets These municipalities count on long term cooperation with the city of Venice as in the past they were also all part of the same ASL (the local public body managing health services), and are now experiencing the 'associated management of local services' (in Italian: gestione associata dei servizi) while for other municipalities there was not such pre-existing cooperation. Mirano and Salzano are more oriented in terms of socio-economic relationships towards the Riviera del Brenta area, and do not have such a strong relationship with Venice. Also in this area, housing costs are lower, and, in particular, students attending the universities in Venice find accommodation here.

Most of the immigrants living in the metropolitan area are employed in the hospitality sector and are commuters: jobs include waiters, accounting for 21% of the new employment relationships, followed by non-qualified personnel in restaurant services, 12.8%, and cooks in hotels and restaurants (6.6%). Other types of work for immigrants in the area include clerks, sales assistants and personal services. Women in particular constitute a core job force as care givers (Ministero del Lavoro e delle Politiche Sociali, 2018).

The metropolitan area of Venice ranks seventh among the metropolitan cities for the number of businesses owned by immigrant entrepreneurs: 5 187 business owners with an immigrant background mainly work in the trade sector (39%) and in the construction sector (24.1%), accounting for 13.3% of the total number of individual entrepreneurs in the area of study (ibid).

Some of these jobs were significantly affected by Covid-2019: at metropolitan level Venice lost 20 000 jobs between 2019 and 2020, and most of them were in the hospitality sector (Veneto Lavoro 2020). The virus was also a significant indicator showing that a decent home is a key point for survival, and this means that housing for the most deprived groups, including immigrants, was and remains a core challenge for the city. Also, for this reason, the local agencies for Social Cohesion located in the historical city, in Marghera and in Mestre, have been working for a long time as facilitators and mediators in seeking access to affordable housing. A key task of these agencies is to overcome the lack of trust of Italian landlords when renting a flat to an immigrant and his/her family.

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[93] Since 2017 Venice has been included in the National list of 'Complex Industrial Crisis Areas', meaning that special funding will come from the central government to revitalise the industrial milieu of the city. Data on Porto Marghera show a significant move towards logistics and services. This means that, in particular, the future of the industrial area of Porto Marghera, which plays a key role in the job market at metropolitan level, is a strategic challenge from the economic and environmental point of view.

In terms of services, a report dated 2018 related to an AMIF (Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund) project, mapped a constellation of 270 public/private/third sector actors and bodies, offering services to foreigners in the context of the metropolitan city, covering assistance on arrival as well as more structural issues. A quarter of these services are located in Venice and in other middle-sized Municipalities, but a significant presence in the small municipalities should be underlined (FAMI CapaCityMetro 2018). This results in a capillary distribution in the local territory that could be interpreted as another side of the diffuse city. The municipalities have invested greatly in dialogue and integration especially with local associations, including those run by immigrants and for immigrants.

Among the most relevant social issues arising in the metropolitan city due to the immigrant presence, interviews of actors working in the office running social services make reference to overcrowding in some buildings (especially with respect to the Bangladeshi presence, and particularly problematic during the pandemic); the presence in the whole metropolitan territory of baby gangs formed by young second and third generation immigrants of different origins; the high proportion of immigrants in some local schools.

7.2.3   The immigrant presence in Porto Marghera and Mestre

The immigrant settlement within the metropolitan area of Venice is not characterised by a significant phenomenon of concentration, with some exceptions in Mestre and Porto Marghera. The industrial area of Porto Marghera has always been an area of immigration area: from Southern Italy after the Second World War, from many different countries of the world especially since the beginning of the current century (Marzadro 2011; Magatte 2019; Ballarin 2020).

Here, between 1965 and 1974, the neighbourhood called Cita, comprising 938 flats, was built. At the beginning the mixed-tenure of this development caused a separation between three different populations. Three blocks of 290 flats were sold to middle-class families. One tower block with 68 flats was and still is managed by the Municipality, and hosts vulnerable and deprived populations, sometimes in transit in Venice, sometimes staying for longer periods of time, hence the name given to the building: the 'parking tower'. Finally other 580 flats distributed in five different buildings were managed by national bodies supporting people and families working in the Public Administration[94]. However, in the 1980s some of the historical separations between local residents were overcome thanks to a series of actions taken by a local neighbourhood committee formed from people from the whole neighbourhood. The objective of these actions was to ask for neighbourhood improvement and the deployment of more services.

Then, in 1998 another change occurred at Cita as the flats owned by national bodies started to be sold, giving priorities and benefits to people living there. At the same time, immigrants started to become a significant population in Venice, and Cita was an attractive residential solution due to affordable prices, and to the fact that most of the flats are very big (in some cases with 8/10 rooms). This meant they could be rented and used by large immigrant families (Marzadro 2011).

Nowadays the neighbourhood is still characterised by mixed-tenure but of a different composition (public housing run by the municipality, as well as private flats), and the immigrant situation is mixed in terms of tenure: some have bought the flats, some have rented them from Italian landlords, others rent from other immigrants.

The proportion of immigrant in Cita is now around 32% in a settlement inhabited by 2500 people. Among these, 48% are from Bangladesh, 15% from China, 7.9% from Romania and Moldova (Ballarin 2020). The neighbourhood has always been quite isolated from the rest of the city, and housing is not in good condition. The same could be said for the public spaces that are intensively used by the newcomers. A wide number of local associations work in the area, cooperating with the public bodies, as well as with grassroots groups which are less 'institutionalised' than associations. All these realities promote a wide range of initiatives related to cultural mediation and intercultural relations in local schools and libraries (Ballarin 2020). The public library of Porto Marghera is a point of reference for many teenagers including boys and girls with an immigrant background. Similar issues related to concentration can be found in the Southern part of Porto Marghera.

Another place with a 'concentration' of immigrants is the Piave neighbourhood in Mestre, close to the train station, a main transport hub at local and international level. Newcomers to Mestre come mainly from Bangladesh, China and East Europe. Their presence is visible in particular in the local shops which are almost completely run by people of immigrant origin. With respect to the shops, only a few serve niche markets (food

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[94] INADEL – Istituto nazionale assistenza dipendenti degli enti locali, then INPDAP – Istituto nazionale assistenza dipendenti pubblici.

and garments) with an ethnic connation, in other cases the ethnic connotation is only linked to the country of origin of the owners.

As for schools, in some local schools the presence of foreigners is around 75%. High proportions of immigrants are not only the result of immigration, but also to phenomena such as the 'white flight', and to the fact that some schools (e.g. the Istituto Comprensivo Giulio Cesare) have a very inclusive policy, and attract immigrants from other areas of Venice.

Some public spaces such as the Parco della Bissuola are meeting points for the immigrants, but also for the baby gangs. For this reason, areas like this have been one of the epicentres of public intervention, including regeneration initiatives carried out through Cohesion Policy funding 2014-2020.

7.3 ANALYSIS OF THE POLICIES

Two Sustainable Urban Development strategies promoted by the EU Cohesion Policy were carried out in Venice in the 2014-2020 programming period: the Strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice, and the Integrated Strategy of the Urban Area of Venice. The SUD strategies cover areas that overlap only partially with the FUA which, as mentioned above, is not a point of reference in local policy making. Both strategies make some direct references to issues related to the immigrants' presence, and measures to contrast social exclusion seem to also have these populations as a target. An important point relates to the fact that the two strategies have been promoted in an integrated manner, trying to avoid overlaps and duplications. Many measures promoted by the strategies were related to 'social' housing, and to sustainable mobility issues therefore they complemented existing local plans. In the following sections the two strategies will be analysed, starting with some statements in the strategy documents, and moving on to operational programmes and action plans. In addition, their relation with pre-existing local policies will be also explained.

7.3.1 The Strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice

In the Italian context, based on the Delrio Law (56/2014), the provinces are experiencing downsizing in their functions, while the metropolitan cities are playing a more active role as major demographic hubs, and as the drivers for development and innovation. To this end in 2014 the National Operational Programme for Metropolitan cities (PON Metro) was adopted. This programme is entirely devoted to promoting sustainable urban development strategies in the 14 metropolitan areas of Italy. For the programming period 2014-2020 EUR 892 million were allocated. EUR 588 was funded by the EU (EUR 446 from the European Regional Development Fund, and EUR 142 from the European Social Fund) and the rest came from national co-financing. The areas concerned cover the territories of the metropolitan cities, with activities more focused on certain parts, and on the territory of the main municipality. The PON Metro is aligned with the EU Urban Agenda and with the objectives of Europe 2020. Integrated measures were taken to redesign and modernise urban services in line with the smart city paradigm, as well as to promote the social inclusion of the most vulnerable groups and of the most deprived neighbourhoods (Briata, Laino, Pasqui 2016).

The municipalities that are 'provincial capitals', in this case Venice, as intermediate bodies, are the implementing bodies of the PON Metro, while the Managing Authority is the national agency for territorial cohesion (Agenzia per la Coesione Territoriale).

In Venice, the PON Metro funded the Strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice. This is in line with the local strategic plan approved in 2004, as well as with a series of planning tools, dealing with energy/environment, culture, mobility and infrastructures, housing and tourism. Housing is a key point and has to take into account issues related to affordability as well as to the increasing diversification of the urban populations living in Venice and on the mainland. Other important issues are related to the quality and accessibility of public spaces, the improvement of mobility infrastructures, the consolidation of welfare provision also through e-government systems.

Migrants in the strategy for the Metropolitan Area

Focusing on immigration and looking at the main programming documents, immigrants are mentioned explicitly in only two sections with respect to demographic and social challenges. In regard to demographic challenges the immigration issue is mentioned in reference to the built environment, as in the Venetian mainland – especially in Mestre and Porto Marghera – the housing stock built from the post-war period until the 1970s is in very poor condition, both in terms of aesthetics and energy saving performance. Some dwellings have been abandoned by the native inhabitants and rented/bought by immigrants who also use public spaces more

frequently as meeting places. According to the strategy for the metropolitan area, these dwellings and related public spaces deserved attention (Comune di Venezia 2016).

In regard to social challenges, the programming documents underline that Venice is characterised by an international and cosmopolitan vocation, both thanks to the tourism flows and to the presence of major traffic points. New populations move in the urban and metropolitan areas with specific needs that the current city welfare policy does not contemplate. Marginality concerns residents, as well as people passing through the city and looking for temporary solutions: refugees and asylum seekers, but also Italian or immigrant people without resources. Given this context, the strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice refers to two social challenges: (a) the need to promote integration policies to ensure that the contribution of second generations (foreign births) will be able to contribute to the growth of the society as a whole; (b) the need to develop through welfare and social policy systems strategies to support families and women (family-work conciliation) also by experimenting with flexible and innovative housing offers for immigrants and refugees. In both these challenges, issues also related to the immigrant presence intersect more or less explicitly (Comune di Venezia 2016).

Infrastructures and services for social inclusion

The strategy for the Metropolitan of Venice is structured along different lines as follows:

1. Metropolitan digital agenda (EUR 7 215 550.11).

2. Sustainability of public services and urban mobility (EUR 10 934 316.70).

3. Services for social inclusion (EUR 9 975 586.19).

4. Infrastructures for social inclusion (EUR 11 174 204.43).

5. Technical assistance (EUR 1 055 485.72).

Total funding amounted to EUR 40 355 143.15 (Comune di Venezia, 2020).

The main measures to have an impact on the lives of immigrants, or on the places where immigrants live, are related to transport, housing, and projects for public spaces/ facilities. The strategy for the metropolitan area funded projects working with housing owned by the Municipality of Venice, while the integrated strategy for urban areas worked on housing owned by a regional public body (ATER – Azienda Territoriale per l'Edilizia Residenziale).

With respect to transport, measures addressed the improvement of sustainable mobility (e.g. from Mirano, Spinea and Salzano towards central Venice). This was also helpful for the significant number of immigrants who live in this area, and who need to reach Venice daily to work in the hospitality sector.

Looking more closely at some of these projects, in regard to housing, different projects were promoted in a series of neighbourhoods on the mainland of Venice (Altobello, Bissuola, Cita, Circus, Pertini), as well as in the historical part of the city (Sant' Elena). First of all, 167 public housing flats were restored (73 in Venice/islands; 94 on the mainland), but a core point was also the promotion of forms of empowerment for people in need. A helpdesk was opened, through which forms of mediation were offered to people (including immigrants) to find a housing solution in both the public and private market, matching demand and offer. A similar logic guided the implementation of a co-housing project (50 beds) for short stays (6 months/2 years maximum) where no more than four people could share a public housing flat. But what is of interest is the fact that this particular project is managed by a third sector cooperative also engaged in an empowerment objective: transfer the skills required to the residents to find a place to stay on their own, gaining independence from the public/ other service providers.

All the actors interviewed working in the municipality of Venice agree that the most innovative solutions were related to the possibility of mixing material and immaterial measures (meaning measures addressing the physical space, coupled with measures addressing the promotion of socio-economic activities to bring life to those spaces) as in the PON Metro both the European Regional Development Fund and the European Social Fund could be mobilised. In many cases the main point involved addressing the improvement of physical spaces, and also on the promotion of a series of activities to revitalise those spaces. Different initiatives improved green areas, public parks and sports facilities especially in Porto Marghera and Mestre[95.]

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[95] Regarding sports facilities eight sites were restored on the mainland in areas where the immigrant presence is significant, and the same could be said for interventions in green areas in Mestre (Parco della Bissuola; Parco di Villa Querini, Circus, il Picchio, Piazzale Bainsizza-

These measures were innovative also in terms of governance as they led to cooperation between the offices that deal with social services, public works and green spaces in the metropolitan city. At the same time, many third sector associations, but also very grass-rooted and not so 'institutionalised' groups working at neighbourhood level could develop projects and get funding for them. The associations proposing and managing the projects could count on the sustain (especially for accounting issues) of the Chamber of Commerce and a dedicated helpdesk. According to local actors, measures like this can make a difference in terms of vitality and liveability of a neighbourhood, and are very sustainable because with a low investment of money, associations and citizen groups could be supported, improving activities that they already do. Also, for this reason, this approach will be confirmed and consolidated in the forthcoming PON Metro for the new programming cycle.

With respect to the targets, many of these projects actually took place in areas of Mestre and Porto Marghera with a significant immigrant presence, even if they did not directly targeting them. The approach was 'area based' because different measures and projects converged on the same area, but also because the aim was to sustain networks broadly involving old and young people, immigrant and native inhabitants and so on. The target is the place where people share their lives, problems and opportunities.

The project for the Parco della Bissuola in Mestre, a very marginal and deprived area characterised by social exclusion, the presence of baby gangs and drug dealers, can be given as an example of this way of proceeding: not only was the park improved, but also a series of buildings to be used for social and cultural activities. A multifunctional building was opened in the park, and many public social services were located here. The centre also has some spaces that can be used on request by the local associations to carry out different type of activities, not necessarily permanent ones. A significant role is also played by the park library, a specialised library for teenagers where comics and books in different languages can be found. In all these types of green areas, culture and sport were used as a means of social activation to 'fill with life' the regenerated areas[96].

A similar approach was adopted in the renewal process for Villa Querini in Mestre, the current headquarters of the social services department. It has a park where local associations run by families, kids and teenagers, including immigrants, have been supported to revitalise a place that had become a meeting point for addicts.

A highly coordinated series of measures worked on social innovation through the project La città SI cura di sé (The city takes care of itself – sicura means also 'safety'). This project promotes the creation of new opportunities and services in vulnerable areas through the active mobilisation of the public. Through this programme the metropolitan city aims to sustain active third sector stakeholders, supporting them in making proposals for innovative and sustainable solutions to cope with the public's needs. The project is coordinated in four areas of activity that will contribute to the urban welfare renewal by funding new services at neighbourhood level, social innovation, initiatives aimed at enhancing the vitality of deprived/ marginal areas:

1. Community welfare (budget: EUR 8 000 – 15 000 for each single project).

2. Solidarity networks inside the buildings (condominio solidale – EUR 54 000 – 90 000).

3. Civic crowd funding (until 15% max EUR 15 000).

4. Community innovation (budget: EUR 21 000 – 42 000 for each single project).

The civic crowd funding platform aimed to boost cooperation between the public administration and the existing third sector realities, by developing a plan of possible projects to be activated. The platform has been helpful for the public administration as in this way they were able to also see many micro-scale problems and opportunities that would have not been so visible if operating in a more top down way.

After a selection of the proposed projects (a phase that ended recently), the public administration will offer a crowd funding platform to help the proposals obtain funding from the public. The municipality will guarantee co-funding for all the projects that obtain 50% of their needs through the crowd funding platform. The associations will also be supported by the Foundation of La Fenice Theatre. This initiative aims to enhance public engagement in sustaining projects aimed at improving the city.

Under the broader 'umbrella' of the project called La città SI cura di sé, some measures in Mestre and Porto Marghera worked explicitly on the multicultural dimension:

— Costruire una Comunità Signific-Attiva is promoted by the Associazione Volontari del Fanciullo, with the aim of supporting kids and their families in Porto Marghera. The project promotes 'multicultural workshops',

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Mestre, Piazzale Concordia-Marghera, Via Jacopone da Todi-Mestre, Piraghetto Mestre). Parks and green spaces were 'infrastructured' to guarantee livability (playgrounds, dog areas, sports courts, lighting improvement).
[96] Basket tournaments involving both male and female teams; cultural events such as movie screenings, theatrical representations, concerts including opera, were implemented involving more than 2000 people.

offering different kinds of support to parents and kids when they are not at school, and organising meetings for families to get to know each other better.

— The project V.E.C.I. (Veneziani, Cinesi e Italiani insieme per la Venezia di tutti – Venetians, Chinese and Italians together for a Venice for all). In this project the association Passacinese located in Mestre and formed by Italian students of oriental languages received funding to offer linguistic support to Chinese individuals.

— The project SQUERI, promoted by the provincial ACLI (ACLI is present in many Italian cities and territories. The name means Christian Workers' Association), aims to facilitate social cohesion in Marghera. A series of meetings to improve the capacity of local service intervention in the face of the foreigners' needs has been organised, and a multi-language guide to services has been published. Moreover, courses of Italian for foreigners, courses related to digital literacy for everyone, formative training to cope with the multicultural society for officers working in the local services have been organised.

7.3.2 The SUD integrated strategy of the urban area of Venice

Priority 6 of the European Regional Development Fund operational programme of Veneto region allocated EUR 88 million for the implementation of the Integrated Strategy of Sustainable Urban Development of the urban area of Venice. The strategy worked on the following strategic objectives:

— Sustainable mobility, also encouraging the use of public transport systems that have a lower environmental impact.

— The promotion of social inclusion, intended to contain poverty and reduce marginalisation of homeless people.

— The strengthening of the e-Government services through the digitalisation of administrative procedures and the dissemination of digital services in the interaction among the public, businesses and the public administration.

Some issues overlapped with the other SUD strategy, but it was not easy to keep them both complementary and integrated because all the procedures to implement the regional operational programme were much longer than those for implementing the strategy for the metropolitan area[97].

The strategy focused on a very limited number of measures contributing to the consolidation of relationships and connections in the metropolitan territorial systems.

In Venice, projects relating to priority 6 were an integral part of the strategy outlined through the Strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice 2014-2020. This first implies a development model centred on the metropolitan dimension, as well as on a plural and supportive city for the more vulnerable groups. Also in this case, the FUA was not a point of reference for policy making, and only six municipalities from the FUA (Marcon, Mirano, Quarto d'Altino, Salzano and Spinea) plus Venice have agreed to be involved in the strategy.

In terms of governance, an urban authority was responsible for the selection of operations, and represented the urban area in relations with the regional level. For Venice this authority was the same as for the PON Metro, meaning the Economic Development, Community Policies and Participatory Processes Sector of the Municipality of Venice. The process was very 'centralised' as, according to the actors interviewed; the small municipalities involved in the strategy are not so used to thinking 'strategically' beyond the municipality level. Despite this, the situation was a little different with Marcon and Quarto d'Altino as these municipalities are quite used to working with Venice in the shared management of local services (Gestione associate dei servizi), while cooperation with Spinea, Mirano and Salzano was very difficult. The office relied heavily on the metropolitan city to foster cooperation among the municipalities at metropolitan level, but certain issues came up. The metropolitan city has the same boundaries as the former province, and provinces did not have strategic planning and programming functions. Also, for this reason the process that led to the strategic plan was slower than expected, and the plan was approved in 2018, rendering integration with SUD strategies very difficult.

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[97] The only project in which integration worked very well is related to the transformation of the 'house of hospitality' in Mestre from a simple dormitory for vulnerable people with reference to housing (homeless, roofless, immigrants and refugees transiting in Venice) to a series of small apartments with some shared services. This transformation aimed to offer a solution to go 'beyond the dormitory' by helping people to live a more autonomous life. The house of hospitality in Mestre is a point of reference for homeless people at metropolitan level.

**Infrastructures for social inclusion**

The total contribution for the strategy of the urban authority of Venice was EUR 10 528 000. Measures mainly involved transport (purchase of new vehicles) and structural work on properties owned by the regional body managing public housing, or owned by other municipalities in the urban area, not intervening on properties owned by the municipality of Venice.

A core point in funding measures on these lines was to reconnect the urban fabric of the municipalities involved by improving the quality of life of people in marginal areas. This entailed a set of measures concerning sustainable urban mobility and social inclusion through the physical regeneration of housing and buildings to be used as co-housing or structures for strengthening the network of social emergency services, or housing structures for homeless people.

As for the strategy for the metropolitan area, specific projects to cope with the immigrants' needs are not mentioned explicitly, but in the section on priority investments issues related to housing and digital literacy mention immigrants as a target, together with other vulnerable groups. With reference to housing, the experimentation with innovative social housing and innovative housing models such as co-housing, aimed at meeting the specific needs of target subjects (e.g., residential solutions for elderly people, immigrant inclusion, residential solutions for people leaving the social services, victims of violence). With reference to digital literacy, the documents underline that with the European Regional Development Fund operational programme 2007 – 2013, the Veneto Region developed a series of experiences related to digital literacy and digital inclusion. Many centres for facilitating digital inclusion were opened to the general public who were able to use these services for free. Groups potentially excluded from the digital world are the main target of these measures[98]: the ageing population, women excluded from the job market, unemployed people, young people and foreigners. With the 2014-2020 programming cycle these measures have been consolidated.

A synthetic outline of all the interventions carried out in the strategy, and of their territorialisation in the urban area is represented in figure 2.

Figure 2. Map of the interventions through priority 6 ROP-ERFD
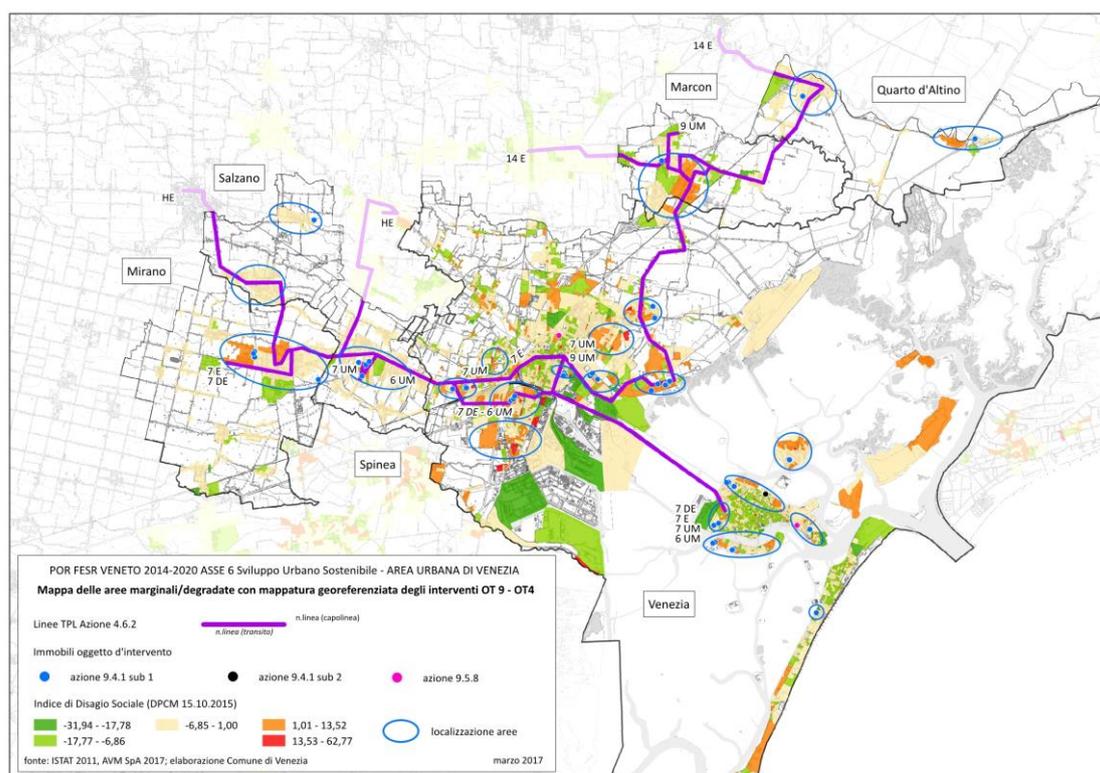
Source: ROP-ERDF Regione Veneto

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[98] From July 2003 to September 2014 almost 200 000 citizens used the services of these centres, and the foreigners amounted to 21%.

To the North, Venice worked with Marcon and Quarto d'Altino by investing in three lines of activity: housing renewal, promotion of co-housing for vulnerable groups, and shelters for homeless people. In these cases, measures were promoted, confirming and consolidating pre-existing relationships related to housing issues. Housing renewal involved a series of flats owned/managed by ATER, with a particular focus on energy efficiency. In regard to co-housing, measures aimed at restoring public buildings to cope with the housing issue for very weak groups. Co-housing structures were conceived to mix people with different needs (old, young, disabled people). Under these measures for housing, 370 flats were restored/improved. Another line of action related to homeless people, especially in Mestre which is a sort of 'hub' in this sense, covering the needs of the neighbouring municipalities. The objective in this case was to restore buildings located in the urban context, going beyond the idea that these places are just places to sleep. This means that not only first reception centres were promoted, but also 'social' housing (small flats with facilities to cook) to help homeless people to become less dependent on social services. With these measures 68 flats have been restored.

To the West, Venice has worked with Spinea, Salzano and Mirano on smart mobility (purchase of electric, hybrid and Euro VI environmental class buses for the local public transport service in urban areas) to improve green public transport. The connections between these municipalities and central Venice are very important both for immigrants and for the students living in this area. So, consolidating this connection in the context of a policy to make transport greener has been a core issue.

In all the measures immigrants are not a specific target, but are targeted 'indirectly' as it could be said that measures to boost sustainable mobility towards Venice also benefited this population. The same could be said about initiatives for vulnerable people with reference to housing (homeless, roofless, immigrants and refugees transiting in Venice) as well as about the experimentation with innovative 'social' housing solutions, in particular the most flexible ones.

7.4 DISCUSSION OF THE RESULTS

Strategies and projects for sustainable urban development in Venice do not explicitly address the issue of migrant integration, ethnic diversity, or intercultural policy, but areas with a 'concentrated' immigrant population have in fact been a target. In some cases, the approach was 'area based' because different measures and projects converged on the same area, but also because the aim was to sustain networks broadly involving old and young people, immigrant and native inhabitants and so on. The target is thus the place where people share their lives, problems and opportunities.

Some social innovation projects in Mestre and Porto Marghera were implemented, involving stakeholders engaged in immigrant integration, or in building intercultural bridges between different communities. The main rationales of the measures were, on the one hand (following the current policy narrative on immigration), to help anyone in need through 'colour blind' measures, and on the other hand, to build initiatives where people with different backgrounds (in terms of age, ethnicity, lifestyle) can mix and cooperate in facing shared problems.

During the framing of the strategy for the metropolitan area, some officers in the Venice municipality who had worked on immigration issues for a long time, actively contributed in writing the programming documents. Issues related to migrant presence have a key role in the descriptions of the areas targeted by both the SUD strategies.

Some measures related to social activation/innovation in Mestre and Porto Marghera sustain associations that address different aspects of immigrant integration (language skills, understanding of bureaucracy to obtain support from social services, and also investing in people working in the local services to help them to understand and cope with the immigrants' needs).

Measures supporting associations run by immigrants have not been activated. This is not surprising as access to funding, as well as accounting is not an easy task. In fact, the accounting phase has proven to be complicated for established associations run by Italian people also, as is testified by the activation of a helpdesk run by the local Chamber of Commerce to support this phase of the process.

Some measures combined with innovative housing solutions did not target the immigrants specifically, but reached them anyway (e.g., measures aimed at stimulating forms of empowerment for people who live in co-housing to enable them to find a place to live on their own). Other measures were activated to establish bridges between immigrant and native populations renting homes to overcome prejudice.

The relationship between the areas targeted by the policies and the areas with a greater presence of migrants is especially evident in Mestre and Porto Marghera where the presence of foreigners is greater. Measures to

improve the transport system in the diffuse city also benefited immigrants living in the smaller municipalities involved in the SUD integrated strategy for the urban area of Venice. All the measures that addressed affordable housing and access to housing for vulnerable and stigmatised groups also benefited immigrants.

There was significant investment in social innovation, and literature proves that in some cases this may also result in gentrification processes in deprived areas and the consequent displacement of vulnerable groups (Blanco, Leon 2016; Fedeli et al. 2019). However, in the specific cases analysed, the measures do not seem to point in this direction. They were very locally rooted measures, mainly addressing certain specific local needs, or promoting the liveability of public spaces and buildings by attracting local residents to those places. In addition, for these reasons, it does not appear that the strategies could have a negative impact on vulnerable groups, migrants included.

7.5 CONCLUSION

A first more general topic is related to how innovation was introduced through a tool such as the PON Metro, where both the European Social Fund and European Regional Development Fund could be mobilised. The Strategy for the Metropolitan Area of Venice seems to have been the main driver of innovation and it is a common opinion among the actors interviewed that the combination of measures addressing the 'physical' dimension with measures addressing the 'social' dimension, stimulated cooperation inside the public administration, as well as cooperation between very locally rooted actors that it would have not been possible to mobilise otherwise.

According to the managing authority, the PON Metro worked better because procedures were faster and more flexible. At the same time, mixing two different funds allowed measures aimed at the physical regeneration of buildings and spaces to be combined with measures aimed at bringing life and activities (public and/or run by the third sector or by some very grass-rooted associations working at neighbourhood level) to these places.

Despite this, the measures of the strategy for the urban area seem in some way complementary to those developed though the strategy for the metropolitan area, even if the implementation of the former took place later. At the same time, it appears that a significant level of integration between EU Cohesion Policy initiatives and existing programmes and plans at metropolitan level can be seen. This is particularly evident if comparing initiatives carried out through EU funding, and initiatives carried out and proposed thanks to national funding for the peripheral areas.

Local actors talk enthusiastically of the way of working triggered by the PON Metro. They think that it was a great opportunity for overcoming long term division between different offices in the local authorities, and a way of experimenting with new ways of working that will be consolidated as, in the 2021-2027 programming cycle, funds for the metropolitan area have been tripled.

A second issue refers to a major debate on how coping with problems related to vulnerable populations (e.g. immigrants, older people, young unemployed people) at the 'micro' scale. This topic does not therefore refer only to immigration, but is related to the fact that, in contemporary cities, poverty can be found not only in peripheral areas for the lower classes, but also in very central and/or middle-class areas. In some cases, problems may be concentrated in a single street or even in a single building. To address this, in Venice the choice was to invest in an area-based approach at neighbourhood level or at micro-scale, not targeting 'problematic people', but finding ways to help people to cooperate on shared problems, going beyond ethnicity, age and so on. This way of working played a central role in the measures developed in Mestre and Porto Marghera, and could foster a new debate in the Italian context, going beyond the logic of promoting 'special plans for the peripheral areas' that usually work at wider scales.

Finally, a third issue to reflect on is related to the 'metropolitan scale', or to the functional urban area of activity. This research started with the idea of analysing how the immigration issue has been framed in the context of sustainable urban development strategies in the functional urban areas. In Venice it is clear that the FUA has not been a point of reference for policy making. At the same time, it is evident that smaller municipalities still have not developed attention to the strategic dimension of policies and measures on a wide scale. The Italian reality is characterised by a large number of small municipalities, working on a common culture able to invest in the strategic dimension of each single measure promoted at municipal level. It will be a central point to conceiving metropolitan cities not only as a new and not useful administrative boundary drawn on a map.

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8 Conclusion

Fioretti, C.[99]

8.1 EVIDENCE ON THE USE OF ERDF TERRITORIAL INSTRUMENTS FOR THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS DURING 2014-2020

The integration and inclusion of migrants is a priority for the European Commission (EC) as underlined by President Ursula Von der Leyen in her 2020 State of the Union Address. Although integration policies are the competence of the Member States, the EC support them with a series of people-focused funding schemes and measures, explicitly targeting the migrant population. In particular, the Asylum Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) has been conceived for this purpose, and synergies with other funds are also envisaged.

In line with the above, this study focused on the possible contribution of the Cohesion Policy, and of the territorial instruments it promoted, to fostering the integration of migrants through a place-based approach as well. Most of the attention in the policy debate and in the literature was given to measures directly targeting migrant communities. The indirect benefits of a place-based approach, where urban development policies target the territories where migrants live and work, have not been scrutinised in full.

The research aimed to fill this gap, focusing on integrated strategies for Sustainable Urban Development (SUD), Integrated Territorial Investment (ITI), and Community Led-Local Development (CLLD). Complementing a pan-European Union analysis with five in-depth case studies, the research looked at the effective use of these instruments during the programming period 2014-2020, to find a possible relation with the objective of including and integrating migrants.

An initial look at the policy framework in 2014-2020 revealed that these instruments were not explicitly designed to focus directly on migrants. In fact, originally, the main funding source, the European Regional and Development Fund (ERDF), did not envisage any investment priority specifically dedicated to that purpose (a specific priority was introduced only in June 2018 when the majority of the strategies were already adopted). The main scope was to build integrated strategies that tackle urban challenges touching upon multiple policy areas, with a specific emphasis on measures for lowering carbon emissions, especially in terms of sustainable mobility, environmental sustainability and climate change and the regeneration of disadvantaged communities.

The analysis at FUA level with EU coverage showed that in fact these are the main priorities addressed by the strategies. In particular the recurrence of the priority concerning the regeneration of deprived communities (the second most recurrent, used in 33% of strategies) seems to suggest a place-based approach to the question of disadvantage, where migrants are addressed only indirectly when they live in the deprived neighbourhoods targeted by the strategies.

At the same time, it appeared that several strategies (39% of the total), especially the ones implemented through ITIs and CLLDs, also mobilise the European Social Investment Fund. These strategies include a wider set of social investment priorities that could resonate closely with migrants' needs (for example education, training, employment, access to services) and also count on a specific priority for the socio-economic integration of marginalised communities.

Moreover, analysis of the keywords associated with the strategies, which, moving away from the themes established at EU level, give a more accurate understanding of the topics addressed at local level, showed that in fact a few strategies (25 out of 988 strategies) have an explicit focus on the integration of migrants and refugees.

Looking at the various types of territorial focuses, the analysis shows that besides a prominent target on cities (30%), a considerable percentage of strategies target areas within city/towns (18%), functional urban areas (16%) and other functional territories (25%). Although it was not possible to clearly associate any of those territorial focuses with the objective of migrant integration, it is possible to argue that strategies at the 'areas within city/town' level could be used to target deprived areas where low-income migrants tend to live. In fact,

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in 45% of the strategies that were associated with the keyword 'disadvantaged neighbourhood', the territorial focus was 'areas within city/towns'. To a lesser extent this keyword was also associated to strategies with wider spatial focuses, namely cities (34%) and functional urban areas (13%).

The EU level analysis showed limitations mainly due to the lack of comparable data at a more granular level and to the presence of many missing values for some of the variables analysed. However, it was instrumental for identifying and selecting five case studies, for which local experts were able to conduct in-depth analysis.

A closer look at the case studies with a bottom-up approach revealed additional findings that were undetectable at EU level (see table 1). In fact, to some extent all the strategies analysed in the five FUAs implicitly or explicitly address migrants. In particular, the following patterns emerged.

As expected, almost all the strategies target areas that are associated with indicators of socio-economic and spatial disadvantage, but also coincided with places where high percentages of migrants live. In some cases, the target on those areas is explicit and included already at the level of the strategy itself, as is the case with the central Athens ITI, in several Paris strategies and in Malmö SUD. In other cases, such as in Liège, the target on deprived neighbourhoods with a high share of migrants becomes evident in the eyes of the local experts, when looking at the actual localisation of projects. In any case, the target on deprived neighbourhoods can be found even if the declared territorial focus encompasses a broader territory, such as the city (e.g., Malmö) or the functional urban area (in the majority of cases). This suggests that even though many strategies contemplate a wider territorial focus, in their implementation they target specific areas within this territory.

From the view point of the themes addressed by strategies and projects, several case studies revealed a potential indirect benefit for migrants. Strategies and projects promoted, for example, improvements in the local economy, housing and transport, social services and employment initiatives that matched the migrants' needs in the FUA, and addressed specific lines of exclusion experienced by migrants. For example, this emerged in Athens, Liège and Venice, despite the fact that projects in these policy-areas were framed in terms of benefit for the entire population or within a broader discourse on social vulnerability and poverty.

A few strategies did have an explicit focus on the objective of migrant integration. More rarely in the strategy itself (as in the case of Malmö), more often in the context of the underlying projects, as again in Malmö, Paris, and in a single project in Athens and Venice. The projects directly targeting migrants focus on language tuition, multiculturalism, employability and training. In the majority of cases, the strategies and projects that had migrants as explicit beneficiaries were also mobilising the European Social Fund (ESF).

In a few cases (in Athens and Liège), the potential risk of a negative impact of the policies on migrant population was highlighted, in reference to projects that could potentially trigger gentrification processes.

Finally, when looking at the governance of strategies, it is worth mentioning that migrants themselves and migrant-based associations were rarely involved in the design, implementation and monitoring of the strategies and projects. Migrants were directly involved only as beneficiaries. However, even that could become problematic as in the case of undocumented migrants, due to the need to provide identity documents (Paris), or for newcomers and refugees due to the language barrier (Athens). More frequently, the studies reported the involvement of local authority officers with competence in migrant integration at strategy level (Venice), or of associations with experience of work with migrants at project level (Malmo, Venice and Paris).

Table 1. The five case studies: Overview and main findings.

Case	Level	Spatial target on migrant places of residence	Thematic focus on migrant inclusion	Involvement of migrants and migrant associations
Athens	Strategy	**Moderate**: Three out of four SUD ITIs identify specific target areas where foreign-born people are concentrated.	**Direct**: the Western Athens ITI contains a special objective which explicitly mentions migrants. **Indirect**: All strategies address several issues of high importance to migrants, but these are dealt with in terms of tackling poverty and vulnerability of the entire population. The strategies include investment priorities from ESF.	**None**: Main actors promoting the strategies at different level do not have specific competences in migrant integration. No explicit involvement of migrants or refugee groups in the consultation process.
	Project	**Moderate**: Projects target the target areas identified in the strategies	**Direct**: All strategies promote at least some projects (on housing, smart city, social infrastructure and inclusion) that identify migrants as potential beneficiaries. **Negative impact**: One project poses a risk of negative impact on migrants (gentrification).	**Little**: No explicit involvement in the design/implementation of projects.
Liège	Strategy	**Moderate**: The SUD strategy concerns the entire province of Liège, with a focus on three municipalities, that include areas with a concentration of migrants	**None**: The SUD strategy does not explicitly mention migrants	**None**: Main actors promoting the strategies at different level do not have specific competences in migrant integration. No explicit involvement of migrant or refugee groups in the consultation process.

Case	Level	Spatial target on migrant places of residence	Thematic focus on migrant inclusion	Involvement of migrants and migrant associations
Liège	Project	**Strong**: Most of the projects are implemented in areas characterised by high proportions of migrants. These areas are also characterised by socio-economic difficulties.	**Indirect**: The projects, which are mainly for urban renewal, do not explicitly mention migrants. However, they promote improvements in the local economy, housing facilities and public spaces addressing some of the needs of the migrant population. The diversity of the local population was explicitly taken into account in the elaboration and implementation of projects. **Negative impact**: Some projects might produce negative externalities for the migrant population (gentrification).	**None**: Projects are designed and implemented by local authorities. No explicit involvement of migrants in the design/implementation of projects.
Malmö	Strategy	**Strong**: The SUD strategy has a focus on socio-spatial segregation. A specific target on deprived neighbourhoods with a high proportion of migrants was initially included in the strategic document.	**Direct**: The SUD strategy explicitly addresses migrant integration. Some of the challenges addressed are discussed in relation to ethnic segregation and the position of newcomers. One out of two CLLDs has an explicit focus on refugees.	**None**: No explicit involvement of migrants
	Project	**Strong**: Many projects of the SUD strategy concern neighbourhoods with very high proportion of migrants.	**Direct**: SUD have two projects with a strong focus on public participation including migrants. CLLDs have projects focusing on migrant integration (eight in one case, and two in the other).	**Moderate**: In SUD migrants and migrant-led organisations are involved in the design and implementation of projects.
Paris	Strategy	**Strong**: Six out of nine SUD ITIs interest municipalities with a moderate to very high (15% or above) proportion of migrants. ITIs require the targeting of the priority neighbourhoods of the French City Policy with a high index of multiple deprivation, and also high proportions of migrants.	**Direct**: A few of the ITI strategies analysed explicitly mention the inclusion of migrants in the strategy documents. In particular, in the supporting documents such as the territorial diagnosis.	**Little:** Little or no involvement in the design/implementation of strategies.

Case	Level	Spatial target on migrant places of residence	Thematic focus on migrant inclusion	Involvement of migrants and migrant associations
Paris	Project	**Strong**: Projects target the priority neighbourhoods identified in the strategy.	**Direct**: Some projects aim at the inclusion of migrants (e.g. language tuition). Mainly funded through ESF. **Indirect**: Several projects aim at social inclusion and may also benefit migrants even if they are not explicitly targeted. Some projects support economic activities that could indirectly benefit migrants, although they rarely deal with basic needs such as housing or transport.	**Little**: In some cases, project developers are associations dealing with migrant integration. The participation of migrants as beneficiaries is hindered by the need to provide supporting documents, including identity documents.
Venice	Strategy	**Moderate**: Some of the municipalities targeted by the two SUD strategies show high proportions of migrants with respect to the national average. Strategies adopt an area-based approach that target pockets of disadvantage at the micro-scale	**Direct**: In the SUD PA migrants are mentioned as the target of some policy objectives, together with other categories in vulnerable situations. **Indirect**: In the SUD OP migrants are considered only in the background analysis of the areas of activity	**Little**: Local authority officers with longstanding experience on immigration issues have been involved in strategy design. No direct involvement of migrants or associations run by migrants
	Project	**Strong**: Many projects take place in areas (in Mestre and Porto Marghera) where the presence of migrants is significant.	**Direct**: A project of the SUD OP is aimed at supporting a multicultural dimension. **Indirect**: Several area-based projects mobilising ERDF and ESF have a cross-sectoral approach, linking infrastructural and social activities that may benefit migrants. Projects of the SUD PA focus on housing and transport, and are therefore potentially beneficial for some migrant groups too.	**Little**: Some projects sustain associations that are working on migrant integration. No direct involvement of migrants or associations run by migrants

Source: Own elaboration based on chapters 3,4,5,6,7.

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8.2 HIGHLIGHTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY-MAKING

The main results of the analyses offer insights into the potential of urban and territorial strategies to contribute to migrant integration.

A first point concerns the spatial target of strategies. SUD strategies often take neighbourhoods as the territorial focus, and CLLD can also be used to target deprived neighbourhoods within urban areas. Strategies targeting neighbourhoods develop area-based initiatives that regenerate the places where people in vulnerable conditions live, including migrants.

However, the study revealed that targeting functional urban areas can also serve well the objective of migrant integration. Primarily, because including a wider spatial scale in the territorial diagnosis of the strategy, allows the identification of areas of disadvantage, residential and work-life patterns beyond the core cities, thus capturing the daily dynamics of the local population, including migrants, better. Moreover, it allows the detection of micro-pockets of disadvantage and ethnic segregation scattered throughout an overall wealthy area.

In fact, the case studies showed that adopting a strategy at FUA level still maintains the possibility of targeting some specific neighbourhoods as areas of activity. The benefits of this wider territorial perspective are thus multiple, such as working on topics that transcend neighbourhood (and municipality) boundaries, as for example transport connections; addressing the complex and networked spatialisation of migrants' daily lives; adopting an outward-looking approach in the regeneration of deprived areas, thus reconnecting them to broader functioning territories and avoiding negative spill-over effects on neighbouring areas.

This type of multifaceted territorial focus particularly resonates with the multi-level approach for the regeneration of urban deprived areas and neighbourhoods prompted by the Urban Agenda for the EU[100]. Especially so, in relation to the recommendations fostered by the New Leipzig Charter,[101] which highlights the need for harmonised measures at the spatial scales of neighbourhood, municipality and functional area.

Another point emerging from the case studies is that projects targeting migrants are more likely to be considered when the strategy is cross-sectoral, and integrates actions from multiple policy areas. This can be facilitated by seeking synergies between different funds, in particular, combining ERDF with ESF, with the former supporting infrastructural and economic development measures and the latter social measures. In the upcoming programming period, the Cohesion Policy offers more flexibility in terms of funds and the aggregation of thematic objectives. In particular, this will be fostered in the ERDF regulations[102] by the introduction of Policy Objective 5 (PO5), 'A Europe closer to citizens', through which it will be possible to combine activities financed under all other policy objectives. Among these, PO4 dedicates a specific objective to migrant integration[103]. The new regulations may thus enable a cross-sectoral integrated approach that would fit the local contexts and the needs of local authorities better. Moreover, the close cooperation and integrated use of the funds will be sustained by the two instruments, ITI and CLLD, which will both be suitable to develop sustainable urban development strategies[104]. Finally, the new Common Provisions Regulation is aimed at reducing fragmentation of rules, delivering a common set of basic rules for seven funds including the AMIF (Asylum Migration and Integration Fund)[105].

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[100] https://ec.europa.eu/futurium/en/system/files/ged/action_plan_urban_poverty.pdf

[101] The New Leipzig Charter provides a key policy framework document for sustainable urban development in Europe. It was adopted at the Informal Ministerial Meetings organized on 30 November 2020 under German Presidency. It is available here: https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/information/publications/brochures/2020/new-leipzig-charter-the-transformative-power-of-cities-for-the-common-good.

[102] Regulation (EU) 2021/1058 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 June 2021
[103] PO4 - specific objective (iv) - promoting the socio-economic integration of third country nationals, including migrants through integrated actions, including housing and social services.
[104] Regulation (EU) 2021/1060 of the European Parliament and of the Council of 24 June 2021

[105] The Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) was set up for the period 2014-20, with a total of EUR 3.137 billion for the seven years. It promotes the efficient management of migration flows and the implementation, strengthening and development of a common Union approach to asylum and immigration. The proposed budget for the AMIF for the 2021-2027 period, will amount to €9.882 billion in current prices.

All of the above is especially important, because it will allow a combination of a place-based approach (sustained by the ERDF) with a people-based approach (sustained by the ESF+[106] and the AMIF).

In fact, the case studies in this report exposed a possible shortcoming in the place-based approach which risks being less effective in intercepting individuals in particularly vulnerable situations such as transit migrants or refugees. Such categories, by definition, need early integration measures in the territorial context. However, they often lack certain basic skills such as knowledge of the local language or information on basic services and rights. In these cases, the place-based approach promoted by the urban development strategies could be complemented by specific projects of integration, for example sustained by AMIF or other specific channels.

A last point regards the governance of the strategies. This appeared to be one of the most problematic aspects in the cases analysed, in that no evidence emerged of any effective involvement of migrants and migrant-based associations in the various phases of the policy process. Although the strategies usually envisaged public consultations, there was no reporting of specific efforts to encourage the participation of migrants. Moreover, some of the cases highlighted the following barriers: scarce or no involvement of officials and practitioners with consolidated expertise in migrant integration within the governance system; scarce or no measures to overcome problems with the local language; scarce or no measures to include migrants with no fixed abode as beneficiaries of projects.

These shortcomings and barriers suggest that, in the next programming period, more effort is required in terms of awareness raising, methodological support and capacity building measures for managing and local authorities, in order to ensure the inclusion of migrants and other vulnerable categories in the governance system of local strategies.

8.3   AVENUES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

From the methodological point of view, the study provides some promising elements. First, the use of the Functional Urban Area as the main spatial focus and unit of analysis has led to an original approach to the two topics of migrant inclusion and urban development. It enabled different types of territories to be considered in addition to core cities, and it was possible to go beyond the urban-rural divide. Compared to other works in the literature, it provided a new perspective on the phenomenon of migrant exclusion and socio-spatial inequalities. Moreover, it promoted the consideration of joint urban and territorial strategies.

Another fruitful methodological element concerned the combining of an EU level analysis with in-depth local studies. The use of the STRAT-Board database at EU level offered an original and extensive understanding of the main mechanisms of strategies, while the case studies provided a wealth of detailed information, which enriched and completed what had been grasped at EU level.

At the same time, the study also revealed certain limitations. In particular, the fact that the implementation of strategies was not completed at the time of the research, did not permit the analysis of the impact of the projects on migrant populations or the assessment of the success of the measures, and hence understanding of the shortcomings, thus providing even more insights.

A retrospective look once the entire policy process is completed is therefore advisable.

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[106]The ESF+ integrates the former European Social Fund (ESF), the Youth Employment Initiative (YEI), the Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD) and the EU Programme for Employment and Social Innovation (EaSI), allowing funding to be used in as efficient and coherent manner as possible, see https://ec.europa.eu/esf/main.jsp?catId=62&langId=en.

List of abbreviations

ACCMR	Athens Coordination Centre for Migrant and Refugee issues
AMIF	Asylum Migration and Integration Fund
AORI	Athens Observatory on Refugees and Immigrants
ACLI	Associazioni Cristiane Lavoratori Italiani
ASL	Azienda Sanitaria Locale
ATER	Azienda Territoriale per l'Edilizia Residenziale
BNS	Boucle Nord de Seine
CLLD	Community-led local development
CNI	Cities Network for Integration
DI	Deprivation Index
DG REGIO	Directorate General for Regional and Urban Policy
DG HOME	Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs
EAFRD	European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development
EE	Est Ensemble
EC	European Commission
EKKE	The Greek National Centre for Social Research
ELSTAT	The Hellenic Statistical Authority
EMFF	European Maritime and Fisheries Fund
EPT	Établissement public territorial
ERA	Exploratory Research Activity
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESIF	European Structural and Investment Funds
ESF	European Social Fund
ESTIA	Emergency Support to Integration and Accommodation programme
EU	European Union
EUR	Euro
FIRE	Finance, insurance, real estate
FUA	Functional Urban Area
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	Geographic Information System
GOSB	Grand-Orly Seine Bièvre
GPGE	Grand Paris - Grand Est
GPSEA	Grand Paris Sud Est Avenir
GPSO	Grand Paris Seine Ouest
HDI	Human Development Index
HELIOS	Hellenic Integration Support for Beneficiaries of International Protection
IB	Intermediate body

ICT	Information and Communication Technology
ID	Index of Dissimilarity
IdF	Île-de-France
INADEL	Istituto nazionale assistenza dipendenti degli enti locali
INPDAP	Istituto nazionale assistenza dipendenti pubblici
INSEE	French National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IP	Investment Priority
ISTAT	Italian National Institute of Statistics
ITI	Integrated Territorial Investments
IUD	Integrated Urban Development
IUDS	Integrated urban development strategy
JRC	Joint Research Centre
LA	Local Authority
LAG	Local Action Group
LAU	Local Administrative Unit
LEADER	Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de l'Économie Rurale
MA	Managing Authorities
MGP	Métropole du Grand Paris
MIA	Malmö Innovation Arena
MLR	Malmö-Lund Region
MMA	Greek Ministry of Migration and Asylum
NEET	Not in Education, Employment, or Training
NGOs	Non-governmental organization
NIS/NSSI	Greek National Integration Strategy
NPNRU	New National Urban Renewal Programme
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
OP	Operational Programme
PA	Partnership Agreement
PEMB	Paris-Est-Marne et Bois
PC	Plaine Commune
PO	Policy Objective
POLD	Paris Ouest La Défense
PON Metro	National Operational Programme for Metropolitan cities
PTE	Paris Terres d'Envol
PV	Politique de la Ville
QPV	Quartier prioritaire
RIC	Reception and Identification Centre
RIS3	Research and Innovation Strategy

ROP	Regional Operational Programme
RSA	French Active Solidarity Income
RSSITP	Greek Regional Strategy for Social Inclusion and Tackling Poverty
SDG	Sustainable Development Goal
SEK	Swedish Krona (Currency of Sweden)
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
STATBEL	Belgian Statistical Office
SUD	Sustainable Urban Development
TFF	Trelleborg Football Club
TO	Thematic objectives
TP	Territorial Project
UAs	Urban Areas
UIA	Urban Innovative Actions
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
VEGA	Venice Gateway for Science and Technology
VSGP	Vallée Sud Grand Paris

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Annexes

Annex 1. Territorial delivery mechanism of the strategies in FUAs per Member State (EU27)

| COUNTRY	SUD (art. 7) OP	SUD (art. 7) Pr Axis	ITI	CLLD	Total
AT		7		5	12
BE	1	6	1		8
BG		20		6	26
CY		2			2
CZ			7	103	110
DE		76	2	10	88
DK		3			3
EE		3			3
EL			19		19
ES		76	4		80
FI			1		1
FR		67	71		138
HR			7		7
HU		18		31	49
IE		10			10
IT	14	69	20	15	118
LT			11	9	20
LU			1		1
LV			5		5
MT		1			1
NL			4	1	5
PL			28	23	51
PT		37	11	43	91
RO		31	1	18	50
SE	1	1	1	18	21
SI			3	16	19
SK			16	34	50
TOT	16	427	213	332	988

Source: elaboration from the authors based on data from STRAT-Board

Annex 2. Comparative table with key figures of the five FUAs derived from data at EU level

	Athens	Liège	Malmö	Paris	Venice
Total Population	3 828 434	752 663	669 471	12 882 283	556 272
EU migrants	72 516	53 756	34 848	488 922	13 806
Non EU migrants	333 315	33 988	35 712	1 244 527	42 162
N of strategies	5	1	3	21	2
SUD strategies – Operational Programme				17	1
SUD strategies – Priority Axis		1	1	4	1
SUD strategies – Integrated Territorial Investment	4				
Non SUD strategies – Integrated Territorial Investment	1				
CLLD			2		
Area within city/town (districts/neighbourhoods)				6	
City/town	1		1		1
Functional urban area (e.g. metro areas and FUAs)	1	1		3	1
City network (not geographically connected)	2				
Region (one or more, eg. NUTS2/3)					
Other functional territory (e.g. aggregation of multiple administrative units in rural areas)	1		2		
Territorial focus not specified				12	

Source: elaboration from the authors based on data from STRAT-Board and EUROSTAT. Data on total population, EU and non EU foreigners refers to 2017 for Liège, Malmö and Venice, to 2016 for Paris and 2011 for Athens

Annex 3. Migrant populations in the areas of activity, in absolute numbers (2011)
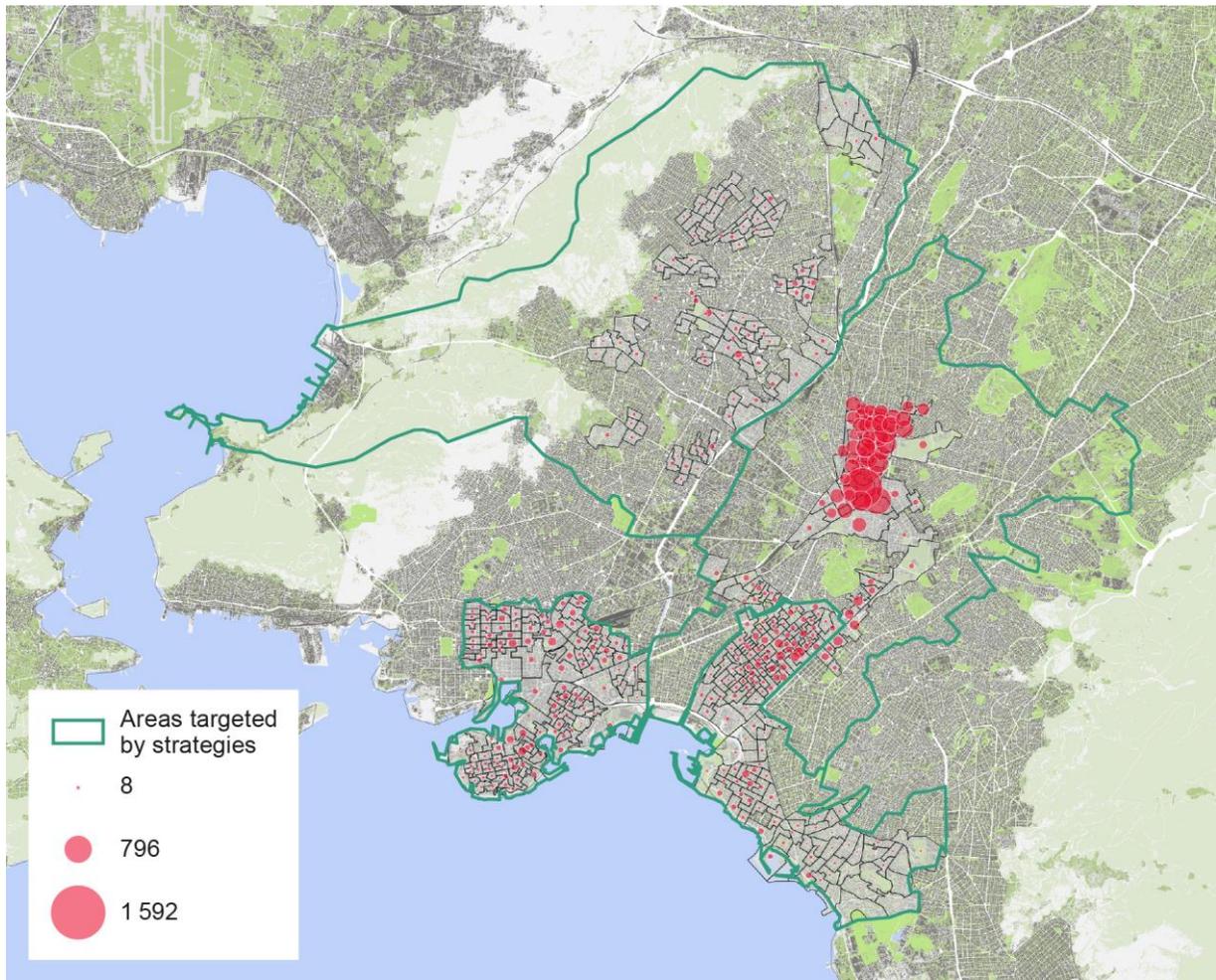
Source: Own elaboration based on data from EKKE–ELSTAT (2015).

Annex 4. List of ESI Funded programmes in Sweden

| ERDF	ESF	EAFRD	EMFF	142 Programme
	•			Social Fund Programme
•				Upper–North Sweden Structure Fund Programme
•				Mid-North Sweden Structure Fund Programme
•				North Mid-Sweden Structure Fund Programme
•				East Mid-Sweden Structure Fund Programme
•				Stockholm Structure Fund Programme
•				West Sweden Structure Fund Programme
•				Småland and the Islands Structure Fund Programme
•				Skåne-Blekinge Structure Fund Programme
•				National ERDF Operational Programme
•				InterregÖstersund-Kattegatt-Skagerrak
•				Interreg Sweden-Norway
•				InterregBotnia-Atlanta
•				Interreg North
•				Kolarctic ENPI CBC
•				Interreg Central Baltic
•				Interreg South Baltic
•				Interreg Baltic Sea
•				Northern Periphery and Arctic
•				Interreg North Sea Region
•				Interreg Europe
•				URBACT III
•				ESPON 2020
•				INTERACT III
			•	Rural Development Programme
		•		Maritime and Fisheries Programme
•	•	•	•	CLLD

Godkända leaderområden

Godkända leaderområden

- 01 - Tornedalen 2020 - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 02 - Fiskeområde Tornedalen Haparanda skärgård - EHFF
- 03 - Leader Polaris 2020 - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 04 - Spira Mare 2020 - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 05 - Lappland 2020 - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 06 - Leaderområde Vindelälven - EHFF
- 07 - Skellefteå Älvdal - EJFLU, ERUF
- 08 - Leaderområdet 3sam - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 09 - Lokalt ledd utveckling Höga Kusten - EJFLU, ERUF
- 10 - Leader Sjö, Skog & Fjäll - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 11 - Leader Mittland Plus - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 12 - Leader Hälsingebygden - EJFLU, ESF
- 13 - Dalälvarnas utvecklingsområde - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 14 - Leader Gästrikebygden - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 15 - Växtlust Värmland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 16 - Leader Närheten - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 17 - Leader Nedre Dalälven - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 18 - Leader Upplandsbygd - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 19 - Leader Stockholmsbygd - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 20 - Framtidsbygder Dalsland Årjäng Munkedal - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 21 - Fiskeområde Vänern - EHFF
- 22 - LEADER Mellansjölandet - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 23 - Leader Mälardalen - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 24 - Leader Södermanland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 25 - Leader Sörmlandskusten - EJFLU
- 26 - Leader Bohuskust och gränsbygd - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 27 - Leader södra Bohuslän - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 28 - Längs Göta Älv - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 29 - Göteborgs Insjörike - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 30 - Leader Nordvästra Skaraborg - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 31 - Leader Östra Skaraborg - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 32 - Leader Vättern - EHFF
- 33 - Folkungaland - EJFLU
- 34 - Kustlandet - EJFLU, ERUF
- 35 - Leader Sjuhärad - EJFLU, ESF
- 36 - Leader Västra Småland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 37 - Astrid Lindgrens Hembygd - EJFLU, ERUF
- 38 - Lokalt Ledd Utveckling Halland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 39 - Leader Linné, Småland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 40 - Sydost Leader - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 41 - Leader Gute - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 42 - Leader Nordvästra Skåne med Öresund - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF
- 43 - Leader LAG PH - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 44 - Skånes Ess - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 45 - MittSkåne utveckling - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 46 - Lundaland - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 47 - Söderslätt - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF
- 48 - Leader Sydöstra Skåne - EJFLU, ERUF, ESF, EHFF

EJFLU = Landsbygdsfonden
ERUF = Regionalfonden
ESF = Socialfonden
EHFF = Havs- och fiskerifonden

Godkända men ej prioriterade områden

A Leader URnära
B Leader Bergslagen
C Leader Värmlands Bergslag
D Leader Sommenbygd
E Leader KalmarÖland

Skapad 2016-06-27
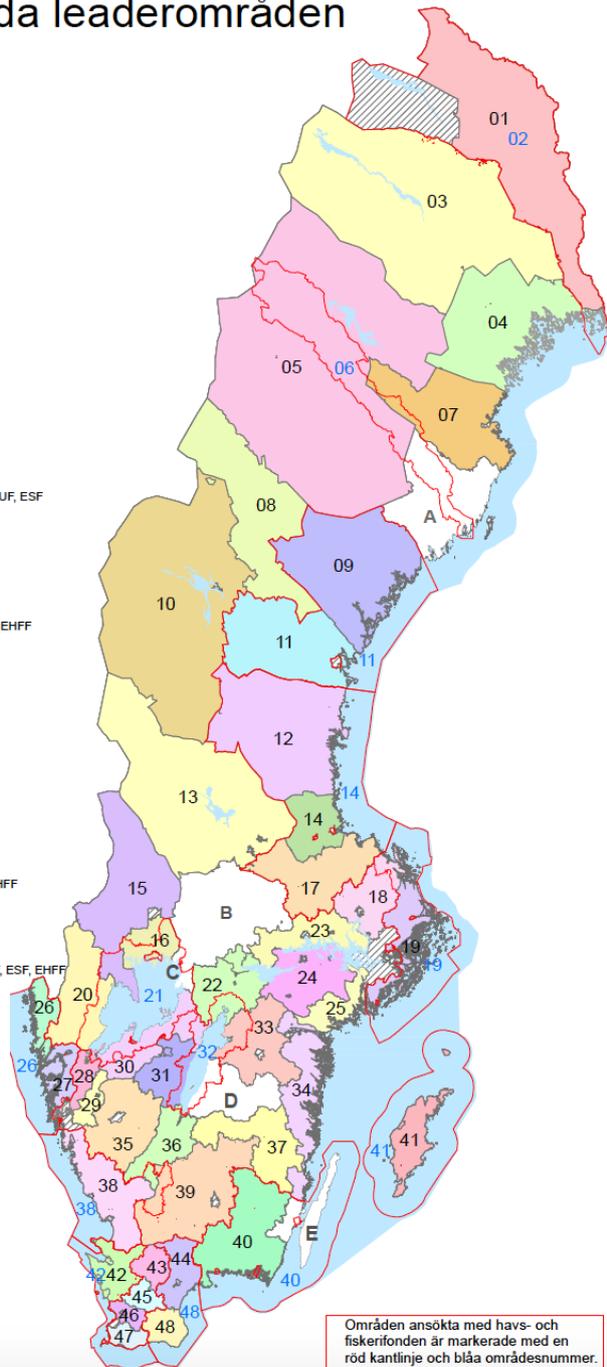
Områden ansökta med havs- och fiskerifonden är markerade med en röd kantlinje och blåa områdesnummer.

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