

# **The Local Dimension of Migration Policymaking**

*edited by Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert*

IMISCOE Reports

**AMSTERDAM UNIVERSITY PRESS**

Cover design: Studio Jan de Boer, Amsterdam  
Layout: The DocWorkers, Almere

ISBN 978 90 8964 232 5  
e-ISBN 978 90 4851 243 0  
NUR 741 / 763

© Tiziana Caponio and Maren Borkert / Amsterdam University Press,  
Amsterdam 2010

All rights reserved. Without limiting the rights under copyright reserved above, no part of this book may be reproduced, stored in or introduced into a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means (electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise) without the written permission of both the copyright owners and the authors of the book.

## Introdu

*Maren Borkert*

- 1 From
- integ
- 2 The
- when
- 3 The

## 1. Naturali

rates at

*Marc H.*

- 1 Intro
- 2 Wha
- Swis
- 3 Wha
- 4 Look
- in Eu
- 5 The
- 6 The
- 7 Con

## 2. Grassro

and Nap

*Tiziana*

- 1 Integ
- mult
- 2 Polic
- a cor
- 3 Polic
- of pr
- 4 Expl
- diffe
- 5 Con

## Contents

<b>Introduction: the local dimension of migration policymaking</b>	<b>9</b>
<i>Maren Borkert and Tiziana Caponio</i>	
1 From the nation state to the city: the emergence of local integration as a European policy issue	9
2 The study of local integration policy in Europe: where are we and where we are going?	13
3 The content of the book	23
 <b>1. Naturalisation politics in Switzerland: explaining rejection rates at the local level</b>	 <b>33</b>
<i>Marc Helbling</i>	
1 Introduction	33
2 What is to be explored: naturalisation procedures in Swiss municipalities	35
3 What is to be explained: the rejection rate	37
4 Looking for explanations: local citizenship politics in Europe	41
5 The arguments and how to operationalise them	43
6 The impact of cultural and political factors	48
7 Conclusion	51
 <b>2. Grassroots multiculturalism in Italy: Milan, Bologna and Naples compared</b>	 <b>57</b>
<i>Tiziana Caponio</i>	
1 Integration models at a crossroad: a defeat of multiculturalism?	57
2 Policies for immigrants in Milan, Bologna and Naples: a comparison of official priorities	61
3 Policy networks and implementation: a reconstruction of practices	65
4 Explaining grassroots multiculturalism: actors' logic in different contexts	74
5 Conclusion	79

3.	<b>Young immigrants' low participation in the German vocational training system: how local actors in Munich and Frankfurt/Main try to make a difference</b>	85
	<i>Can M. Aybek</i>	
1	Introduction	85
2	The situation of young immigrants in the German vocational education system	86
3	Integration policy and local governance of vocational training	92
4	Introducing and establishing new approaches in VET	99
5	Conclusion	102
4.	<b>Local policies concerning unemployment among immigrant youth in Amsterdam and in Berlin: towards strategic replacement and pragmatic accommodation</b>	109
	<i>Floris Vermeulen and Rosanne Stotijn</i>	
1	Introduction	109
2	The policy paradox: the dilemma of recognition	110
3	Local integration policies in Amsterdam	113
4	Local integration policy in Berlin	116
5	Immigrant youth unemployment in Amsterdam and in Berlin	119
6	Conclusion	130
5.	<b>Managing religious pluralism in Canadian cities: mosques in Montreal and Laval</b>	135
	<i>Aude-Claire Fourot</i>	
1	Introduction: cities and the current challenges of religious pluralism	135
2	Issues and approaches associated with creating Muslim places of worship	136
3	Muslim places of worship: a configurational analysis of institutionalisation processes	140
4	Examples of institutionalisation processes	145
5	Conclusion	151

	<b>Conclusion</b>
	<i>Tiziana Ca</i>
1	Introdu
2	Lookin
	policy a
3	The co
	policy
	Switzer
4	Polycyn
	evidenc
5	Conclu

List of contribut

<b>Conclusion: making sense of local migration policy arenas</b>	161
<i>Tiziana Caponio</i>	
1 Introduction	161
2 Looking for commonality in extreme difference: local policy arenas in the migration field	163
3 The contexts: the role of local authorities in migration policymaking in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Canada	166
4 Policymaking patterns in local migration policy arenas: evidence from case studies	172
5 Conclusion	187
<b>List of contributors</b>	197

## Conclusion: making sense of local migration policy arenas

*Tiziana Caponio*

### 1 Introduction

As pointed out in a recent literature review on the multilevel governance of migration carried out in the context of IMISCOE Cluster C9's research on immigrant and immigration policymaking can be considered as still in its infancy (Zincone & Caponio 2006). This is even more the case when the local level is considered: not only is research on local immigrant and immigration policy very recent, but the policymaking dimension is only rarely addressed (see also the introduction chapter in this volume). Given the lack of systematic empirical accounts, theorising also appears to be still poorly developed.

Such an important gap in the literature cannot of course be filled overnight. More theoretically driven empirical work is needed, which can only be achieved through joint research programmes. As a consequence, the ambition of making sense of the local dimension of migration policymaking is beyond the scope of this book, which is the product of a far more modest effort: that of gathering together the contributions of a group of migration scholars looking at this under-researched topic from very different research questions and perspectives. Nevertheless, we undertake, at least in a tentative manner, a first comparative exercise aimed at elucidating the relevance and the main characteristics of the local dimension of migration policymaking in the five countries considered in this book: Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, Italy and Canada.

At first glance, such an exercise may be regarded as highly questionable from a methodological point of view. The fact that the studies presented in this book analyse different dimensions of integration policy is puzzling: how to compare local citizenship policy and politics in Swiss cantons with vocational training in German and Dutch cities? Or access to services in Italian cities with mosque-building issues in Quebec? The risk of comparing apples to oranges is evident. In order to avoid methodological nonsense, in the first section of this chapter I shall try to devise a minimum set of theoretically relevant concepts drawing on both the general policymaking literature and specific work on local immigrant policy. This latter body of research has already ela-



account for the ex-  
istence, among which  
particularly com-  
plicated characters of local pol-  
itics. This is why I re-  
introduced by Lowi  
policymaking, this ca-  
se study of local mi-  
gration *policy arenas*  
or dimensions  
show local migration  
processes across the five coun-  
tries and differences can  
be explained by processes, actors

be considered in a  
context and systems of  
decision, models of  
the five countries will  
be explained by sub-national  
migrant policy and  
step if we are to un-  
derstand local migration  
processes presented in this  
the third section I  
level responses and  
migration policy ana-  
lysis, welfare services  
are conceptualised as  
point out the specific  
of policymaking rela-  
tionship on which the  
is a tentative exercise

dimension of policy-  
making be assessed: to what  
migration policy? What  
are significant differ-  
ences between coun-  
tries? Or, on the  
other hand, as pointed out? And, if  
local policymak-  
ing cannot but be  
theoretically driven re-

search on this – so far – neglected dimension of migration  
policymaking.

## 2 Looking for commonality in extreme difference: local policy arenas in the migration field

From a policymaking perspective, locality represents a crucial dimen-  
sion for the study of policy processes, since it is at this level that the  
very essence of policy as a peculiar combination of decision and action  
in relation to some collective – more or less clearly – perceived issue  
takes shape. Different institutions and organisations usually operate in  
a specific territorial context, either of a public or private nature, with  
generic or specific tasks, political or executive functions, etc. Regardless  
of the investigated policy field, complexity is indeed intrinsically linked  
to local policymaking, a complexity given by the closeness and continu-  
ous overlapping and intertwining of decision and implementation,  
autonomy and execution.

Such complexity has not been sufficiently tackled in the existing lit-  
erature on migration local policy. While often acknowledged, research  
on its consequences in terms of policymaking structures and processes  
is lacking. Alexander (2007), for instance, distinguishes between  
*espoused* and *enacted* policies, which recalls the classic distinction in  
policymaking studies between decision and implementation. Yet, what  
the relationship is between the two is not investigated. As pointed out  
by a number of contributions in this book (see in particular Vermeulen  
& Stotijn; Caponio ch. 2; Fourot), implementation is a dynamic pro-  
cess, in which various actors are involved, and through which official  
policy may undergo profound transformation and reinterpretation. In  
order to look carefully at these processes, appropriate theoretical tools  
are needed: these might be borrowed from classic policy analysis,  
which emerged specifically with the purpose of looking inside Easton's  
'black-box' (1965) to shed new light on policymaking processes.

In particular, here I draw on Lowi's seminal concept of *policy arena*,  
which, in my view, can be reinterpreted in a loose way and fruitfully  
applied to make sense of the complexity of local migration policymak-  
ing. Two features of Lowi's approach appear particularly relevant: 1) the  
incorporation of the element of power, which is not always explicitly ac-  
knowledged in most of the metaphors and analytical tools used in im-  
plementation research (see, for instance, implementation structures,  
policy networks, advocacy coalitions, etc.); and 2) the 'policy determines  
politics' challenging argument, according to which different types of  
policy engender different power relationships among individuals and  
groups, and these relationships can be described and predicted on the

basis of different policy types. Below we examine why these two axes of Lowi's reasoning may contribute to the analysis of local migration policymaking.

First, the element of power is central in local policymaking on migration since these policies have to be formally discussed and agreed upon by local representative and/or executive institutions, such as city councils, regional parliaments, municipal governments, etc. Confrontation between opposite ideologies and political framing of migration can be expected. Migration is usually a hot issue, one on which mass media attention is very high and public opinion, while divided, is more likely to be negatively oriented. As a consequence, local migration policymaking can hardly be depicted as characterised just by negotiation and pragmatic orientation. Such an orientation may happen under specific circumstances,<sup>2</sup> but is not the rule. On the contrary, power relations and politicisation are very likely to occur.

Secondly, as for the 'policy determines politics' argument – while this has been the object of much criticism – it can still be regarded as an intriguing analytical perspective. In other terms, the challenge is that of analysing policymaking bottom-up, starting from the policy stakes and looking at how decision-making and implementation processes take shape across different cities in different countries. Of course, one must be aware that local policy, of whatever kind – migration policy included – does not take place in a void, but rather in complex institutional environments that impinge on different models of state/periphery relations. Depending on the specific issues or *issue areas* (Alexander 2007), local authorities may be assigned a crucial role in a given country while having just negligible competence in another. This is the case of, for instance, citizenship in Switzerland as compared to the other four countries considered in this study. Institutional settings cannot be dismissed, and thus I investigate them in the chapter's second section. Nevertheless, to reverse the perspective and start from the issues at hand may help to identify common patterns of policymaking despite considerable institutional differentiation, and to answer to more general questions like: when and under what conditions does politicisation occur? What factors account for patterns of convergence in local policymaking on migration?

The concept of *policy arenas*, by emphasising both negotiation and power and by looking at policy processes from the bottom up, may help to overcome the risk of just concluding that each city/region is a case apart. This would inevitably follow if one adheres simply to the analysis of formal policymaking structures and institutional settings. Yet, by looking at how, despite differences, involved actors interact on specific issues, common features of local migration policymaking can be highlighted and accounted for. In this respect, the issue of politicisa-

tion, i.e. of the negotiation and focusing on the and by comparison mechanisms and power or on the contrary settings provided in relation to migration still engage in the issues at hand.

Of course, in the specification of their main characteristics and classification of their particular relevance. However, policy: the legal regulation of migrants in the public domain, which is a religious domain, with cultural practices in the spatial domain, (housing, urban planning) into more specific (actual) local migration. I selected in this book three policy domains: local citizenship, area, in the legal domain (Bek and Vermeulen) and Dutch citizenship and Dutch citizenship-economic domain. Fourot's essay on the role of local authorities in migration practices.

However, contrary to the logical path that is inductive one. Driven by as well as on other migration the local migration issue areas specific to policymaking across

The search for common patterns on local migration for understanding

these two axes of local migration

making on mis-  
used and agreed  
ns, such as city  
etc. Confronta-  
ing of migration  
on which mass  
divided, is more  
migration pol-  
by negotiation  
ppen under spe-  
ary, power rela-

argument – while  
be regarded as  
the challenge is  
from the policy  
mentation pro-  
ot countries. Of  
er kind – migra-  
at rather in com-  
ferent models of  
s issues or *issue*  
ed a crucial role  
tence in another.  
tzerland as com-  
ady. Institutional  
hem in the chap-  
pective and start  
a patterns of pol-  
ation, and to an-  
what conditions  
atterns of conver-

negotiation and  
bottom up, may  
h city/region is a  
res simply to the  
stitutional settings.  
actors interact on  
policymaking can  
issue of politicisa-

tion, i.e. of the wielding of political power as opposed to the search for negotiation and pragmatic solutions, is indeed a crucial point. By focusing on the policy arenas around different migration policy stakes, and by comparing them carefully, my purpose is to isolate those mechanisms and processes that may lead to the prevailing of the coercive, or on the contrary, the consensual side of policymaking. If institutional settings provide the structure for the exercise of power and negotiation in relation to migration, local governments and policy networks may still engage in different patterns of relationships, depending on the issues at hand.

Of course, in order to undertake such an analysis, we need a clear specification of possible local policy issues related to migration and of their main characteristics. In this respect, Alexander's (2007: 48-50) classification of *policy domains* and *issue areas* appears to be of particular relevance. He has identified four policy domains of local migrant policy: the legal-political domain, which addresses the civic incorporation of migrants/ethnic minorities in the host polity; the socio-economic domain, which concerns social inclusion policies; the cultural-religious domain, which includes policies related to minority religious and cultural practices as well as to inter-group cultural relations; and the spatial domain, which groups policies with a strong spatial dimension (housing, urban renovation, etc.). Each policy domain is then divided into more specific issue areas, representing 'all the (potential and actual) local migrant policy' (Alexander 2007: 48). The contributions collected in this book allow for the analysis of policymaking processes in three policy domains and four issue areas: Helbling's account of Swiss local citizenship policy is an instance of the migrant civic status issue area, in the legal-political domain; Caponio ch. 2 on Italian cities, Aybek and Vermeulen and Stotijn on youth employment policies in German and Dutch cities illustrate two closely related issue areas in the socio-economic domain, i.e. welfare services and vocational training; Fourot's essay on mosque-building in Quebec addresses the issue area of local authorities relations towards religious institutions and practices.

However, contrary to Alexander's typological approach, the methodological path that will be followed here is not a deductive, but rather, an inductive one. Drawing on the contributions collected in this book as well as on other relevant pieces of literature, I shall attempt to analyse the local migration policy arenas structured around the three main issue areas specified to find, in each issue area, common patterns of policymaking across different cities.

The search for common patterns represents a key task for research on local migration policy and policymaking, since this is a condition for understanding how a relevant part of migration policy actually

works, and under what conditions it might eventually work better. The debate on 'good' or 'best' practices, which informs much of policy-practitioners' literature on migration today,<sup>3</sup> has shifted from an emphasis on exceptionality and uniqueness to a search for basic mechanisms that may allow for the transferability of a certain practice in different contexts. What these mechanisms are and what factors may have an impact on their – correct – functioning is an empirical question, to which only research can provide systematic and evidence-based answers.

### 3 The contexts: the role of local authorities in migration policymaking in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Canada

The relevance of the local dimension of migration policymaking varies considerably across European and non-European countries, depending on different state structures and, as a consequence, on the institutional role assigned to territorial levels (regional/provincial/local) of authority in shaping immigration and immigrant policy. In the following section, I shall first reconstruct general models of centre/periphery relations and levels of administrative centralisation/decentralisation, looking closely at sub-national levels in the context of migration policy and policymaking. As will be noted, the five different countries dealt with in the chapters of this book – from different points of view – maximise difference on the independent variable, in the sense that they provide distinct instances of state structures and administrative settings, both in general and in relation to migration.

In the classic terms of Lipset and Rokkan (1967), state structures and levels of decentralisation are the products of processes of state building, and reflect arrangements to the state/periphery cleavage in Europe and to the cultural/linguistic conflict between the anglophone majority and francophone minority in Canada.<sup>4</sup> In this sense, the five countries considered represent different solutions to these historical challenges: Switzerland, Canada and Germany stand for different instances of federalism; Italy can be regarded as a case of a regionalised state structure in transition towards a quasi-federalist form; the Netherlands is a prototype of a unitary state, although with a non-negligible degree of administrative decentralisation.

As for federalist systems, the three countries considered present different forms of centre/periphery relations (McKay 2001; Watts 2008). First of all, Switzerland is a confederation characterised by a high degree of separation between the federal state and the cantons (so-called *dual federalism*), these latter enjoying exclusive authority on a signifi-

cant number of territorial organisations. At the local level, municipalities, cantons, in Germany (Kriesi 1999), federalism, based on the legislative authority of the legislative authorities. However, in countries like Switzerland, which has enjoyed a certain degree of decentralisation, by the central government, these are more of an 'out' formula, programme and only Quebec has a special status according to the Act of 1867 to a (ger 2001b). Much of the provinces' guaranteed autonomy prerogatives in this volume.

Germany, on the other hand, has a very broad range of administrative framework for its federal constitution of these federal states that public services. In contrast, the Netherlands enjoy consociationalism of the administrative responsibility for the (Jeffery 2002).

Italy can be considered a unitary state, but in the last twenty years, under the influence of the periphery, the structure was already recognised municipalities, highly centralised regions could enjoy the five regions with

cant number of matters such as public order, health care, education, territorial organisation, state-church relations and taxation. In this context, municipalities raise their own taxes and autonomously organise themselves. While the degree of local autonomy may depend on the cantons, in general this is very high when compared with other countries (Kriesi 1998; Linder 2005). Similarly, Canada is also a case of *dual federalism*, based on two distinct jurisdictions, the federal parliament and the legislative assemblies of the provinces, with separate areas of legislative authority and a few shared ones (Rocher & Smith 2003). However, in contrast to Switzerland, the federal parliament has always enjoyed a certain primacy over the provincial ones, as pointed out, for instance, by the fact that the residuary powers are attributed to the central government (Bélanger 2001a). As for centre/periphery relations, these are more of an asymmetric kind: according to the so-called 'opting-out formula', provinces can decide not to participate in a federal programme and receive tax compensation for withdrawal. Currently, only Quebec availed itself of such an opportunity, which is part of the special status accorded to this province since the British North America Act of 1867 to accommodate its linguistic and cultural diversity (Bélanger 2001b). Municipal legislation falls within the exclusive jurisdiction of the provinces, and city administrations have no constitutionally guaranteed autonomy: at this level, asymmetry is the rule, so the exercise of prerogatives in one city does not necessarily apply in another (see Fourot in this volume).

Germany, on the other hand, has been depicted as a case of *administrative federalism* or *cooperative federalism*: the federal government has a very broad range of exclusive, concurrent (with federal law prevailing) and framework legislative jurisdiction, while the *Länder* have a mandatory constitutional responsibility for applying and administering most of these federal laws<sup>5</sup> (Leonardy 1999: 12), as pointed out by the fact that public service is mainly organised and employed by *Land* governments. In contrast to Canada and similar to Switzerland, local governments enjoy constitutionally guaranteed autonomy: they carry out most of the administrative tasks attributed to *Länder*, who have legislative responsibility for their organisation and supervision (Leonardy 1999; Jeffery 2002).

Italy can be considered a case of a unitary state that has, in the last twenty years, undertaken a process of increasing devolution of authority to the periphery and, in particular, to the regions. The regional state structure was already envisaged in the 1948 Constitution, which also recognised municipal autonomy. Nevertheless, this was a kind of highly centralised and asymmetric regionalism: the fifteen ordinary regions could enjoy legislative powers only within state law limits, while the five regions with a special statute (i.e. the border regions Aosta Val-



and the two insular administrative and regions were im-  
 ing showed from  
 s in the sense of  
 2001, the reform  
 referendum, has  
 ture in a federal-  
 and shared ones  
 uary matters has  
 federalist models,  
 icipate in the na-  
 ministrative func-  
 hough, according  
 regions may inter-  
 pure unitary state  
 ed consensus de-  
 ich represent the  
 le for the imple-  
 ovinces have lim-  
 orial governments  
 f expenditure and  
 only have execu-  
 also have the right  
 territory (Toonen  
 ee of autonomy.  
 urse on the treat-  
 ally speaking, im-  
 lation of interna-  
 of central state  
 ere immigration  
 . Most provinces  
 at allow them to  
 mitted within the  
 06: 103). On the  
 might be consid-  
 continent, where  
 enon taking place  
 ogeneous nation  
 eriphery relation-  
 interesting differ-  
 in this chapter.  
 rland, the *Länder*

and the cantons have a considerable say both in national decision-making and implementation. On the former, influence on immigration laws and regulations can be exerted through the regional legislative chambers (respectively, the Bundestag and the Ständerat) and through the regional ministers' conferences.<sup>7</sup> As for implementation, in both countries regional authorities enjoy extensive powers in carrying out admission policies, especially as far as the issuing of residence permits is concerned, while in Switzerland cantons are also responsible for the alien police and for enforcing repatriation decisions (D'Amato 2006).

On the other hand, in more centralised state structures such as Italy and the Netherlands, the influence of sub-national levels on immigration policy is far less extensive, even though local authorities may play a non-negligible discretionary role in the issuing and renewal of residence permits,<sup>8</sup> as well as in tolerating irregular migrants.<sup>9</sup> The aforementioned quasi-federalist turn in Italy is still far from endowing the regions with the kind of direct influence in national legislation that can be found in the other federal states, since there is no legislative chamber representing the regions at a national level. Yet, according to the 2002 Immigration Law, the regions can take advantage of the possibility to organise, in collaboration with the Minister of Education, training courses in the countries of origin: these courses offer the regions an instrument of selection of immigrants, to fill shortages in local labour markets. However, the national quota assigned for this category of entries is negligible and, furthermore, the regions have not taken advantage of this opportunity (Caponio 2007).

As is clear, different state structures and institutionalised centre/periphery relations set the formal framework of opportunities and constraints against which sub-national authorities may take action in immigration policy and policymaking. Their role may range from direct involvement in immigrant recruitment (Canada) and repatriation (Switzerland) to mere discretion in the implementation of elements of the national legislation (the Netherlands). Discretion, while not institutionally recognised as part of the implementation process, is nevertheless relevant for the effects it produces both for those who are subject to a certain law or regulation and for immigration policy as a whole. The case of Italy is in this sense paradigmatic: the toleration of illegal stays would have been impossible without considerable discretion on the part of local authorities in allowing access to services to all immigrants, including irregular ones. This, coupled with the absence of opportunities of legal entry and with an increasing demand in the labour market for low-qualified, highly flexible workers (especially in agriculture and for care and domestic services), has contributed to the consolidation of a so-called 'half-closed/half-open door' immigration policy (Colombo & Sciortino 2004).



focus of the contri-  
more scattered and,  
y in welfare policy,  
must be considered.  
federalist countries:  
egration policy, and  
nal integration pro-  
vernment looks far  
migrant policy is es-  
ountries, this is not  
established the basic  
sing the right to dif-  
nal value. Moreover,  
ttlement, especially  
re carried out by the  
e context of various  
y Birrell & McIsaac  
ec, which under the  
01, has exclusive re-  
nts who settle in the  
agement of federal  
er provinces, immi-  
vincial programmes,  
vincial statutes, mu-  
fluence in these po-  
ected on the basis of  
constraints and wel-  
ngthening of provin-  
and reception (see  
eaf 2005: 289), this  
ities in dealing with

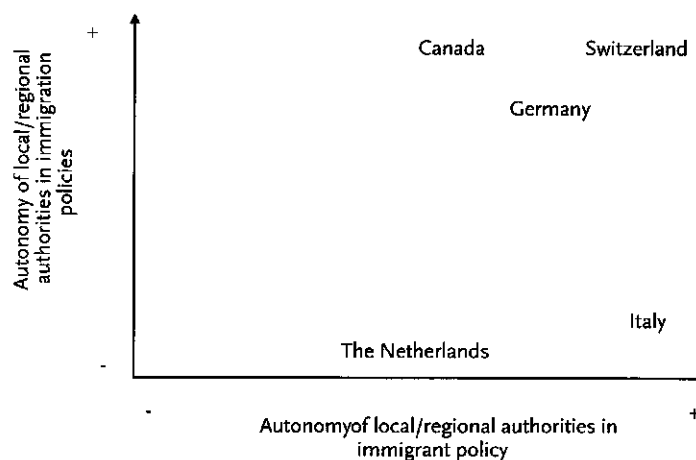
y became a regional  
egration Fund to be  
nsible for approving  
th provincial and lo-  
strations had played  
g first assistance and  
given the autonomy  
public services deliv-  
s have reinforced re-  
ally up to the regions  
tant integration pro-

grammes to be implemented by provincial and/or municipal authorities.

In the Netherlands, on the other hand, immigrant policy has been formulated and developed in a centralised way by the national government,<sup>10</sup> which introduced an Ethnic Minority Policy as early as 1983. Local authorities, though, have enjoyed considerable autonomy in implementation throughout the 1990s, a trend that has been contradicted by the introduction, in 2003 of a national integration programme assigning to the central state control over integration courses and exams. Nevertheless, consistent with the general structure of the Dutch welfare state described above, many integration measures continue to be carried out by municipalities, which has produced a growing gap between national-level symbolic politics and local-level integration policies (Bruquetas-Callejo et al. 2008).

Figure 6.1 sums up the results of the analysis carried out so far. A first picture of the relevance of the local dimension of migration policymaking in our five countries can be identified by crossing the two dimensions of: 1) local/regional degree of autonomy in immigration policy and 2) local/regional autonomy in immigrant policy in the formal division of responsibility between centre and periphery. According to the figure, the local dimension is likely to be extremely critical in Switzerland, while it will be of a minor relevance in the Netherlands, with the exception at least in part of immigrant policy.

Figure 6.1 The local dimension of policymaking in Canada, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland: dimensions of analysis



State/periphery institutional arrangements described so far represent sets of rules that shape local policymakers' opportunities and constraints. Yet, if we are to understand how immigrant local policies actually work, the compilation of an inventory of opportunities and constraints is insufficient. I shall focus on the local dimension of migration policy per se, to find out if, and to what extent, there are common mechanisms at work behind – and maybe in spite of – extreme differences in formal state/local authority arrangements.

#### 4 Policymaking patterns in local migration policy arenas: evidence from case studies

In this section I turn my attention to *local migration policy arenas*, particularly to the three local arenas that can be identified on the basis of the contributions collected in this book, i.e.: the legal status – namely citizenship – policy arena; the social welfare and employment policy arenas; the religious diversity arena. For each, I shall first identify the main structural differences across the five countries considered in terms of the local authorities concerned and the formal responsibility assigned to them. In a second step, I will focus on elements of similarity in the functioning of the local arenas with particular attention to the actors taking part in policymaking processes and the logic behind their actions.

As already mentioned, such an assessment can only be tentative: not only do the contributions collected in this book look at local policymaking from very different perspectives and with varying methodological approaches, but existing literature on local policy has unevenly addressed such a dimension. Moreover, while much has been written on various aspects of local socio-economic and religious diversity issue areas, a serious gap exists when considering the local dimension of citizenship policy. As a consequence, the following analysis has to be considered as a preliminary attempt to build an original heuristic perspective on the local dimension of policymaking rather than as an accomplished study.

##### 4.1 Citizenship policy: an invisible local migration arena

According to Alexander (2007: 49), citizenship relates to the migrant civic status, which is a crucial issue area in the legal-political policy domain. In general, it is taken for granted that citizenship is the goal par excellence of national policymaking. It is up to national laws to draw the boundaries between citizens and non-citizens and to decide under which conditions the latter may aspire to become members of the na-

tional community, based on members states.

However, as Helbling's literature on citizenship is not based on the municipality, i.e. in the municipal level, included, regional dimensions of laws can be observed. National authorities' attitudes become a citizen (status) of citizenship policy, nevertheless representing temporary receiving membership in a country.

How does the citizenship policy in the countries considered in this book differ? Answering this question is extremely difficult since the literature has to be faced essentially in a take-it-or-leave-it prevailing macro-sociological perspective. Consequently, the local dimension is considered as an invisible arena, not counted for through the existing mainstream in the literature.

This does not mean that citizenship is relevant only in the national level. Probably more research is needed according to an NGO perspective on states in the context of migration. What was the degree of diversity in the local authorities (Choi, 2007)?

Notwithstanding this, I shall try to provide a perspective on the local citizenship policy. I shall consider it as a policy area. We begin with Helbling's literature on citizenship. The first distinction can be made between national and essentially administrative and probably unique decisions on naturalization. It is up to a political body, i.e. the entire population through its representatives, to decide at various stages of the

so far represent  
ities and con-  
al policies actu-  
ities and con-  
sion of migra-  
re are common  
extreme differ-

#### arenas:

cy arenas, parti-  
on the basis of  
status – namely  
ployment policy  
first identify the  
considered in  
al responsibility  
ments of similar-  
ular attention to  
the logic behind

be tentative: not  
local policymak-  
methodological  
as unevenly ad-  
been written on  
diversity issue  
dimension of citi-  
ls has to be con-  
seuristic perspec-  
an as an accom-

s to the migrant  
political policy do-  
p is the goal par  
al laws to draw  
to decide under  
members of the na-

tional community. Even EU supra-national citizenship is currently based on membership in a nation state, i.e. one of the EU-27 member states.

However, as Helbling points out in this book, if in Switzerland national citizenship is explicitly based on membership in a local community, i.e. in the municipality, in other countries, centralised France included, regional differences in the implementation of naturalisation laws can be observed. This clearly indicates the relevance of local/regional authorities' attitudes towards the question of who has the right to become a citizen (see also Helbling 2008: 18-19). The local dimension of citizenship policy, while only rarely acknowledged and studied, may nevertheless represent a crucial migration policymaking arena in contemporary receiving countries, since it is at a local level that criteria for membership in a certain community acquire social meaning.

How does the citizenship local policy arena look across the five countries considered in this study? What are the main differences and similarities? Answering such questions, even in a tentative manner, is extremely difficult since here a serious gap in the migration policy literature has to be faced: studies on citizenship policy have been carried out essentially in a taken-for-granted nation state perspective, with a prevailing macro-sociological and structural approach (Helbling 2008: 50). Consequently, the local dimension of citizenship policy can be considered as an invisible arena, i.e. one which cannot be noticed and accounted for through the theoretical and methodological lens characterising mainstream immigration and citizenship literature.

This does not mean that such a local arena does not exist or that it is relevant only in the few countries where it has received some attention. Probably more research is needed, especially if one considers that, according to an NGO survey carried out in the fifteen 'old' EU member states in the context of the NATAC study,<sup>11</sup> one of the main complaints was the degree of discretion and power of decision left to administrative authorities (Chopin 2006: 229).

Notwithstanding the scarce literature and empirical evidence available, I shall try to point out some possible characterising features of the local citizenship policymaking arena across the five countries considered. We begin by identifying the main differences. Drawing on Helbling's literature review in this book (see also Helbling 2008), a first distinction can be made between political local citizenship arenas and essentially administrative ones. Switzerland is the best example, and probably unique, of a political local citizenship arena, since final decisions on naturalisation applications are taken at a municipal level by a political body, i.e. the local parliament, the executive, or even the entire population through direct ballot. Politicians are also involved in various stages of the procedure, even if it is generally the local adminis-

tration that keeps in touch with the applicants, informs them about the formal aspects of the process, checks to see if the main criteria are fulfilled and makes a first assessment of the candidate's chances of obtaining a Swiss passport. Officials also deliver recommendations to the political bodies involved in the process (Helbling 2008: 13).

On the other hand, administrative local citizenship arenas can be further distinguished according to the type of bureaucracy responsible for handling applications and/or making final decisions. Only in Germany and Austria such responsibility falls entirely within, respectively, regional (*Länder*) and provincial authorities, while in the other EU-15 states applications are handled by local branches of the central executive authority that has the final say (Waldrauch 2006: 145). This is the case of the Ministry of the Interior<sup>12</sup> in Italy, where the prefectures (local branches of the Ministry of the Interior) have the task of collecting applications and checking the documents, and of the Immigration and Naturalisation Service in the Netherlands (which is an authority subordinate to the Ministry of Alien Affairs and Integration). In the latter country, though, preliminary investigation and registration of applications is carried out by municipal authorities (Van Oers, De Hart & Groenendijk 2006: 422-423). A similar centralised institutional setting can be found in Canada, where the administration of citizenship falls under the authority of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), a federal-level department (Bloemraad 2006: 107). At a local level, citizenship judges operate as officials of CIC to interview applicants, to organise promotional events and to preside over citizenship ceremonies.<sup>13</sup>

To sum up, three different structures of local citizenship policy arenas can be identified: the political policymaking arena, where procedures and decisions are dealt with locally and with a relevant involvement of political actors (Switzerland); administrative decentralised arenas, where naturalisation procedures and decisions are essentially administrative matters carried out at a sub-national level (as in the case of Germany and Austria); administrative centralised arenas, where local authorities have just executive functions and operate on behalf of a national decision-making institution, as pointed out in the cases of Italy, the Netherlands and Canada.

Having clarified the differences in the structures of the local citizenship policy arena, I now turn my attention to the possible elements of similarity in their functioning across the five countries considered. A first common element in all the arenas considered, both political and administrative, centralised and decentralised, is the key role played by local public officials in the crucial stages of the naturalisation procedure. Apart from the cases of Switzerland and Germany, treated extensively by Helbling elsewhere in this book, this seems to be the case in

the other three countries. In Canada, for instance, the federal government is responsible for interviewing applicants and checking the requirements of the Immigration and Naturalisation Act, while the provinces, under the 1982 Immigration Act, are responsible for examining applicants and conducting the naturalisation exam (Caponio 2007). In Italy, it is assumed that the prefectures (local branches of the Ministry of the Interior) are responsible for the implementation of the naturalisation process (Caponio 1998) and on the other hand, the provinces (2001; Caponio 2007) are responsible for the studies and practices of the naturalisation process, as reasonably expected in a decentralised system by the prefectures.

It is extremely difficult, however, to show the role of the local policymaking arena in the naturalisation practices carried out in the different countries (see Jordan, 2005). In the case of administrative centralised arenas, migrants' legal status is determined by the central government and in the way of the prefectures.

Given this pre-emptive culture in the local policymaking arena, politics will not play a significant role in the naturalisation process. Yet, in the cases considered: political actors cannot be completely excluded from the documented consideration of citizenship policies between 2001 and 2005, these latter approaches are not a national. Hailbronner (2005) the requirements of the naturalisation process were interpreted differently. While Christian Democracy (2001) consultation with the local authorities was required or not.

In her comparative study of Canadian and Italian naturalisation procedures (2006) points out how



centred on security in the US and on integration in Canada, inform the organisational cultures of the agencies administering citizenship in the two countries. The analysis does not take into account the local dimension within the two systems, even though this has been noted as relatively important, at least in the US (see Helbling in this volume). As for Canada, it should be recalled that provinces have considerable influence on the selection of immigrants, and Quebec enjoys full autonomy. The selection of future, would-be citizens can be directly influenced by political preferences, as pointed out by the Quebec selection criteria favourable towards francophone immigrants, which are consistent with the political goal of preserving and reinforcing the French-speaking community.

Moreover, political actors may also attempt to play a role in administrative local citizenship arenas by promoting various measures aimed at favouring immigrants' naturalisation. Language courses, information to would-be citizens and/or specific preparation to pass citizenship tests or examinations can be regarded as part of a local political strategy aimed at fostering access to citizenship. The naturalisation campaigns carried out in some German cities such as Berlin or Hesse (Chopin 2006: 226) are a case in point. In the Netherlands and Canada, national programmes explicitly assign to sub-national-level authorities the task of undertaking citizenship promotion. Meanwhile in Italy, the picture is far more scattered, and much depends on regional/local authorities, who might decide to start such programmes in the context of their integration policies. Political attitudes that are pro- or anti-immigrant are likely to influence the propensity for undertaking such policies. Hence, even if, in general (the only exception being Switzerland), local politicians are not formally involved in citizenship policy, they still seem to be able to exert indirect influence. This can be more or less significant depending on the kind of authority responsible for the final decision, i.e. if it is placed at a sub-national or national level. Moreover, much will depend on the authorities' interest in the politicisation of the citizenship issue. Since political action is driven by a consensus-maximising logic (Mahnig 2004; Caponio ch. 2 in this volume), which is at the base of the 'democratic impatience' described by Vermeulen and Penninx (1994) – the political desire to achieve quick solutions for problems and processes of a long-term character – one can hypothesise that local political actors will enter into the local citizenship arena only insofar as they perceive some gain in terms of consensus in the party/coalition electorate. The kind of measures undertaken will depend on the party ideology or views of migration, and range from non-policy to support for the introduction of administrative restrictions (see the aforementioned conservative German *Länder*), to immigrants' selection (e.g. preference for French-speaking immigrants in

Quebec), to facilitating language and cultural adaptation only when necessary in the actual arena.

A third actor appears in the arena: NGOs. These offer information and support programmes, as is the case in the Netherlands (Chopin 2006: 221). In contrast to those countries, however, in those countries where they offer any counselling or support, such as the Netherlands, there are few or no language courses for immigrants. However, the extent to which this depends on the relative needs of immigrants' needs for basic needs are emphasized by the fact that there is no volunteering for poor immigrants in the Netherlands. Catholic NGOs in Italy

Hence, despite the fact that the local dimension of citizenship promotion, even in countries where it is a national level, such as the Netherlands, appears to be essential, in most cases, indirect influence is disregarded. Moreover, the fact that it is favourable to naturalisation and citizenship can be taken for granted.

#### 4.2 The social welfare implementation

In Alexander's (2000) analysis, which includes four issues related to immigrants and access to social services and the welfare state, connected at a local level, the part of broader local welfare services. After a brief description of the structure of local social services, the transition to an analysis of

Canada, inform  
citizenship in  
the local di-  
en noted as  
his volume).  
considerable  
enjoys full  
e directly in-  
Quebec selec-  
which are  
enforcing the  
  
in adminis-  
sures aimed  
information  
citizenship  
political strat-  
isation cam-  
in or Hesse  
s and Cana-  
level authori-  
while in Italy,  
regional/local  
in the context  
- or anti-im-  
ing such po-  
ing Switzer-  
nship policy,  
can be more  
sponsible for  
national level.  
in the politici-  
ven by a con-  
his volume),  
tribed by Ver-  
ve quick solu-  
er – one can  
local citizen-  
ns of consen-  
s undertaken  
n, and range  
administrative re-  
änder), to im-  
migrants in

Quebec), to facilitating programmes (e.g. naturalisation campaigns, language and culture courses, etc.). Favourable measures will be supported only when they are consistent with the perception of a consensus in the actual and potential electorate.

A third actor appears to have some relevance in the local citizenship arena: NGOs. These groups can mobilise at a local level to provide information and support to applicants on the basis of specific public programmes, as is the case in Canada and, at least in part of Germany and the Netherlands, or independently of municipal authorities (Chopin 2006: 221). Independent action is likely to be particularly prominent in those countries, such as Italy, where public authorities do not offer any counselling, and also initiatives on the part of local administrations are few and discontinued. NGOs' logic of action generally leans in the direction of supporting their constituencies, i.e. immigrants. However, their role in the local citizenship arena arguably also depends on the relevance that naturalisation has in their perception of immigrants' needs and interests. Where emergency issues prevail and basic needs are emphasised, especially by organisations traditionally volunteering for poor people as is the case of a considerable number of Catholic NGOs in Italy, citizenship will not be regarded as a priority.

Hence, despite the scarce existing literature, we can assert that the local dimension of citizenship policymaking is not of a minor relevance, even in countries where the crucial decisions are taken at a national level, such as Canada, the Netherlands and Italy. The local arena appears to be essentially of an administrative kind, even if the – in most cases, indirect – role and influence of political actors should not be disregarded. Moreover, the local conditions may be more or less favourable to naturalisation depending also on NGOs' propensity to mobilise and campaign independently on this issue, which cannot always be taken for granted.

#### 4.2 *The social welfare migration policy arena: decision making versus implementation?*

In Alexander's (2007) classification, the socio-economic policy domain includes four issue areas that relate to the overall social inclusion of immigrants and access to welfare. In particular, on the basis of the contributions collected in this book, I shall focus on two such issues areas: social services and the labour market. These appear to be strictly interconnected at a local level, since labour market measures are usually part of broader local strategies of social inclusion composed of a mix of welfare services. After an assessment of the main differences in the structure of local socio-economic policymaking arenas, I turn my attention to an analysis of similarities in the functioning patterns.

As for the first point – access to social and employment services being a crucial element of immigrant policy – the importance of the local dimension will depend on the degree of administrative decentralisation of the welfare state overall and, in particular, of immigrant policy. Looking more closely at the institutions involved and at their respective authority, especially in terms of separation between decision-making and implementation, different models can be identified. The first model, which is prevalent in the four European countries considered in this book, is essentially bottom-up, since it is based on the principle of local autonomy, according to which municipalities enjoy considerable discretionary power in the implementation of national/regional/cantonal policy. General policy objectives and guidelines are translated by local authorities into specific measures and initiatives, a process which implies a relevant margin of manoeuvre in the choice of what services to deliver and how.

On the other hand, the second model, which reflects the case of Canada, is more top-down and characterised by a certain degree of competition between the federal and the provincial level, especially as far as labour market programmes are concerned<sup>15</sup> (Birrell & McIsaac 2006: 111). Moreover, administrative arrangements for the delivery of services may vary considerably among Canadian provinces: while in Ontario and Manitoba, for instance, services are delivered by an extensive network of NGOs, in Quebec the local branches of the provincial government are also involved (Birrell & McIsaac 2006: 112). The role of municipalities depends on provincial jurisdiction, though, in general, it does not seem to be crucial.

Despite differences in the local policymaking structures, similarities can be noted in relation to the mechanisms of functioning of the local socio-economic immigrant arena. In all the countries considered, it constitutes a 'new' social policy arena which intersects with more established local welfare policies such as labour employment and vocational training, housing, social assistance, etc. Relations between 'old' and – relatively – 'new' arenas appear to be a particularly critical point. Established bureaucratic structures tend to resist innovation and to boycott new administrative units dealing with immigrants' integration. In the cases of Munich and Frankfurt described in this book by Aybek, the ad hoc institutional bodies created by municipal authorities have encountered difficulties in cooperating with other administrative units as well as with the corporative policy networks dealing with vocational education and training. An even more separate system – setting apart immigrant settlement programmes and labour market development services – can be found in Canada, where federal and provincial departments working on these issues have just begun to address the problem of coordination (Birrell & McIsaac 2006: 111).

Similar issues are  
tijn's comparison of i  
by Caponio (ch. 2) in  
In Amsterdam, for in  
in the developing o  
tioned,<sup>16</sup> as has been  
(Ausländerbeauftragte  
vices in Bologna and

To explain such di  
policy, micro-level rel  
could be revealing.  
elected political actor  
rganisations, immigra  
hypothesise a straight  
sion-making sphere a  
sphere. Yet, relations  
be considered in the  
highlighted above.

First of all, elected  
frame according to  
grants is defined and  
may be regarded as a  
actual working of ser  
Vancouver and Toron  
ties analysed by the co  
fy the fundamental r  
socio-economic arena  
palities of Vancouver  
political leadership in  
fostering Vancouver's  
firming the city of To  
power in the hands o  
contrast, in most Eur  
tant and ambiguous a  
scope of action of the  
migrant policy. Regar  
majority (i.e. left-wing  
tutions established by  
cities analysed in this  
in the administrative  
macy of the city's inte  
Mahnig (2004), ambi  
tween openings to im  
tion to the Swiss soci

employment services  
importance of the lo-  
administrative decentralisa-  
of immigrant policy.  
ed at their respective  
en decision-making  
ified. The first mod-  
s considered in this  
the principle of local  
considerable discre-  
regional/cantonal pol-  
translated by local  
process which im-  
of what services to

ects the case of Ca-  
tain degree of com-  
el, especially as far  
(Birrell & McIsaac  
for the delivery of  
provinces: while in  
livered by an exten-  
es of the provincial  
006: 112). The role  
a, though, in gener-

atures, similarities  
tioning of the local  
ries considered, it  
ects with more es-  
loyment and voca-  
tions between 'old'  
larly critical point.  
nnovation and to  
grants' integration.  
his book by Aybek,  
al authorities have  
administrative units  
ng with vocational  
ern - setting apart  
arket development  
provincial depart-  
dress the problem

Similar issues are pointed out in this book by Vermeulen and Stojtijn's comparison of integration policies in Amsterdam and Berlin, and by Caponio (ch. 2) in relation to Italian cities (see also Caponio 2006). In Amsterdam, for instance, the role of the minority advisory councils in the developing of immigrant local policy has been often questioned,<sup>16</sup> as has been the case with the commissioner for foreigners (Ausländerbeauftragte) in Berlin, the Institution for Immigrant Services in Bologna and the Foreigners' Office in Milan.<sup>17</sup>

To explain such difficulties in the everyday operating of integration policy, micro-level relations within the socio-economic immigrant arena could be revealing. Three categories of actors must be considered: elected political actors, the bureaucratic apparatus and civil society organisations, immigrant associations included. At first glance, we can hypothesise a straightforward separation between the political, decision-making sphere and the administrative-plus-NGOs implementation sphere. Yet, relations appear to be far more complicated, and have to be considered in the context of the different policymaking structures highlighted above.

First of all, elected politicians play a crucial role in setting the policy frame according to which the socio-economic integration of immigrants is defined and dealt with by the administrative apparatus. This may be regarded as a purely symbolic function, loosely related to the actual working of services. Yet, the confrontation between the cases of Vancouver and Toronto in Canada (Good 2009) and the European cities analysed by the contributions collected in this book can better clarify the fundamental relevance of frame-setting in the local immigrant socio-economic arena. Multicultural policies undertaken by the municipalities of Vancouver and Toronto have been actively promoted by the political leadership in the context of strategies aimed at, respectively, fostering Vancouver's economic linkages with the Pacific Rim and affirming the city of Toronto's autonomy vis-à-vis attempts to centralise power in the hands of the Ontario province (Good 2009: 277-280). By contrast, in most European cities, elected politicians show more reluctant and ambiguous attitudes, which casts doubts on the relevance and scope of action of the offices charged with the implementation of immigrant policy. Regardless of the political ideology of the governing majority (i.e. left-wing- or right-wing-oriented), ad hoc offices and institutions established by political actors in the Italian, Dutch and German cities analysed in this book are usually assigned a subordinate position in the administrative structure, signalling an uncertain political legitimacy of the city's integration policy. In the case of Zurich described by Mahnig (2004), ambiguities in the local political frame, oscillating between openings to immigrants' participation and requests for adaptation to the Swiss society, have to be understood vis-à-vis a political sys-



shows the poli-  
 tion of civil  
 ic arena. In  
 in point out  
 , which fails  
 ing process,  
 ations as an  
 also evident  
 new oppor-  
 ; and, as far  
 here the em-  
 official policy  
 appears to be  
 onal Catholic  
 ms, adminis-  
 order to im-  
 presented in  
 to what hap-  
 arena cannot  
 s towards im-  
 otijn as well  
 ctioners re-  
 re able to ac-  
 ter cope with  
 ivery of exist-  
 ow a consen-  
 iguity of offi-  
 e more user-  
 officials can  
 commitment,  
 strategies to  
 allenging es-  
 backgrounds  
 cio-economic  
 e local immi-  
 nds, and may  
 pus type, pro-  
 orities, com-  
 ational train-  
 organisations  
 ot necessarily

the case, as pointed out by Aybek in this book. In both Frankfurt and Munich, social partners seem more interested in sticking to established practices of labour market regulation rather than tackling the issue of immigrant youth disadvantage.

Different configurations of civil society mobilisation will depend essentially on two factors: 1) the legitimate political policy frame, which can materially and/or symbolically support certain types of organisations; and 2) the more general local welfare policy context and legacy. In the Italian cities analysed by Caponio ch. 2 in this book (see also Caponio 2006), two different welfare policy legacies can be identified: one organised around the unions and the workers' cooperatives in Bologna, these latter becoming over the course of time increasingly professional NGOs specialised in providing social services; and one centred on the primacy of Catholic charities and voluntary organisations in Milan and Naples. Whereas in Milan, thanks to the close relations with the regional and local administrations, they have developed into professional NGOs delivering services on the basis of public contracts, in Naples, the scarcity of public resources accounts for their less professional profile. However, in all three cities, these prominent autochthonous organisations appear to crowd out newer immigrant associations, which face difficulties in access to public funding and to policymaking processes (Caponio 2005). By contrast, in the case of Amsterdam, the combination of the pillarisation-policy legacy (see also Alexander 2007) and the political-legitimising framework reported above, seem to account for a greater opportunity policy structure for immigrant organisations, even in the present context of a 'diversity policy'. Also in the cases of Berlin, Frankfurt and Munich, immigrant organisations seem to enjoy more leverage than in the aforementioned Italian cities. In particular, as far as Frankfurt and Munich are concerned, innovative approaches to the German vocational education and training (VET) system, are started at the grass-roots level and rely upon the direct involvement of NGOs specialised in providing social services to immigrants (IG in the case of Munich) and of municipal institutions working with immigrant associations (AMKA in Frankfurt).

In Canada, if policy development, planning and priority-setting happens at both the federal and provincial level, services are delivered at a local level essentially through NGOs. Consequently, a multitude of organisations can be found in the various provinces competing for public funding and catering to different clienteles, either people of an immigrant background in general or of a specific national community. At the same time, federal multicultural policy started in the early 1970s provides a political-legitimising framework for ethnic commu-



Next I shall attempt to identify the main actors and mechanisms of functioning in the local religious diversity arena. Following Landman and Wessels' (2005) analysis of decisions on mosque-building in Dutch towns, three main categories of actors can be regarded as relevant: the mosque committees or, more generally, the promoters of the initiative; the municipality, as composed of two different actors – local elected politicians and political parties represented in the city council versus municipal bureaucrats; and the neighbours concerned by the new mosque's plan. Attention has focused so far on the contentious cases, seeing a strong opposition by neighbours and a NIMBY-type mobilisation. However, Landman and Wessels (2005) point out how contentiousness is not always the case. Currently, under the general rubric of 'mosque-building' very different requests and demands are considered by researchers, from the granting of free land or premises, to funding and permissions and/or exemptions from specific rules such as parking. As suggested by Maussen (2007: 17-18), developing a more detailed typology of mosques in Europe and, it could be added, of the main related requests on the part of Islamic organisations, could be extremely helpful in identifying the main characteristics of the local mosque-building policy arena, as well as the factors and conditions that are likely to lead to politicisation and conflict. This would require a systematic research programme comparing purposely selected cases in different countries. Here, I shall simply attempt to draw some comparative observations starting from existing case studies carried out in the five countries considered.

As for the first category of actors taking part in the local mosque-building policy arena, the promoters of the initiative are usually identified with a mosque committee or an Islamic cultural association taking steps to establish a new mosque or to ameliorate/expand an existing one. Yet, this is a very heterogeneous and stratified category, since a number of factors are likely to influence the strategies and logic of action of the mosques' promoters. First of all, the constitution of a committee or an organisation is not the rule: as pointed out by Fourot in the case of Montreal, action can also be taken by individual leaders loosely connected with the local Muslim community.<sup>20</sup>

Associations and/or leaders may differ in terms of their personal characteristics. Their level of education and knowledge of legal rules and the political climate of the receiving context can make the difference: in the two Quebec cities analysed by Fourot, for instance, promoters initially avoided openly declaring their intention of establishing a place of worship, fearing a refusal because of the universalistic orientation of local policy and public discourse. In a similar vein, according to Cesari (2005a: 1019), the new generation of highly educated and middle-class Muslim leaders emerging especially in France and the United

Kingdom knows how to frame requests in an appropriate manner and to pursue a successful negotiation strategy. Currently, Muslim communities composed mainly of citizens are more likely to be perceived as legitimate counterparts by local politicians, since they are also voters, as pointed out in the Dutch cities analysed by Landman and Wessels (2005), as well as in Brussels' Schaerbeek mosque decision-making process analysed by Manço and Kanmaz (2005).

In contrast, first-generation communities of non-citizen Muslim immigrants inevitably encounter more difficulties in articulating their needs and demands. Mosque-building in Germany (Jonker 2005), Switzerland<sup>21</sup> (Cattacin et al. 2003) and Italy<sup>22</sup> (Saint Blancat & Schmidt di Friedberg 2005; Allievi 2009) are similar in this respect. Yet, the strategies adopted by the promoting groups in these contexts appear to be quite different: whereas recently established Muslim associations in north-east Italian cities such as Lodi have decided to assume a low profile role (Saint Blancat & Schmidt di Friedberg 2005), either abandoning their requests or accepting the relocation of the projected mosques to very marginalised areas outside the cities or, as in the case of Berlin described by Jonker (2005), openly confronting the Kreuzberg authorities, leading the two parties to judicial courts.

As is thus clear, different strategies are likely to be undertaken and pursued by a mosque's promoters, according to the specific socio-economic profile and legal status of the leadership. The more the leaders hold established positions in the local society, the more they will be able to downplay conflicts and undertake negotiations. In contrast, weak groups, either from a socio-economic or a legal-political point of view, will find it more difficult to articulate their requests through established participative channels. Risks of marginalisation or radicalisation appear to be particularly evident.

This does not mean, however, that well-established leadership will prove successful. Division and conflict within the community is a crucial factor with respect to outcomes of the policymaking processes. The demand for a grand or 'cathedral' mosque is more likely to raise issues of representativeness, as pointed out in the case of Montreal described in this book as well as in the studies on Marseille and Toulouse carried out by Cesari (2005b).

Municipality is the second actor involved in the local mosque-building policy arena. Yet, at a more micro-level analysis, here again we find two distinct actors usually pursuing different strategies and logic of action: politicians and municipal civil servants. These latter, generally identified as city planners and technical officers, are particularly relevant, since, according to Landman and Wessels (2005: 1135), they are the ones able to suggest suitable sites for the planned mosques, which places the municipality on the side of the Muslim association if a con-

flict does arise. However, the group promoting the mosque and much depends, specifically, on former participative city planning. Wessels (2005), the presence of Muslims, still a citizenship place. This does not mean where the impersonal authority has already contributed to the municipality and the cities analysed by Saint Blancat & Schmidt di Friedberg (2005) for the administrative style is not necessarily of Milan, in 2000, the permission to renovate a cultural centre, despite the mayor. Bureaucracy in these cities analysed by Saint Blancat & Schmidt di Friedberg (2005) where zoning changes gave offices a second

To sum up, if city planning towards rule enforcement that different administrative rules and practices – have an impact on the city – may range from action judged to be legitimate in mosques' dossiers. However, an application usually by politicians, since it is more existing urban planning

Currently, when a contentious arena as between the local government represented in the city council, the action of both is driven by the action of the first group. In some cities, politicians have taken the lead by civil servants. As a result, the local decision cannot be proposed to accusations

conflict does arise. However, their willingness to collaborate with the group promoting the mosque's project cannot be taken for granted, and much depends, once again, on administrative cultures and, more specifically, on formal institutions or more informal practices of participative city planning. In the Dutch cities analysed by Landman and Wessels (2005), the town planners, while not sympathetic to the cause of Muslims, still accept as legitimate their claim for an adequate worship place. This does not seem to be the case in Berlin (Jonker 2005), where the impersonal, bureaucratic attitude of civil servants considerably contributed to reinforcing the lack of comprehension between the municipality and the Mevlana mosque committee. Also in the Italian cities analysed by Saint Blancat and Schmidt di Friedberg (2005), planning offices usually adopted a neutral and distant stance, just checking for the administrative conformity of the application. Such an impersonal style is not necessarily detrimental to Muslim groups: in the case of Milan, in 2000, the technical office accorded to an Italian convert permission to renovate a building of his own to be used as an Islamic cultural centre, despite the negative attitude of the then centre-right mayor. Bureaucracy acted essentially in a neutral way in the two Quebec cities analysed by Fourot as well, even though the specific institutional configuration governing the decision-making process in Laval, where zoning changes have to be approved by the resident population, gave offices a secondary role vis-à-vis political actors.

To sum up, if city planners do generally pursue a logic oriented towards rule enforcement and formal conformity, it may be hypothesised that different administrative cultures, as well as formal and informal rules and practices – particularly with reference to participative planning – have an impact on this category of actors will interpret their role. This may range from active support of the applicant whose requests are judged to be legitimate, to the impersonal, neutral treatment of mosques' dossiers. However, a positive decision on the formal correctness of an application usually represents an important constraint for local politicians, since it is more complicate to oppose a building plan that respects existing urban planning rules and satisfies technical requirements.

Currently, when speaking of local politicians in such a potentially contentious arena as mosque-building, a distinction has to be made between the local governing majority and the opposition parties represented in the city council (see also Allievi 2009: 64). Even though the action of both is driven by the prospective electoral consensus, the action of the first group is subject to a specific set of constraints. Governing politicians have to deal first of all with the 'neutral' decisions taken by civil servants. As pointed out in the case of Milan, a positive technical decision cannot be easily overturned, unless one is willing to be exposed to accusations of open discrimination and Islamophobia.<sup>23</sup> An-

other constraint is represented by the possibility of turning to a referendum. In order to avoid this, governing politicians will embark in a long negotiation process leading to a high level of personalisation of the policymaking process, as pointed out by Fourot in the case of Laval. A similar situation is described by Saint Blancat and Schmidt di Friedberg (2005) in the case of Lodi: the left-wing mayor initially supported the building of a mosque in a commercial area of the city.<sup>24</sup> And yet, the Northern League threatened to promote a referendum (in addition to opposition encountered in the neighbourhood), leading the mayor to reconsider the location of the mosque to the very outskirts of the city.

Generally speaking, the level of openness of the local governing majority to accommodation depends on the legal status of the local Muslim population. Both Landman and Wessel (2005: 1135) on the case of the Netherlands and Fourot (in this volume) on the case of Quebec, observe that militating against the demands of the mosque committees would have implied a cost in terms of useful votes for re-election. On the other hand, in the case of Italy, foreign Muslims, as well as third-country nationals overall, can only become voters upon naturalisation, after ten years of regular residence. As is clear, the search for political consensus will be likely to sacrifice Muslim claims.

Radical political parties sitting in the opposition ranks are of course free from any of the constraints mentioned, and may take an active role in mobilising opposition to the mosque's plans in the concerned neighbourhoods. This is the case, for instance, of the Northern League in Lodi, as well as of the Interest Party in Deventer (Landman & Wessel 2005: 1136). However, protests may assume very different forms and intensity, and as pointed out in this book by Fourot in her study on Montreal and Laval, they may range from a demand letter to heated discussions in public hearings. According to Landman and Wessel (2005), factors such as the demographic distribution of the Muslim population in the urban area, the immigration history of the city, as well as the social class of the opponent group, account for differences in the levels and fierceness of the opposition in the two small cities of Deventer and Driebergen and the city of Utrecht. In Utrecht, a town with a longer history of immigration, mosques are usually located in districts where Muslims represent a strong and numerous group, while the rest of the resident population come from socially weaker strata, lacking the personal and economic resources to mobilise the protest. Yet, more attention should be paid to the supply-side of the protest: populist parties with a radical stance towards immigration as well as religious authorities – for instance, in Italy, pre-eminent Catholic bishops expressing radicalised views – can be regarded as protest entrepreneurs (see the aforementioned case of Lodi), able to mobilise generic sentiments of aversion around political slogans and vocal opposition. At the same time, the

media may also play a role, as pointed out by Triandis. The balance in the representation of the press can be identified as a factor in the course and Muslim views.

As a consequence, the process is inevitable, more or less. Different actors taking different strategies and have different conditions leading to different outcomes. In order to have a clearer picture of mosque-building policy and its impact, a more systematic and comparative analysis is needed.

## 5 Conclusion

In order to make sense of the findings, this chapter has summarised the chapters of this book. This can only provide a strength on the external validity, but has also some limitations. It represents a limited overview of the texts: a major gap is that it has not shed light on the most important transition – from the studies presented in the book to the terms of objects of analysis and methodological approaches. A more detailed comparative analysis is needed, leading to other relevant findings.

Notwithstanding this, the book's *local migration policy* – structured around space and time – has enabled me to identify differences in the local-level of the five countries covered by the policy analysed by the book. The services and religious authorities are also relevant.

On the basis of this study, I am beginning to provide a more detailed account of the local-level of the negligible relevance in the differences in the sta-

media may also play a role in giving wind to opposition campaigns: as pointed out by Triandafyllidou (2006) again regarding Lodi, a clear imbalance in the representation of the various social and political actors by the press can be identified, with political parties monopolising the discourse and Muslim voices being in contrast under-represented.

As a consequence, protest cannot be simply interpreted as a sort of inevitable, more or less fierce, reaction to change by the neighbours. Different actors taking part in the protests may pursue different strategies and have different goals. More comparative research on the local conditions leading to NIMBY mobilisation is of extreme interest in order to have a clearer understanding of the functioning of the local mosque-building policy arena.

## 5 Conclusion

In order to make sense of the local dimension in migration policymaking, this chapter has attempted to propose a theoretical toolkit to cast the chapters of this book into a more unitary and consistent framework. This can only be regarded as a tentative exercise, which draws its strength on the extreme variance between the national cases considered, but has also some weaknesses. First of all, the countries analysed represent a limited sample of contemporary migration receiving contexts: a major gap is the lack of an Eastern European case, which would have shed light on the local dimension of policymaking in an important transition – from emigration to immigration – area.<sup>25</sup> Moreover, the studies presented in the chapters of this book are very different in terms of objects of analysis, research demands, theoretical backgrounds and methodological approaches. This poses a serious limit to systematic comparative analysis, which I have attempted to overcome by resorting to other relevant empirical studies and pieces of literature.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the introduction of the notion of a *local migration policy arena* – here intended as a policymaking field structured around specific issue areas or dimensions of migration policy – has enabled me to focus on patterns of similarities and differences in the local-level responses and policymaking processes across the five countries considered and in the three issue areas of migration policy analysed by the contributions to this book: citizenship, welfare services and religious diversity.

On the basis of this analysis, I now return to the questions set at the beginning to provide some provisional answers. First, it can be maintained that the local dimension of migration policymaking has a non-negligible relevance in all the countries considered, despite significant differences in the state structures and models of centre/periphery rela-

tions. Local policymaking arenas matter, and more attention should be devoted to their analysis in migration policy-oriented studies. The relevance of the local dimension does not seem to be strictly dependent on the five countries' state structures, but the way a specific issue is treated in each country should also be taken into account. In the case of Canada, for instance, federalism goes hand in hand with a strong interventionist stance on the part of the central government and a highly centralised policymaking structure as far as citizenship is concerned. This may contradict expectations based on a state-structures institutional analysis, yet it is consistent with the historical legacy of a nation based on the compromise between the English-speaking majority and the French-speaking minority. In this context, citizenship acquires the meaning of a republican style social contract (Bloemraad 2006), unifying in a modern constitutional polity different cultural and linguistic groups.

On the other hand, a strong tradition of local autonomy accounts for the leeway that local authorities enjoy both in the centralised Dutch state and in the regionalised Italian one, especially as far as the implementation of social policy is concerned, giving particular pre-eminence to the local immigrant welfare arena in these countries. In contrast, municipalities are subject to different provincial rules and statutes in Canada, where the very crucial sub-national authority in welfare policy is represented by the province.

In the case of religious diversity, the city emerges in all the five countries as the key arena for accommodation. Despite legal differences in national legislation and relations with Islam, demands for appropriate places of worship usually arise at the local level and touch upon issues such as the use of public space and urban planning, which are the exclusive responsibility of local administrations.

Clearly, state structures and systems of centre/periphery relations set the general framework of opportunities and constraints for sub-national authorities' action in relation to immigration. Yet this is not a fixed framework: rather, it may change according to the specific issues, as pointed out in the case of citizenship policy in Canada. Moreover, the analysis of national institutional patterns does not tell us how policies are actually worked out. The case of accommodation of religious diversity is in this respect revealing.

Having analysed the specific decision-making structures characterising each issue area policy arena, I now turn my attention to the identification of similarities and differences across the three policy arenas in terms of policymaking dynamics, actors involved and logic of action. A first important element indicated by the analysis is the complex nature of local government, which is composed of at least two actors not necessarily sharing the same views on immigration. Politicians, on the

one hand, pursue a co-ordinated set of those measures that are perceived interests and are likely to conceive of according to the specific localised to in their office clients' demands is not only a priority and even instrumental analyses of different localities contribute to a redefinition of the presence in local immigration constellations of factors that shape immigrants' needs and

But local policy and the action of local government are the focus of the discussion in this article. NGOs, immigrant associations and local authorities may all play a role in local immigration policy, but they will be crucially involved in local policy only by showing a client-oriented approach in integrating immigrants' integration needs more specification and identification with autochthonous actions often crowd out the actions of the other countries concerning migrant communities, catering to their constitutive needs assumed by NGOs work to influence considerably the lives of immigrants. Nevertheless, the incorporation of NGOs in local policy in the five countries consists in the inclusion of immigrant welfare organisations in the

Immigrant stakeholders in religious diversity policy are involved in building policymaking. Economic cultural associations and others all pursuing a similar logic of action from the local authorities. The established presence of immigrants in the composition and the legal status of immigrants, as well as the costs of funding etc.), can influence

one hand, pursue a consensus-building strategy, and will thus favour those measures that are considered to be in line with their electorate's perceived interests and preferences. Civil servants, on the other hand, are likely to conceive differently their role and goals in policymaking, according to the specific administrative cultures they have been socialised to in their office and institutions. Pragmatic accommodation of clients' demands is not necessarily the rule, since indifference, neutrality and even instrumental attitudes have been noted. More systematic analyses of different local offices' organisational cultures might contribute to a redefinition of the terms of the debate on convergence/divergence in local immigrant policy by drawing scholars' attention to the constellations of factors that can lead to different types of answers to immigrants' needs and demands.

But local policy and policymaking cannot be identified just with the action of local governmental actors. The contributions to this book and the discussion in this chapter indicate a far more complex picture. NGOs, immigrant associations, experts, media as well as neighbours may all play a role in local policymaking. In particular, NGOs appear to be crucially involved in the citizenship and social welfare arenas, usually showing a client-oriented logic of action, i.e. one aimed at supporting immigrants' integration and access to rights. Yet, such a category needs more specification: in Italy, for instance, NGOs are usually identified with autochthonous traditional non-profit organisations, whose actions often crowd out newer and less organised immigrant ones; in the other countries considered in this book, with more established immigrant communities, NGOs often include immigrant organisations catering to their constituencies. As is clear, the different configurations assumed by NGOs working on migration in different countries may influence considerably the openness of local policy and policymaking to immigrants. Nevertheless, if a common trend towards the increasing incorporation of NGOs in local policymaking can be identified across the five countries considered, this does not necessarily imply greater inclusion of immigrants, who may well be at the margins of established welfare organisations and networks.<sup>26</sup>

Immigrant stakeholders necessarily play a central role in the religious diversity policy arena, as pointed out in the analysis of mosque-building policymaking. Here we find either specific organisations (Islamic cultural associations and/or mosque committees) or individual leaders all pursuing a similar strategy oriented towards obtaining recognition from the local authorities. Nonetheless, the more or less established presence of Islam in the city, the socio-demographic composition and the legal status of the leadership and of their constituencies, as well as the content of their specific demands (public soil, funding etc.), can influence considerably policymaking dynamics and

outcomes. More systematic comparative analyses might shed new light on how relations are actually structured in such a potentially contentious policy arena, as well as on the specific forms of mobilisation neighbours can assume in different contexts.

Last, a lack of attention to the role of experts and media in local policymaking has already been noted. As far as the media are concerned, these have sometimes been considered in relation to mosque-building conflicts. However, their way of communicating about immigration and immigrants' integration into the city can influence the establishment of a more or less inclusive public discourse and public opinion climate. The role of local media in other issue areas should also be considered, since public discourse has a crucial relevance in the framing of the migration issue.

As is clear, there is still much to do in the study of the local dimension of migration policymaking. This book should be considered as a first effort to identify the main gaps in the literature and to propose possible future research paths that would help to fill them. More systematic and theoretically oriented research programmes are needed to tackle the issues considered so far, since existing literature has often developed in a disconnected way, through case studies that hardly interact with each other. Once again, comparison across cities in different countries should be regarded as a difficult yet necessary challenge for policy migration scholars. It is clear that empirically based knowledge on how immigration and immigrant-integration issues are presently treated and resolved day by day cannot be derived from comparison of national legal frameworks.

## Notes

- 1 The distinction between immigration and immigrant policymaking recalls Hammar's (1985) classic definitions of immigration and immigrant politics. Whereas immigration politics is concerned with the conditions of entry and admission on the state's territory, immigrant politics deals with issues of access to citizenship rights for those immigrants who are admitted to reside and work in the country.
- 2 With reference to the cases of Sweden and the Netherlands, Penninx and Martiniello (2004) point out how local politicisation was avoided in the 1970s thanks to the introduction of a consistent framework for national integration policy to which local administrations had to adhere.
- 3 See, for instance, the EU *Handbook on Integration for Policy-makers and Practitioners*, a second edition of which was published in 2007 (Niessen & Shibel 2007).
- 4 Currently identifiable in the case of Canada is a centre/periphery cleavage between Quebec and Ontario versus the West Atlantic provinces. The latter are less populated yet rich with feedstocks and commodities, and have always perceived their position in the federation as subordinated by the most populated provinces' interests in industrial development (Kent 1992).

## CONCLUSION

- 5 However, it must be pointed out that decision-making through the state involves senior ministers and which is not always in line with the *Länder*.
- 6 In the case of Quebec, such a situation is not unique to this province with a unique role played out by provincial authorities in relation to the central government (Erdem 2006).
- 7 This is the case in Switzerland, where the Federal Police and Police, which is part of the cantons (D'Amato 2006).
- 8 For Italy, see studies on local integration policies (1998; Triandafyllidou 2000) and on the renewal (Caponio 2007).
- 9 For the Netherlands, various studies on local and local policy with respect to immigration are predominantly undocumented (Raes 2000). As for Italy, see studies on reception with immigrants' reception (Caponio 2007).
- 10 For the main shifts in Dutch immigration policy, see Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2004).
- 11 NATAC is an acronym for National Agency for the States: Rules, Practices and Procedures. The research project was co-funded by the Austrian programme and the Austrian government (2004-2006). It was coordinated by the Institute for European Integration.
- 12 Actually, in Italy the decision on the admission of immigrants is the responsibility of the Ministry of the Interior (Zincone (2006)).
- 13 Applications are decided by the local citizenship judges. For more information, see [cit-ann-report-2006.asp#m](http://cit-ann-report-2006.asp#m).
- 14 As of January 2005, with the introduction of the naturalisation authorities in the local authorities (Hailbronner 2005).
- 15 Basic policies are set by the state, but various agreements signed with the local authorities – as mentioned in the third paragraph – on the definition and management of the integration and management of the integration process.
- 16 In the case of Amsterdam, the integration process was first faced by the Minorities Unit in the 1980s to mid-1990s under the new Dutch government's resistance to change.
- 17 The same holds true as far as the case of Zurich (2004) on the case of Zurich.
- 18 Campomori (2007), for instance, has pointed out how the accommodation of immigrants is related to their personal and voluntary work in Catholic

- 5 However, it must be pointed out that the *Länder* participate actively in national decision-making through the *Bundesrat*, which is composed of *Land* first ministers and senior ministers and which possesses an absolute veto on all federal legislation affecting the *Länder*.
- 6 In the case of Quebec, such agreements date back to the 1970s and currently provide this province with a unique role in the selection of immigrants. It is directly carried out by provincial authorities in the context of selection and eligibility criteria set by the central government (Birrel & McIsaac 2006).
- 7 This is the case in Switzerland of the Conference of Cantonal Ministers of Justice and Police, which is particularly vocal on issues of interior security and asylum (D'Amato 2006).
- 8 For Italy, see studies on local implementation of regularisation procedures (Zucchini 1998; Triandafyllidou 2003), as well as those on local practices of residence permits' renewal (Caponio 2007).
- 9 For the Netherlands, various studies have pointed out the tension between national and local policy with respect to the Amsterdam-based garment industry, employing predominantly undocumented Turkish workers tolerated by the city administration (Raes 2000). As for Italy, see, for instance, local administrations' practices in dealing with immigrants' reception and first accommodation described by Ponzo (2008).
- 10 For the main shifts in Dutch national integration policy since its start in the 1970s, see Bruquetas-Callejo et al. (2008: 11-19).
- 11 NATAC is an acronym for the project 'Acquisition of Nationality in EU Member States: Rules, Practices and Quantitative Developments'. This specific targeted research project was co-funded by the European Community's Sixth Framework Programme and the Austrian Ministry for Education, Science and Culture in the period 2004-2006. It was coordinated by the Austrian Academy of Sciences and the Institute for European Integration Research of Vienna.
- 12 Actually, in Italy the decision is up to the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Minister of the Interior. For details, see Arena, Nascimbene and Zincone (2006).
- 13 Applications are decided upon by the Citizenship Commission which is formed by all citizenship judges. For details, see [www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/cit-ann-report-2006.asp#mandate](http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/cit-ann-report-2006.asp#mandate).
- 14 As of January 2005, with the entering into force of the Immigration Act of 2004, the naturalisation authorities have to transmit all personal data of applicants to the security services (Hailbronner 2006: 241).
- 15 Basic policies are set by the federal government and implemented on the basis of various agreements signed with individual provinces, with the exception of Quebec that – as mentioned in the third section of this chapter – enjoys full autonomy in the definition and management of settlement and labour market programmes.
- 16 In the case of Amsterdam, Alexander (2008) points out the substantial isolation faced first by the Minorities Policy Coordination Bureau during the Minorities Policy period (i.e. 1980s to mid-1990s) and then by the Diversity Unit created in the mid-1990s under the new Diversity Policy Programme. He attributes this to bureaucratic resistance to change.
- 17 The same holds true as far as Swiss cities are concerned. See, for instance, Mahnig (2004) on the case of Zurich.
- 18 Campomori (2007), for instance, on the basis of a survey on the attitudes of public officials dealing with immigrants in the municipalities of the Lombardy regions, has pointed out how the accommodative and open attitude of these street-level bureaucrats is related to their personal and professional backgrounds, often characterised by voluntary work in Catholic charitable associations.

- 19 I am fully aware that more sophisticated models of explanation of Islam institutionalisation in Europe have been elaborated (see e.g. Rath et al. 2001; Koenig 2005; Fetzer & Soper 2005). Here I just highlight the main institutional elements affecting local policymaking arenas on mosque-building.
- 20 This is also the case in various episodes reported in Italy. In Turin, for instance, a recent plan to establish a grand Moroccan mosque founded by the Moroccan government has encountered opposition on the part of other Moroccan Muslim associations and from other Islamic groups more generally.
- 21 On Switzerland, see also the highly politicised dispute over minarets (Stüssi 2008).
- 22 The critical relevance of citizenship is evident if one considers that the promoters of a mosque project in Italian cities are usually either naturalised citizens or Italian converts to Islam, relying upon their personal social relations in the local political context (Saint Blancat & Schmidt di Friedberg 2005). Nevertheless, the personal ties of the leaders do not always prove to be sufficient in order to receive positive decisions.
- 23 On the other hand, a negative decision by planning authorities also serves as a major impediment for – supposedly – sympathetic politicians. On this point, see the case of Berlin's Kreuzberg mosque described by Jonker (2005: 1075).
- 24 The municipality would have granted a piece of land at a favourable, off-market price.
- 25 For reasons explaining the lacunae, see the introduction chapter in this book.
- 26 This appears to be the case in the German cities analysed by Aybek in this book, since immigrant organisations do not take part in local vocational education and training policy networks.

## References

- Alexander, M. (2007), *Cities and labour immigration. Comparing policy responses in Amsterdam, Paris, Rome and Tel Aviv*. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Allievi, S. (2009), *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe. Policy Issues and Trends*. London: Alliance Publishing Trust.
- Aluffi Beck-Pecoz, R. & G. Zincone (2004) (eds.), *The legal treatment of Islamic minorities in Europe*. Leuven: Peeters.
- Arena, M., B. Nascimbene & G. Zincone (2006), 'Italy', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 329–366. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Bélanger, C. (2001a), *Comparing Canadian and American federalism*. <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/federal/compare.htm>.
- Bélanger, C. (2001b), *Quebec and the Confederation Project (1864–1867)*. <http://faculty.marianopolis.edu/c.belanger/quebechistory/readings/queconf.htm>.
- Birrell, B. & E. McLissac (2006), 'Integrating immigrants in Canada: Addressing skills diversity', in OECD (ed.), *From Immigration to Integration. Local solutions to a global challenge*, 101–144. Paris: OECD.
- Bloemraad, I. (2006), *Becoming a citizen. Incorporating immigrants and refugees in the United States and Canada*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bruquetas-Callejo, M., B. Garcés-Masareñas, R. Penninx & P. Scholten (2008), *Policy-making related to immigration and integration. The Dutch case*. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Working Paper No. 15. [www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers](http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers).
- Campomori, F. (2007), 'Il ruolo di policymaking svolto dagli operatori dei servizi per gli immigrati', *Mondi migranti* 3: 83–106.
- Caponio, T. (2005), 'Policy networks and immigrants associations in Italy. The cases of Milan, Bologna and Naples', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (5): 931–950.
- Caponio, T. (2006), *Città e immigrazione. Bologna e Napoli*. Bologna: Bologna University Press.
- Caponio, T. (2007), 'La politica delle moschee in Italia. Logiche di azione in contesti locali', in S. Allievi (ed.), *Conflicts over Mosques in Europe. Policy Issues and Trends*. London: Alliance Publishing Trust.
- Cattacin, S., C. Reto Faenzi & J. Cesari (2005), *Luttes pour la reconnaissance des musulmans en France. Contre le racisme*. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Cesari, J. (2005a), 'Mosques and Migration Studies', in J. Cesari (ed.), *Muslims in the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cesari, J. (2005b), 'Mosques and Migration Studies', in J. Cesari (ed.), *Muslims in the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chopin, I. (2006), 'Admission and integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. Policies and trends', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 268. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Colombo, A. & G. Scionti (2006), 'The integration of Italy's migrants', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 367–386. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- D'Amato, G. (2006), 'Migration and integration in the Netherlands. Presented at the international conference on migration and integration in the Netherlands, Turin 19–20 May 2006', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 387–396. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Easton, D. (1965), *A Framework for Political Analysis*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Fasano, L. & F. Zucchi (2006), 'The integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. Presented at the international conference on migration and integration in the Netherlands, Turin 19–20 May 2006', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 397–406. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Fetzer, J. S. & C. J. Soper (2005), *Muslims in the West*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Good, K. R. (2009), *Muslims in the West*. Toronto and Vancouver: University of Toronto Press.
- Hagerdorn, H. (2001), 'Integration and migration policy of the German federal government', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 387–396. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hailbronner, K. (2006), 'The integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. Presented at the international conference on migration and integration in the Netherlands, Turin 19–20 May 2006', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 397–406. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hammar, T. (1985), *European Migration and Integration*. Cambridge University Press.
- Helbling, M. (2008), *Policy-making related to immigration and integration. The Dutch case*. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Working Paper No. 15. [www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers](http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers).
- Jeffery, C. (2002), 'German federalism and migration policy', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 387–396. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Jonker, G. (2005), 'The integration of immigrants in the Netherlands. Presented at the international conference on migration and integration in the Netherlands, Turin 19–20 May 2006', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 397–406. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Jordan, B., B. Strath & A. Waldrach (eds.) (1992), *The Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands*. The Hague: Kluwer.
- Kent, W. (ed.) (1992), *The Integration of Immigrants in the Netherlands*. The Hague: Kluwer.
- Koenig, M. (2005), 'Incorporating immigrants and refugees in the United States and Canada', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk and H. Waldrach (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries – vol. 2: Country analyses*, 387–396. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Kriesi, H. (1998), *Le système de migration en Suisse*. Lausanne: L'Âge d'Homme.

## CONCLUSION

- Caponio, T. (2006), *Città italiane e immigrazione. Discorso pubblico e politiche a Milano, Bologna e Napoli*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Caponio, T. (2007), 'La gestione locale delle politiche di soggiorno. Poste in gioco, attori e logiche di azione in alcune province del Piemonte', *Mondi Migranti* 3: 107-130.
- Cattacin, S., C. Reto Famos, M. Duttwiler & H. Mahnig (2003), *Etat et religion en Suisse. Luttres pour la reconnaissance, formes de la reconnaissance*. Berne: Commission fédérale contre le racisme.
- Cesari, J. (2005a), 'Mosque conflicts in European cities: Introduction', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1015-1024.
- Cesari, J. (2005b), 'Mosques in French cities: Towards the end of a conflict?', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1025-1043.
- Chopin, I. (2006), 'Administrative practices in the acquisition of nationality', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk & H. Waldrauch (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries - vol. 1: Comparative analyses*, 221-268. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Colombo, A. & G. Sciortino (2004), 'Italian immigration: The origins, nature and evolution of Italy's migratory systems', *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 9: 49-70.
- D'Amato, G. (2006), *Migration and Integration in Switzerland. A country report*, paper presented at the international conference The Making of Migratory Policies in Europe, Turin 19-20 May 2006.
- Easton, D. (1965), *A Framework for Political Analysis*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Fasano, L. & F. Zucchini (2001), 'L'implementazione locale del testo unico sull'immigrazione', in Fondazione Cariplo-Ismu (ed.), *Sesto rapporto sulle migrazioni 2000*, 39-50. Milan: Franco Angeli.
- Fetzer, J. S. & C. J. Soper (2005), *Muslims and the state in Britain, France, and Germany*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Good, K. R. (2009), *Municipalities and Multiculturalism. The Politics of Immigration in Toronto and Vancouver*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Hagerdorn, H. (2001), 'Föderalismus und die deutsche Staatsangehörigkeit: Die Einbürgerungspolitik der Bundesländer', in L. Akgün & D. Thränhardt D. (eds.), *Integrationsspolitik in föderalistischen Systemen (Jahrbuch Migration)*, 91-117. Münster: Lit.
- Hailbronner, K. (2006), 'Germany', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk & H. Waldrauch (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries - vol. 2: Country analyses*, 213-252. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Hammar, T. (1985), *European immigration policy. A comparative study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Helbling, M. (2008), *Practising citizenship and heterogeneous nationhood. Naturalisations in Swiss municipalities*. IMISCOE Dissertations Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Jeffery, C. (2002), 'German federalism from cooperation to competition', in M. Umbach (ed.), *German federalism: Past, present, future*, 172-188. Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Jonker, G. (2005), 'The Mevlana Mosque in Berlin-Kreuzberg: An unsolved conflict', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1067-1081.
- Jordan, B., B. Strath & A. Triandafyllidou (2003), 'Comparing cultures of discretion', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (2): 373-395.
- Kent, W. (ed.) (1992), *The collapse of Canada*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings.
- Koenig, M. (2005), 'Incorporating Muslim migrants in Western nation states. A comparison of the United Kingdom, France, and Germany', *Journal of International Migration and Integration* 6 (2): 219-234.
- Kriesi, H. (1998), *Le système politique suisse*. Paris: Economica.

- Leaf, M. (2005), 'Vancouver, Canada – Multicultural collaboration and mainstreaming', in M. Balbo (ed.), *International migrants and the city*, 269–306. Venice & Nairobi: UN-HABITAT.
- Leonardy, U. (1999), *The institutional structures of German federalism*. London & Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. [www.fes.de/fulltext/bueros/london/00538toc.htm](http://www.fes.de/fulltext/bueros/london/00538toc.htm).
- Lijphart, A. (1968), *The politics of accommodation: Pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Linder, W. (2005), *Schweizerische Demokratie. Institutionen, prozesse, perspektiven*. Bern: Haupt.
- Landman, N. & W. Wessels (2005), 'The visibility of mosques in Dutch towns', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1125–1140.
- Lipset, S. M. & S. Rokkan (1967), *Party systems and voter alignments: Cross-national perspectives*. New York: Free Press.
- Lowi, T. (1972), 'The four systems of policy, politics & choice', *Public Administration Review* 32 (4): 298–310.
- Mahnig, H. (2004), 'The politics of minority-majority relations: How immigrant policies developed in Paris, Berlin and Zurich', in R. Penninx, K. Kraal, M. Martiniello & S. Vertovec (eds.), *Citizenship in European cities. Immigrants, local politics and integration policies*, 17–37. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Manço, U. & M. Kanmaz (2005), 'From conflict to co-operation between Muslims and local authorities in a Brussels borough: Schaerbeek', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1105–1123.
- Maussen, M. (2007), *The governance of Islam in Europe. A state of the art report*. Amsterdam: IMISCOE Working Paper No. 6. [www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers](http://www.imiscoe.org/publications/workingpapers).
- McKay, D. (2001), *Designing Europe. Comparative lessons from the federal experience*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Niessen, J. & Y. Shibel (2007), *Handbook on integration for policymakers and practitioners*, 2nd ed. Brussels: European Commission. [http://europa.eu/comm/justice\\_home](http://europa.eu/comm/justice_home).
- Penninx, R. & M. Martiniello (2004), 'Integration policies and processes: State of the art and lessons', in R. Penninx, K. Kraal, M. Martiniello & S. Vertovec (eds.), *Citizenship in European cities. Immigrants, local politics and integration policies*, 139–163. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Ponzo, I. (2008), 'Quello che i comuni hanno in comune. Politiche locali di accoglienza per gli immigrati', *Polis* 3: 451–482.
- Raes, S. (2000), *Migrating enterprise and migrant entrepreneurship: How fashion and migration have changed the spatial organisation of the clothing supply to consumers in the Netherlands*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Rath, J., R. Penninx, K. Groenendijk & A. Meyer (2001), *Western Europe and its Islam*. Leiden/Boston/Köln: Brill.
- Rocher, F. & M. Smith (eds.), (2003), *New trends in Canadian federalism*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.
- Saint-Blancat, C. & O. Schmidt di Friedberg (2005), 'Why are mosques a problem? Local politics and fear of Islam in northern Italy', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 31 (6): 1083–1104.
- Simmons, A. (1999), 'La politique canadienne d'immigration dans les années 1990: Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose?', in M. McAndrew, A. C. Decoufle & C. Ciceri (eds.), *Les politiques d'immigration et d'intégration au Canada et en France: Analyses comparées et perspectives de recherche*. Vancouver: Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines.
- Stüssi, M. (2008), 'Banning of minarets: Addressing the validity of a controversial Swiss popular initiative', *Religion and Human Rights* 3 (2): 135–153.

- Toonen, T. A. J. (1990), 'The Netherlands', *Public Administration* 29 (2): 257–297.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2003), 'Culture, identity processes', *Studies* 29 (2): 257–297.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2006), 'The Italian mosque debate', in (eds.), *Multiculturalism*, York: Routledge.
- Van Oers, R., B. de Hart & I. bøl, K. Groenendijk & F. Vermeulen (eds.), *search Series*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Ventura, S. (2002), *Il federalismo*.
- Vermeulen, H. & R. Penninx (eds.), *Integratie van Zes Doelgroep*.
- Waldrauch, H. (2006), *Acquisition of citizenship in European countries – vol. 1: Comparative analysis*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Watts, R. (2008), *Comparing immigration policies*.
- Zincone, G. & T. Caponio (2008), 'Immigration and integration in Europe. A state of the art report', Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Zucchini, F. (1998), 'L'implantation di Torino e Brescia', in F. Zucchini (ed.), *Immigration and integration in Europe*, 173–189. Milan: Franco Angeli.

- Toonen, T. A. J. (1990), 'The unitary state as a system of co-governance: The case of the Netherlands', *Public Administration Review* 68 (3): 281-296.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2003), 'Immigration policy implementation in Italy: Organisational culture, identity processes and labour market control', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 29 (2): 257-297.
- Triandafyllidou, A. (2006), 'Religious diversity and multiculturalism in Southern Europe: The Italian mosque debate', in T. Madood, A. Triandafyllidou & R. Zapata-Barrero (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Muslims and citizenship. A European approach*, 117-142. New York: Routledge.
- Van Oers, R., B. de Hart & K. Groenendijk (2006), 'Netherlands', in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk & H. Waldrauch (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries - vol. 2: Country analyses*, 391-434. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Ventura, S. (2002), *Il federalismo*. Bologna: Il Mulino.
- Vermeulen, H. & R. Penninx (eds.), (1994), *Het Democratisch Ongeëuld: De Emancipatie en Integratie van Zes Doelgroepen van het Minderhedenbeleid*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.
- Waldrauch, H. (2006), *Acquisition of nationality*, in R. Bauböck, E. Ersbøll, K. Groenendijk & H. Waldrauch (eds.), *Acquisition and loss of nationality. Policies and trends in 15 European countries - vol. 1: Comparative analyses*, 121-182. IMISCOE Research Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Watts, R. (2008), *Comparing Federal Systems*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.
- Zincone, G. & T. Caponio (2006), 'The multilevel governance of migration', in R. Penninx, M. Berger & K. Kraal (eds.), *The dynamics of international migration and settlement in Europe. A state of the art*, 269-304. IMISCOE Joint Studies Series. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Zucchini, F. (1998), 'L'implementazione della politica pubblica per l'immigrazione: I casi di Torino e Brescia', in Fondazione Cariplo-Ismu (ed.), *Terzo rapporto sulle migrazioni 1997*, 173-189. Milan: Franco Angeli.