GLOBAL CITIES AND INTEGRATION

A CHALLENGE FOR THE FUTURE

edited by **Matteo Villa**
forewords by **Paolo Magri** and **Pierfrancesco Majorino**

ISPI

Global Cities and Integration

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ISPI

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Foreword

Between 2013 and 2017, the sharp increase in irregular sea arrivals on the Italian and Greek coasts brought the topic of migration back to the front pages of newspapers. Everyone still remembers Angela Merkel, unexpectedly opening the doors to the Syrians, and the many reactions of solidarity – as well as the closure of many other European countries, called to manage the largest influx of asylum seekers in Europe since the end of the Second World War.

Today, in a period of declining arrivals, there is a risk to consider the problem solved and to move on to something else. Instead, regardless of arrivals, European societies are constantly changing: the number of foreigners living in Western Europe is growing, and Italy is no exception. If in 1998 the foreigners resident on the Italian territory were just over 3% of the population, today, after only twenty years, it is close to 8.5% – and would be close to 10% if we take into account also those born abroad, who acquired the Italian citizenship.

Cities play a fundamental role in this context. It is in cities that the greatest number of foreigners and people with a recent migration past often concentrate. About 18% of those who live in Milan are foreigners, and this percentage reaches 30% in Berlin, 37% in London and almost 40% in Vienna. But in addition to the numbers, cities are also great policy laboratories, both because of a tendency to delegate some choices to a local level more than in the past, and because it is the local administrations that are aware of what happens in their territory.

In covering the emergency, ISPI has often put the spotlight on the many migrants who try to reach Europe irregularly, analysing the consequences (first of all political) that this flow of

people on the move can have for the countries of origin, transit, and destination, emphasising critical issues, and making proposals to avoid being subjected to migration flows and instead aim at managing them.

But entering a third country is only the first step in a long and complex process of integration. In order to govern migration, it is not enough to manage the flows: it is also necessary to ensure that the migrants do not end up in a vicious circle of marginality and exclusion, which could lead to crime and violence. The data tell us that those who reach Italy by sea have a harder time integrating. At the same time, however, the increase in irregular arrivals has sometimes given the action of European states a security imprint that puts control measures before active policies on the ground. It is here that cities are once again important – indeed crucial – especially when they decide to make up for the shortcomings of national action with autonomous initiatives.

The idea for this volume, produced with the contribution of the Municipality of Milan, was born by observing what the city of Milan has already done in recent years on integration. From the beginning, the aim was to map the initiatives put in place by other European cities in order to provide ideas and hints on how to further improve, where possible, city initiatives. Focusing on those most in need, such as children, women, and low-skilled workers, and considering cities not only as places where national policies take shape, but also as laboratories for experimenting, collecting, and sharing good practices.

Because integration in Europe is a challenge for all. And it starts from the bottom.

Paolo Magri
ISPI Executive Vice-President and Director

Foreword

Milan takes pride in its identity as an open city and its tradition of civic solidarity. The city has responded with an extraordinary commitment to the flows of migrants who, for years, have been crossing the Mediterranean in search of the European dream.

From October 18, 2013, to May 30, 2018, the city hosted more than 130,000 asylum seekers, who chose Milan as a place of transit to other European countries. Every day we host about 600 unaccompanied foreign minors, for whom we are preparing a newly dedicated centre and about 1,500 people in the centres for asylum seekers of the City of Milan (CAS) and in the SPRAR system (about 2,600 are housed in the CAS of the Prefecture on the territory of the city of Milan). By adhering to the national SPRAR programme (see chapter 3 below), the Municipality of Milan wanted to be a positive actor in managing the flows of migrants, trying to offer all the necessary and useful services: not only food and housing, but also teaching the Italian language, providing professional and psychological orientation, and offering special assistance for the most vulnerable, such as victims of violence. We deeply believe in the value of second reception; this is why we are committed to doubling the number of places available in the SPRAR system: our goal is to be able to offer 1,000 new places over the next year.

The aim is twofold: on the one hand, to ensure adequate assistance to migrants in order to integrate them into society, and on the other to minimise any inconvenience that may arise from such large numbers, ensuring the safety of all.

In recent years the commitment of Milan – as a municipal administration, together with a particularly active third sector – has therefore focused on the emergency of asylum seekers,

for the scale of the phenomenon and for obvious humanitarian reasons. Let's not forget, however, the other side of migration, which cannot be associated with the emergency: in the whole city today there are more than 261,000 people with a migratory background, and every year there are almost 4,000 requests for family reunification.

The cultural, ethnic, and religious mosaic that makes up Milan is becoming increasingly rich. The challenges posed by this wealth are manifold. In the new plan of local governance that is currently being drafted, all the urban redevelopment interventions that can offer citizens renewed spaces of aggregation are key: greener and more beautiful neighbourhood squares make it more pleasant to get together along with playgrounds and benches, facilitating dialogue and exchanges among inhabitants.

In primary and secondary schools we are addressing the issue of school segregation, developing specific programmes to improve the educational offer of the most disadvantaged schools and disseminate intercultural pedagogical approaches (see chapter 4 below), modelled on other European cities such as Leeds and Stockholm.

With a view to multi-level governance, we have promoted with the Prefecture and Police Headquarters a Unique Protocol for unaccompanied foreign minors and we are collaborating with the Prefecture, the educational institutions, and the third sector to improve the conditions for the integration of young people who arrive in Milan through family reunification: from the increase in language courses upon arrival, up to the engagement of communities and diasporas as mentors for newly-arrived migrants.

In this work on school segregation and family reunification we draw inspiration from experiences in other cities, both within the EU partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees of the Urban Agenda and the working group on migration of the Eurocities network, and in the framework of a strategic consultation offered by the Social Services team of Bloomberg Associates.

At the international level, Milan raises the question of the recognition of the role of urban centres in the reception and integration of migrants and refugees in every significant forum of city diplomacy. From the discussions within C40 – Cities Climate Leadership Group, of which Milan is Vice Chair, on the links between migration and climate change, to those of the group of global cities promoting the U20 initiative in view of the G20 in Buenos Aires in October 2018, to the negotiations within the United Nations for the adoption by the end of 2018 of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration and the Global Compact on Refugees, Milan's advocacy action has been determined and decisive, as recognised by all the international actors involved.

Milan will be the place where the policy suggestions and practices described in this Report will be further articulated, on the occasion of the VIII Integrating Cities Conference promoted by Eurocities, which will be hosted on 7-8 November 2018: a crucial opportunity to dialogue with the European Commission and the other cities mentioned in this volume.

The analysis made by the authors of this Report provides tools for reading the phenomena that go through our urban societies and useful information on what has been successfully achieved by European cities. Thanks to the models described in this volume, which offer us interesting ideas to experiment within our system, we will redouble our commitment so that Milan will be more and more the city of all, be they born in Milan or not.

Pierfrancesco Majorino,
Alderman for Social Policies, Health and Rights
Municipality of Milan

1. Cities and Integration in the Age of Multi-Level Governance

Matteo Villa

In recent years, the debate in Italy and Europe on how to govern migration has very often revolved around national policies and politics. The landings of irregular migrants on the Italian and Greek shores have pushed the media to focus on models to manage the flows, which fall inevitably under the responsibility of the central government of each Member State of the European Union.

However, migration governance is not just about managing the flows of people crossing borders. It also concerns, above all, the measures that public administrations take to integrate newly-arrived migrants in destination countries. For this reason, it is equally important to study the role of local authorities, and in particular of large cities: it is in their territories that the integration process is expressed in everyday life, it is from there that policies emerge that go beyond the minimum standards imposed by central governments, and it is always there that debate and political controversy take place, generating tensions between those who have lived in the city for longer and the newly arrived.

Studying the role of large urban areas is also crucial because it is within the city that foreigners in general, and refugees and asylum seekers who have arrived in Europe in recent years in particular, tend to settle. In OECD countries, 66% of migrants live in densely-populated urban contexts, compared to 58% of natives[1]. Moreover, migrants often a preference for larger,

[1] OECD, *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2018.

more integrated, and technologically advanced cities. It is to be expected: these offer the best opportunities to access public services, develop a social support network, and find a job.

At the same time, foreigners living in cities continue to experience disadvantages compared to natives, especially in the case of low-skilled newcomers. They have chronically higher unemployment rates, which tend to increase more rapidly in the event of an economic crisis; they display a lower level of education; and they have difficulty accessing services, such as healthcare and housing. It is, therefore, essential to focus on how integration policies are applied at the local level, but also how local actors interpret and innovatively change them, looking for solutions that apply to their specific needs, cooperating – or in some cases competing – with other territorial levels of government (regional, national, and European).

This chapter considers three crucial aspects to give a picture of how cities are moving in the field of integration. First of all, it traces the evolution of migratory phenomena in Europe, analysing how the governance of migration policies has changed as a result, reaching the current multi-level approaches. Therefore, it seeks to understand how increasing complexity in the formulation and implementation of public policies impacts on cities, creating both challenges and opportunities. Second, it investigates how the different capacity of city administrations to access public funding affects their ability to develop innovative and original integration policies that, in some cases, may conflict with the national level. Finally, it describes the recent emergence of transnational networks among cities, underlining their positive role but also their limitations in the context of multi-level governance in Europe.

Migration and multi-level governance in Europe

Brief history of migration and integration in Europe

While the migration of workers, households, and asylum seekers has been an integral part of European history for centuries, the role of actors under or above national governments has really only emerged and strengthened in recent decades. Among the countries with a colonial past, immigration has become a subject of political debate, as independence movements in former colonies were gaining ground, in particular during the rapid decolonisation in Asia and Africa in the 1950s and 1970s. Moreover, until the first half of the 1970s, migration to Europe was considered by governments to be more a matter of matching labour supply and demand, and less a (potential) social threat.

After the end of the Second World War, migrations within the European continent also became very important, particularly from southern European countries to northern ones. The case of the Gastarbeiter (guest workers) is famous: they were immigrants to the Federal Republic of Germany looking for work, settled by means of temporary contracts and (at least in theory) bound to return to their country of origin once the time allowed in Germany expired.

It was only in the first half of the 1970s, with the oil crisis and the first great period of European austerity, that the issue of migration became an important topic of political confrontation, particularly in the countries of the Western bloc that had been the main recipients of migrants: France for colonial reasons, West Germany for the large number of workers, and Sweden for both workers and refugees. These countries took a number of restrictive measures, setting ever stricter annual quotas, to the point of eliminating them altogether in the case of Germany. The expectation in Germany was that foreign workers would return home; many of them, however, remained, and

the "guest workers" turned into "immigrants"[2].

From the 1990s onwards, Southern European countries began to turn from countries of emigration into countries of immigration. Economic growth had made them attractive to citizens of countries in North Africa, the Balkans and, to a certain extent, Central and Eastern Europe. With the end of the Cold War, there were two other important changes. The first was the process of fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia into independent states: being extremely violent, the Balkan wars (and the Albanian crises) gave rise to one of the largest and sustained flows of refugees and displaced persons that Europe had experienced since the end of the Second World War. At the same time, European integration was also progressing in terms of eastward enlargement: when 12 new countries joined the EU between 2004 and 2007 (compared to 15 in the mid-1990s), this allowed citizens of the new entrants to benefit from the new status of European citizens by participating in the single market – in particular by seeking work in any other EU country.

These developments have been accompanied by a progressive "communitarisation" of migration policies, which were previously exclusively national and were at best regulated by bilateral international agreements. In 1990, the states that had already signed an agreement in 1985 to abolish reciprocal border controls and to create an area of free movement signed the Schengen Convention. A second step was to regulate the asylum system, establishing which state was competent to examine requests from persons arriving in a country of the European Union (Dublin Convention of 1990, later incorporated into the European Treaties). In 1997, the Treaty of Amsterdam took a major step forward by including the protection of refugees, and migration in general, among the subjects that could be regulated at Community level.

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[2] J. Doomernik and M. Bruquetas-Callejo, "National Immigration and Integration Policies in Europe Since 1973", in B. Garcés-Mascareñas and R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe: Contexts, Levels and Actors*, Springer, 2016, pp. 57-76.

The Dublin and Schengen rules were "communitarised". In addition, in 2004, the first Community directives were adopted establishing a common definition of asylum, subsidiary protection, and related rights, as well as minimum standards for the reception of beneficiaries of international protection. Further progress was made in controlling the EU's common external borders, with the creation, in 2004, of Frontex (the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders) and the inclusion of migration among the subjects under negotiation between the EU and third countries wishing to conclude neighbourhood agreements.

The Treaty of Amsterdam provided for the possibility of making ambitious proposals in the field of legal labour migration as well. In 2001, the European Commission put forward a proposal for a system to manage regular labour migration to all Member States, with a number of quotas based on the matching of current and foreseeable labour supply and demand in the recent future[3]. However, diverging national interests and positions scuppered the proposal (almost exclusively supported by the countries of Mediterranean Europe), and the Commission had to settle for the creation of some specific programmes to encourage the migration of highly qualified workers, such as the Blue Card (2009), and a directive on family reunification (2003).

During this process, integration policies have remained the furthest from harmonisation at EU level, partly because of the heterogeneity of practices and experiences at the level of individual nation states. The European Directive on reception conditions for applicants for international protection is the only instrument that regulates part of integration policies (in particular minimum standards for education for minors and health care for minors and adults), but restricts the scope to a

[3] Communication from the Commission to the Council and the European Parliament on a Community immigration policy, COM(2000) 757, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/IT/TXT/HTML/?uri=CELEX:52000DC0757&from=EN

particularly vulnerable minority and does not oblige Member States to provide for strategies for the integration of all foreigners living on their territory. In general, Community instruments dealing with the integration of migrants are limited to soft law or the exchange of good practices between national and sub-national entities. For example, in 2004, the EU Justice and Home Affairs Council adopted the Common Basic Principles for the Integration of Migrants. The Principles define integration as a "dynamic, two-way process of mutual accommodation by all immigrants and residents of Member States", state that "employment is a key part of the integration process" and that "basic knowledge of host society's language, history, and institutions is indispensable", and consider it essential to enable immigrants to acquire them. Furthermore, by stating that "frequent interaction between immigrants and Member State citizens is a fundamental mechanism for integration", Member States seem for the first time to take a position in favour of intercultural pathways, going beyond the classic dichotomy between the assimilation of migrants in the host society (the "French" model) or multiculturalism (the "English" model[4]) . However, all this is contained in a simple statement of principles, not linked to incentives such as funding mechanisms, nor to sanctions in the event of non-compliance.

Integration policies and multi-level governance

As shown, the heterogeneity of national integration models has made it difficult to develop harmonised integration policies in the EU. This is also due to the fact that, in order to be put into practice, these models require a number of resources that are difficult to find at EU level, given that the Community budget amounts to around 1% of EU GDP and 2% of national public expenditure.

[4] Council of the European Union, 14615/04 (Presse 321), https://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/jha/82872.pdf

But there is more: over the decades, integration policies have become increasingly local and decentralised[5]. Local authorities, and cities in particular, are, on the one hand, the main actors implementing integration policies and, on the other, a laboratory for experimenting with new opportunities, models, and processes to improve their final outcome. In Germany, for example, while the southern Länder – with its Christian-democratic or Christian-social majority governments – strictly stuck to the guest workers model, the northern Länder and cities with a social-democratic majority promoted inclusive policies that treated foreigners as people who would stay in the country in the long term, thereby developing local integration policies that differed in part from national ones[6].

Integration policies, which were previously exclusively national, have, therefore, extended to other hierarchical levels of public policy formulation: on the one hand, in an upward movement that leads to the European level, and on the other, in a downward movement that leads to local authorities up to the cities. It is precisely for this first reason that today there is a tendency to talk about *multi-level* governance: because the public actors involved are nested in each other at a territorial level, from supranational to national, from regional to local. These actors are involved in various ways in shaping integration policies, which is why they tend to negotiate both their content (when designing policies) and their interpretation and practical implementation[7].

We also talk about *governance*, rather than government, because in defining integration policies, public actors have been joined by a host of other private actors: entrepreneurs, trade

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[5] M. Ambrosini, *Governare città plurali. Politiche locali di integrazione per gli immigrati in Europa*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2012.

[6] D. Thränhardt, "Germany: An undeclared immigration country", in Idem (Ed.), *Europe – A new immigration continent. Policies and politics since 1945 in comparative perspective*, Münster, Lit Verlag, 1992, pp. 167-194.

[7] G. Marks "Structural Policy and Multilevel Governance in the EC", in A. Cafruny and G. Rosenthal (Eds.), *The State of the European Community*, New York, Lynne Rienner, 1993, pp. 391-410.

unions, non-governmental organisations, migrant associations, and civil society groups. Many of these actors are involved in the integration process in a more or less formal and more or less impactful way. They contribute both to policy design or policy change, and more often to their actual implementation, for example by voluntarily offering services that are additional to (or even, as in the case of some forms of assistance to irregular migrants, even prohibited by) national and local integration policies.

Integration policies at the local level can, therefore, be classified in at least two ways: according to their *content* and according to the *type* of multi-level governance that characterises the interactions between the different actors in each EU Member State. Starting from their content, Michael Alexander illustrates five possible approaches to integration at the local level: for temporary migrants, for migrants as guest workers, assimilationist, pluralist, and intercultural policies[8]. In the case of *temporary migrants*, integration policies are either underdeveloped or absent. It is expected that migrants will return soon to their country of origin, or that they will not settle in the country where he/they reside in the long term. This type of policy (or, precisely, the absence of a policy) can cover types of migrants along much of the spectrum of international migration: from seasonal workers, to those who move for study purposes, to highly skilled and highly mobile workers (such as managers of multinational companies). Integration policies *for guest workers* go just a little further: they recognise the presence of migrants but treat them as mere workers, and start from the assumption that this type of migrant will also leave the country sooner or later. They, therefore, provide basic rights and services for the time the migrant stays, but do not necessarily recognise long-term rights, such as the right to retirement benefits or family reunification. The other three categories instead assume

[8] M. Alexander, "Local policies towards migrants as an expression of host-stranger relations: A proposed typology", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 29, no. 3, 2003, pp. 411-430.

a change in how government and administrative authorities perceive the migrant: no longer as a short-term guest, but as someone who could settle for a longer time and who, for this reason, can have an effect on the host society that goes beyond the mere supply of labour. *Assimilationist* integration policies aim to make the "otherness" of migrants disappear in the long term: they are supposed to become more and more similar to the citizens of the host society. On the contrary, *pluralist* policies conceive the identity of migrants as permanently different and try to guarantee them the best possible environment in which to exercise such otherness, while respecting the rules in force. Finally, *intercultural* policies arose as a reaction to the individualistic excesses of pluralist policies and add to the respect for diversity a call for the greatest possible degree of interaction between the majority and the minorities, in order to maximise opportunities for exchange and proactively combat distrust and segregation.

With regards to the possible types of multi-level governance, Peter Scholte recognises four possible modes of vertical interaction, between different territorial levels, and horizontal interaction, between public and non-public actors: one can, therefore, talk of centralist, localist, properly multi-level, or uncoordinated approaches[9]. *Centralist* interactions continue to recognise a clear hierarchy and division of labour between the various levels and provide for precise and highly-institutionalised control mechanisms to ensure that the implementation of integration policies at the local level strictly follows centrally-established rules.

Localist approaches, on the other hand, proceed from the bottom up: competences in the formulation of public policies follow the principle of subsidiarity, giving as much freedom of action as possible to the local level. In this case, local authorities

[9] P. Scholten, "Between national models and multi-level decoupling: The pursuit of multi-level governance in UK and Dutch policies towards migrant incorporation", *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 17, no. 4, 2015, pp. 973-994.

not only implement policies but also participate in their design and often lead the central government in identifying possible policy improvements. Wide local self-government, however, can also lead to a significant divergence in integration policies between different cities, and could also have the unintended effect of bringing a large number of migrants, attracted by the higher supply of services compared to the rest of the country, into a small number of cities.

Properly multi-level approaches are those that favour a constant interaction between different territorial levels. They require the presence of "vertical forums" representing the various levels of government, allowing close coordination and exchange of experience. Technically, it would be preferable if the various levels of government put aside the power-based interactions that one could exercise over the other depending on what is foreseen by law or by the Constitution, and adopt a policy-learning approach in which the attempts to find shared solutions to common challenges prevail.

Finally, *uncoordinated* interactions are those in which the various territorial levels do not coordinate in any way, but rather lead to conflict (often more "on politics" than "on policies"). For example, security approaches and a preference to restrict foreigners' rights in order to reduce the international appeal of the country, or to push residents to leave, could prevail at the national government level, while at the local level some administrations could adopt a very welcoming approach, in open contrast with the choices of the national administration. This seems to be the case today in the United States, where the restrictive policies of the Trump administration are being countered by the so-called "sanctuary cities", which aim to become safe havens even for irregular migrants.

How does multilevel governance work? Two case studies

To shed light on how multilevel governance works in immigration policies, in this section, we will take as an example a

"properly multilevel" case and one where the interactions between central and local government have been "uncoordinated".

The first case is access to health services in **Sweden**. In this country, responsibility for the provision of health services lies at the regional level, while municipalities are responsible for public education and social assistance. Sweden has highly restrictive policies on access to healthcare for migrants who are not legally resident in the country: as in the German case (see below, chapter 6), this led in the early 2000s to the emergence of a parallel system for the provision of health services by non-governmental associations made up of volunteers. Obviously, in this case, the foreigners who had access to the service did not have a regular medical record, and they were denied continuity of care. The presence of NGOs and voluntary associations led hospitals in some regions to guarantee informal access to the public health service, thus giving rise to different rights from place to place. In the meantime, the NGOs themselves have been lobbying extensively with professional doctors and trade unions, calling for a national law to be amended in a less restrictive way. Only after several years, in 2011, a coalition government in favour of a rethink of this system decided to create a commission of inquiry to consider the different options available, having as one of its stated objectives the avoidance that new policies would increase the likelihood that undocumented migrants will remain in Sweden longer. The committee's final report made it clear that not providing medical assistance to irregular migrants ran the risk of violating human rights, but also of increasing the spread of communicable diseases, which is why the committee recommended extending health coverage to irregular migrants. The outcome of the process in 2013 was a slightly more conservative reform, which extended healthcare to minors, while adults were guaranteed primary and secondary care at the same level as legal residents, but not specialist care[10].

[10] S. Spencer, "Multi-level governance of an intractable policy problem: migrants with irregular status in Europe", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2 August 2017.

The second case involves Italy. In 2007, the Municipality of **Milan** decided to prevent children of undocumented migrants from enrolling to nursery schools. The decision was harshly criticised by the then Minister of Education Giuseppe Fioroni, who reminded the Mayor that education is a "fundamental human right" and that its legitimate enjoyment could not be prevented. Less than a year later, the Court of Milan declared that the decision was discriminatory, stressing that foreign minors must be "guaranteed the possibility of residing on the national territory regardless of the conditions of the residence status of their parents". After the city administration changed hands in 2011, the following year the City of Milan issued a new memo stating that the children of irregular migrants had the right to access kindergarten under the same conditions as Italian citizens[11].

Therefore, although it is preferable to adopt coordinated actions and have mechanisms for negotiating and resolving the conflicts that may arise at the various territorial levels of government and/or between various public and non-public actors, even in cases of uncoordinated policies, compromise solutions can be reached in a short time. The proximity of local authorities, and in particular of municipalities, to the territory exposes them to the greatest repercussions both when the contested decision comes from the central level and when, as in the case of Milan, it is taken at the local level. The interaction between the different territorial levels also allows new policies to be negotiated continuously, with different balances making integration policies effective. On the one hand, this is a virtuous aspect, because it allows policies that reveal potential problems to be corrected quickly. On the other hand, this fluidity and heterogeneity in the local implementation of policies established at central level constitutes a risk, because it causes uncertainty for citizens and because, all things being equal, it risks persuading

[11] N. Delvino and S. Spencer, *Irregular Migrants in Italy: Law and Policy on Entitlement to Services*, ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford, 2014.

foreigners to make secondary movements within the country in search of the best conditions and services provided at the local level.

Doing a lot with a little: the problem of financial resources

When local authority governments want to address gaps or shortcomings in integration policies at the national level, they generally need additional financial resources. For example, in Western Europe, the cost of providing for the reception of an asylum seeker in the first year after arrival is around €10,000. This cost includes food, shelter, and basic services, while excluding costs related to integration policies.

During the period of high flows of migrants to Europe, EU Member States had to bear a higher cost to manage the reception at the national level, which in some cases has become quite significant: at the height of the crisis in 2015 it amounted to 1.4% of Swedish GDP, 0.5% of German GDP and 0.4% of Italian GDP. Only a few European countries that escaped relatively untouched from the double economic recession have been able to release new funding without exceeding the EU deficit/GDP threshold. Others (such as Italy and Greece) were forced to enact austerity policies to deal while facing unforeseen but undeferrable expenses caused by the sudden growth of irregular migration flows. This has further restricted the possible fiscal space of governments to strengthen integration policies.

It is not easy to understand how much of the national expenditure on integration policies can be attributed to the national level and how much to the local level, but if the expenditure for reception is almost entirely sustained at central level, it is also clear that expenditure for integration (which includes both the enhancement of services directed to the entire citizenship, and of those specifically targeted to newly arrived migrants) has a significant impact on local budgets. A 2017 study, for example, estimated that in OECD countries the costs of refugee-related

expenditure end up being borne by local authorities for 35-45% of the total[12]. In particular, the higher costs for local authorities come from social assistance and education, while housing costs tend to be more equally shared with the central government.

In fact, in managing flows in an "emergency" period, larger and more attractive cities may experience a significant increase in costs which is often not met – or at least not at a rate that ensures budgetary continuity – by the central government. A study by Brookings Institution on German cities notes that some of them have spent much more than initially planned to deal with the emergency, and this despite the central government's commitment to distribute refugees and asylum seekers evenly across Germany[13]. According to the study, the 15 most populous German cities are also those that have experienced the greatest flows of secondary migration, i.e. the displacement of refugees and asylum seekers from the place where the federal government initially assigned them to a different one. As the number of beneficiaries of integration services increased, so did the additional costs that large cities already experienced in securing sufficient housing at market prices: this is due to the fact that these cities are also attractive to natives, and internal migration to large cities raises prices compared to smaller rural or urban environments.

To give just one example, in 2015 the city of **Hamburg** spent €586 million on receiving refugees and asylum seekers, while transfers to the city by the federal government amounted to only €50 million. During the following year, the federal government started a process of reimbursing the city's higher crisis management costs, but it did so with some delay (and therefore the city had to tap into its cash reserves or borrow at a non-zero interest rate), and generally establishing a lump sum reimbursement based on a standard cost for each officially-accepted

[12] OECD, "Who bears the costs of integrating refugees?", *Migration Policy Debates*, no. 13, January 2017.

[13] B. Katz, L. Noring, and N. Garrelts, *Cities and refugees: The German experience*, Brookings Institution, 18 September 2016.

refugee and asylum seeker. This figure does not take into account the higher costs incurred by large cities, caused, as mentioned, by both higher average prices and secondary movements of migrants within the country.

Faced with the risk of a disastrous effect on local public finances, German cities have proved to be quite versatile in managing this type of pressure. In this case, much is due to an equally significant increase in voluntary local initiatives, which have arisen in many cities, including Hamburg and **Berlin**. These informal networks have proved essential in providing much-needed services such as language teaching, vocational training, primary healthcare, and the collection and distribution of clothes. However, in other situations, it may be more difficult to remedy the slow financial reprogramming by the central government. This may be the case in particular for local governments with already shaky accounts, in particular in a situation of low sustainability of the national public debt (which increases interest rates on local government indebtment) or in the course of a negative economic cycle which does not allow the necessary resources to be rapidly mobilised. In this sense, Italy and Greece have certainly been penalised by the combination of a deep recession (in the case of Greece) or a slow recovery (in the case of Italy) which have compressed the resources allocated to the integration of foreigners in favour of expenditure to manage external borders (rescue at sea and control of the territory) and to provide initial reception to migrants arrived by sea.

Notwithstanding this imbalance between local costs and central government funding, current levels of expenditure by local governments do not allow an effective assessment to be made of the extent to which this expenditure is sufficient to ensure an adequate level of integration. And yet, after the period of emergency, it would be possible today to estimate the needs of the different territories in a more linear manner. The return to a situation of more "regular" flows also makes it possible to better plan the allocation of financial resources at the local level, to

track the flows of secondary movements within each country, and to rely on the recent past to try to predict the future direction of these flows – which, as highlighted above, end up converging towards the larger cities, generating needs for greater resources than initially planned[14]. On the other hand, one obstacle to this is the frequent political differences between central and local government. In such cases, the central government can simply decide to postpone the reprogramming of financial transfers for a sufficiently long time to generate a potentially significant cash shortfall in the "rebel" local authority, for example by forcing an overly liberal city to decrease the resources allocated to particular types of integration policies. This can cause a continuous mismatch between resources allocated by the central level and resources actually spent at the local level: in a period of austerity, this can have considerable repercussions on the financial solidity of local governments.

In **Finland**, since 1999, the central government has had a National Plan for Integration, the services of which have been extended to all foreign citizens since 2010. Every four years, the government sets integration targets for the next four years and the strategy for achieving them in agreement with local authorities. The Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment is responsible for assessing the financial aspects, allocating resources, and monitoring their correct use. However, it is also in charge of correcting (increasing or decreasing) the level of resources allocated to each local authority according to the needs that may arise from year to year. A dedicated consultation and cooperation body brings together central and local government, allowing representatives of each territorial level to negotiate access to additional resources in the event of a proven shortfall and a real need for additional services[15].

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[14] European Court of Auditors, *The integration of migrants from outside the EU*, Briefing Paper, May 2018.

[15] P. Saukkonen, *Interplay and co-operation between national and local levels in integration policy – Case Helsinki, Finland*, Working Papers no. 4, Municipality of Helsinki, 2017.

This is the background to further debate on the ability of local authorities in Europe to access resources at a higher level than the national one to cover the additional costs of integration policies. Indeed, since 2003, the EU has set up a fund to finance national, regional, and local initiatives on the integration of migrants from third countries[16]. European resources have increased over time, and the recent period of high migration flows has prompted Member States to double the resources available to the AMIF fund from the initially planned €3.3 billion to the current €6.6 billion[17]. At present, the programming for 2021-2027 foresees a further increase to around €11 billion. However, today, Member States are required to spend only 20% of these resources on integration measures, another 20% on "supporting refugees and asylum seekers" measures, and the rest can be allocated at the discretion of national governments.

Furthermore, the programming of European funds tends to be inflexible and therefore unsuitable for unpredictable situations which would require not only the rapid mobilisation of more resources in the shortest possible time but also a conscious distribution of these resources across the territory. In order to plan the allocation of resources, in fact, the national authorities managing European funds (usually one or more Departments belonging to a state-level Ministry) draw up multiannual programmes with which they provide for an initial allocation of resources on the territory. In doing so, the European Commission has repeatedly pointed out that local authorities are not sufficiently involved[18]. To address these problems, the European Commission's Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs (DG HOME) organised a

[16] First with the INTI programme (Integration of Third Country Nationals), then, in the 2007-2013 programming period, with the European Integration Fund (EIF), and finally between 2014 and 2020 with the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF).

[17] European Parliament, "EU funds for migration, asylum and integration policies", PE 603.828, April 2018.

[18] European Commission, "Toolkit on the use of EU funds for the integration of people with a migrant background", DG REGIO, January 2018.

meeting with all key actors involved in the implementation of integration policies in Finland in 2016. The initiative gave rise to a coordination group at the national level where the actors concerned (the national authority managing European funds, other relevant Ministries, local authorities and representatives of non-governmental associations, and the civil society) meet at regular intervals in order to align their actions and to use the various funds available in a synergetic manner.

The role of transnational city networks

Given the growing role that European cities can play in redefining and reinterpreting national integration policies, it is not surprising that European networks have been created and developed over time, bringing together a number of European cities. These networks, transnational in the sense that they "skip" coordination with the national government to move directly to city-to-city contacts, serve as a meeting place for public administrators, allowing them to structure better interactions that otherwise would remain at a too informal level, and to give continuity to the processes of exchange of mutual knowledge.

The European Union also plays a crucial role in this context. While European institutions do not have sufficient financial instruments to bypass the national level and reach local authorities directly, they can finance autonomous initiatives by cities that leverage the creation or strengthening of networks at European level. This is how the EU can justify the commitment of resources to transnational fora and processes affecting cities.

For example, Eurocities is a network of European cities created between 1986 and 1990 on the initiative of six European cities (Barcelona, Birmingham, Frankfurt, Lyon, Milan, and Rotterdam). Over time, this network has grown and now includes more than 140 European cities, as well as 45 other "partner" cities from non-EU countries. Eurocities also has a permanent structure, which allows the organisation to act on European policy-makers in Brussels throughout the year, and to

act as a link between the annual opportunities for cities to meet. Eurocities' objective is to act as a "glue" between European cities, allowing the exchange of good practices and more structured and direct dialogue with the European institutions than the traditional information and communication channels mediated by the nation-states.

Close relations built by Eurocities with the EU institutions gave rise in 2006 to "Integrating Cities": a project based on a partnership between Eurocities and the European Commission to promote the implementation at the local level of the Common Basic Principles on integration (see above, par. 1.1). The year after the launch of the initiative, the Milan Declaration formalised the commitment of the European Commission and Eurocities to hold regular conferences, set up a permanent dialogue forum on integration between city representatives and the Commission, and kickstart mutual learning projects between cities in the field of integration governance.

Alongside Eurocities, which is a bottom-up initiative, Intercultural Cities (ICC), a top-down initiative launched by the European Commission and the Council of Europe, has also been launched in 2008. The forum aims to collect and disseminate the experience of dozens of European and non-European cities, with a view to promoting models of intercultural integration, collect good practices and select those that best promote the active participation of the population and dialogue between the majority and minorities[19].

[19] Other initiatives promoting interaction between cities and the exchange of good practices on different public policies include: The Global Mayoral Summit, a UN initiative that brings together mayors, civil society, and international actors; the URBACT Network of Arrival Cities, a three-year initiative (2015-2018) that promoted the exchange of good practices on integration between cities in Europe most exposed to irregular migration flows; and the Mediterranean City-to-City Migration Project, funded by the EU Trust Fund for Africa and managed by International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), which involves European, North African, and Middle Eastern cities to encourage dialogue and the exchange of good practices.

These and other transnational networks of cities have at least three explicit objectives[20]. First of all, by adhering to the mandate and specific mission of these initiatives, the intention is to bring together in one place the representatives of many European cities, so as to facilitate the sharing of experiences and the exchange of good practices between different city administrations whose vision would otherwise often be limited to the national level. In this case, the ultimate aim would be to achieve greater harmonisation of local policies and practices, selecting those that work best and extending them to other city contexts. Secondly, the cities involved aim to demonstrate to their European partners that they are at the forefront of integration policies and that they deserve to receive (more) European funds. In this sense, the networks allow the participating cities to demonstrate both their activism on the theme of integration and their ability to communicate on a European level and, therefore, their international relevance. Finally, the cities taking part in these forums aim to communicate more directly with the Community institutions and to influence their power as agenda setters, encouraging them to consider certain policy proposals rather than others.

A recent study by Tiziana Caponio, however, highlights the risk that these objectives will remain only in the background, raising doubts about the effective capacity of transnational networks to act in the way desired and imagined both by the European institutions and by the city administrations themselves[21]. In the light of the three objectives mentioned above, Caponio underlines how, in the first place, transnational networks and their periodic forums can be used by the cities

[20] OSCE, "Local and central government co-ordination on the process of migrant integration: good practices from selected OSCE participating States", OSCE Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (ODIHR), OSCE Policy Study, Warsaw, November 2017.

[21] T. Caponio, "Immigrant integration beyond national policies? Italian cities' participation in European city networks", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2 August 2017.

themselves more as showcases in which to expose their world-view and what has been done well by their administration, than as places that allow the exchange, comparison, and identification of good practices on a number of city policies. The risk, in short, is that what counts is more what you take to the forum than what you take home from the forum. Moreover, it is not clear how cities can compete for the European funds available, in a context where the planning and management of these funds are still carried out at the level of the national government (see above, paragraph 2). The risk, in this case, is not only that the forum will be a mere showcase, but that it will also be aimed at interlocutors other than those for whom it was designed – i.e. not the other European cities but the national governments that still have control over financial flows. Finally, as regards attempts to influence the process of producing policies that are specifically more European, whether it is the proposals of the European Commission or the discussions of the co-legislators (European Parliament and Council of the EU), it is not clear whether and how transnational networks are able to achieve these goals. On the contrary, even the recent past shows that these networks are only rarely able to influence the agenda of European policy-makers[22].

Conclusion

Today, European cities face similar challenges. Migration is increasing almost everywhere, and almost everywhere it is converging towards the major urban centres. The budgets of municipal and central governments have been put to the test by years of austerity. Moreover, the risk of poverty and marginalisation has also increased among natives, accentuating the chance that

[22] On climate change see, for instance, K. Kern and H. Bulkeley, "Cities, Europeanization and Multi-level Governance: Governing Climate Change through Transnational Municipal Network", *Journal of Common Market Studies*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2009, pp. 309-332.

integration policies are perceived as a diversion of resources that could be spent on equally noble and urgent purposes.

At the same time, thanks to their awareness of the local level, European cities are playing an increasingly important role in shaping, implementing, and interpreting integration policies. In the age of multi-level governance, policy-making processes are becoming increasingly complex and multifaceted. The number of actors involved, the degree of coordination required between the various levels and branches of territorial government, and the amount of funding needed to implement policies in a comprehensive manner are all increasing.

A theme that cuts across the entire chapter is that of the ever-increasing need to strengthen and institutionalise the political-administrative governance of integration policies. In many European countries, there is still a lack of formal meetings, repeated throughout the year, with which local administrations can communicate with the central government and coordinate their actions effectively and efficiently. At both central and local level, there is a need for an actor that brings together the many skills needed to improve the integration prospects of foreigners: in many countries, such an actor is either completely lacking or has insufficient powers. Finally, there is a lack of data and tools to really evaluate local policies comparatively at the national level and to periodically map the good practices implemented by governments and local administrations of other countries in Europe.

Cities are now at the forefront of developing virtuous models for governing the growth of diversity, but they must not and cannot be left alone by national governments. It is only by successfully meeting the challenge of integration that Europe's large cities will be able to claim that they have taken another step into the future.

2. Immigration and Cities Through the Prism of Urban Citizenship

Dirk Gebhardt

The aim of this contribution is to look through the prism of urban citizenship at what cities (can) do to foster the inclusion of immigrants. The urban citizenship perspective stresses the potential cities have not just to help with the integration of migrants, but also to become fully fledged sources of membership, rights, and identity for them – concepts that most local policy-makers are very familiar with, as they are at the heart of their approach to integration.

Secondly, urban citizenship implies looking at the whole population and tackling the needs of disadvantaged population groups, such as immigrants, within this broader view. This corresponds to the efforts of today's super-diverse metropolises to meet the specific needs that immigrants may have within policies that address the whole population (mainstreaming).

Thirdly, citizenship allows us to look closer and perhaps in a more systematic way at the interplay and contradictions between policies made by different levels of government – each of which defines rights and duties in their own way and applies different definitions of who belongs and who does not. Looking at this interaction from a cities perspective allows us to identify those policies that pose obstacles to immigrant integration, and to see the scope that exists through local policies to tackle such obstacles, or, on the other hand, to put additional ones and thereby bend citizenship in a more inclusive or exclusionary direction.

The citizenship perspective contrasts or complements the pragmatic and often vague concept of integration which dominates policy discussions in Europe today, and which, especially in state-led policies, is often enough to be predominantly about

a necessary cultural adaptation of immigrants. Without proposing to ban "integration" altogether, the prism of citizenship can provide a guideline for the most ambitious cities today that are committed to making a positive difference to immigrants in times when their rights are questioned across the board.

The chapter explores the urban citizenship perspective in three steps. The first section briefly looks at the relationship between urban citizenship and the state and characterises the specific position from which cities make policies for immigrants. In the second part, a variety of examples of local policies illustrate the concrete scope and options cities have in terms of fostering citizenship along the dimensions of membership, rights, and identity. Drawing on the case of the city of Barcelona, the third section then looks at how these different policies can come together in a comprehensive urban citizenship approach.

The role of cities in citizenship for immigrants

Similarly to integration, the everyday understanding of citizenship is, in many European countries, closely associated with the state. Citizenship is associated to membership to the state, a passport, and all the laws that regulate access to it. The fact that, for the last three to four centuries, nation states have been the dominant form of political organisation often makes us forget that this link is not a given or natural one, and that even the word "citizenship" has "city" at its core.

This historical and etymological argument, however, does not diminish the role of the state as a general supreme power, also with regards to immigrant citizenship. This role is all too clear when we think about the power state institutions and laws have in determining such crucial things such as the opportunities of immigrants to cross borders, obtain residence permits, find a job, and so on. Recent national initiatives for integration (such as the Protection System of Asylum and Refugees Applicants in Italy, or the many nationally-steered integration programmes that have been set up all over Europe in the last

15 years) only confirm this. Today, central states might even be particularly unwilling to cede too much control to other actors in the area of immigration, as regulating who enters and belongs to the state is practically the state's *raison d'être*. In the hierarchic relationship of state sovereignty, cities as "lowest tier" of government are under the tutelage of the state, and often also of regions, and have to obey and implement what is decided at central level, and only get the leverage or implementation scope that is granted to them "from above".

However, as political scientists such as Warren Magnusson and Engin Isin remind us, the role of cities as "lowest tier" of the state is only a part of their reality[1]. Cities are also polities in their own right, with their own principles, and their own demos. While states' main role is to maintain order by exercising their sovereignty (something we notice in particular in situations of crisis or emergency), cities obey to a plurality of principles, such as economic interests or concerns with social peace and cohesion that civil society brings on the local political agenda. The city is not only more "real" and closer to the everyday life of its citizenry but also operates under greater pressure from the citizenry and the social problems it may put onto the political agenda.

As a consequence, we can say that cities have to play a double role: being subordinate to the central state, whilst at the same time being exposed to political or social pressure that may result from the exclusion that the state's policies might generate. This hybrid role of cities is a challenge, but it can also be a creative tension to innovate policies and to trigger policy change from below.

While in theory, national governments as ultimate authorities have the instruments to make cities obey, the reality of everyday policy-making on immigration is often not so dramatic. By drawing on their prerogatives of self-government and the

[1] See W. Magnussen, *Seeing like a state, seeing like a city*, paper presented at the Annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of British Columbia, Vancouver BC, 3 June 2008, and E.F. Isin, "City.State: Critique of Scalar Thought", *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 11, no. 2, 2007, pp. 211-228.

remits gained through decentralisation, cities may adapt policies to some degree to their local context. In the most conflictive cases, they may even disobey implementing state policies without the state forcefully bringing them back in line. The hard-fought struggle of the Trump administration to make US-sanctuary cities and states implement federal legislation against immigrants without a residence permit, or the resistance of some Italian cities against the "emergency measures" under the last Berlusconi government are two illustrations of this point. The actions of such "rebel cities" are legitimised by the social support of their own citizenry and local civil society organisations, but also by referring to legal and institutional frameworks that actually transcend the state, such as international human rights legislation or supranational institutions.

It is important to stress that the fact that cities as the level of government closest to the citizenry and to the problems caused by exclusionary policies often results in a particular pressure to bend citizenship into a more inclusive direction. But as we will see in the following section, this is not a given, and many city councils decide to resolve the dilemmas of exclusion they are confronted with just by following the line of command of the state, or even aggravating exclusion. But they do this at the price of undermining social cohesion.

Urban citizenship policies in practice

When looking at how cities can shape citizenship for immigrants, it is convenient to analyse citizenship through three separate but interdependent dimensions: membership, rights, and identity[2]. These dimensions are interconnected and reinforce

[2] L. Bosniak, "Citizenship", in P. Crane and M. Tushnet (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Legal Studies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003; M. Varsanyi, "Interrogating 'Urban Citizenship' vis-à-vis Undocumented Migration", *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 10, no. 2, 2006, pp. 229-249; C. Joppke, "Transformation of Citizenship: Status, Rights, Identity", *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2007, pp. 37-48; T Kostakopoulous, *The Future Governance of Citizenship*, Cambridge,

each other, as the status of being a member of the city is useless if it does not give access to certain rights, and as an mostly is mostly a consequence of the former two dimensions. While acknowledging that the cities' scope of action is partly determined by the citizenship policies of states and regions, the focus of the following section is about showing what cities (can) do to regulate access to status, rights, and identity for immigrants.

Membership: domicile and territoriality and their links to status

Unlike states, city councils do not and cannot police the entry of people to their jurisdiction. Recognising everybody who inhabits the city as a member (*ius domicili*) is a common practice for most local policy-makers. The independence of this type of membership from state membership is obvious if we look at how access to certain local services, such as childcare, is granted to non-nationals living in the city, but not to nationals living outside the city[3]. The question is the degree to which an independent local status is mirrored across all services and policy areas.

Membership based on domicile finds its material expression in local population registers or, in one of the most radical forms, in the practice of many US-cities to issue local identity papers to give undocumented immigrants a possibility to identify themselves when opening a bank account or filing a complaint with the local police[4]. While such policies clearly stress the independence of city-membership from the state, other policies show an understanding of city-membership that is determined and contained by state-membership, for instance when registration to immigrants was denied by some Italian mayors under

Cambridge University, 2008; S. Chauvin and B. Garcés-Mascareñas, "Beyond Informal Citizenship: The New Moral Economy of Migrant Illegality", *International Political Sociology*, vol. 6, no. 3, 1 September 2012, pp. 241–259.

[3] R. Bauböck, "Reinventing Urban Citizenship", *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2003, pp. 139-160.

[4] M. Varsanyi (2006).

the Berlusconi government's polemic 2008 security package[5].

In addition to domicile, a second, albeit weaker principle of membership to a city is territoriality, the recognition of membership through presence. This principle is about recognising vulnerable population groups whose presence in the city is precarious, often as a consequence of a restrictive interpretation of their status through national legislation. Take for instance EU migrants with little resources or "failed" asylum seekers, who live in a policy vacuum, lack the resources and rights, and have to rely on informal housing and work in order to survive. This principle is often not recognised, although even from a state-centred liberal citizenship perspective the principle of territoriality implies that fundamental rights must be guaranteed for all people who are present on a given territory, regardless of their status[6]. Some cities demonstrate leadership in recognising vulnerable groups as de facto members of the society even when state institutions look the other way. Such policies are often guided by concerns about public safety and social cohesion, and consist of measures following an emergency logic, which only grant a temporary and partial recognition. An example is the city of **Utrecht**'s policy to provide shelter and counselling for rejected asylum claimants, who are otherwise neglected by state policies[7]. Other examples are cities such as **Berlin** or **Ghent** that have provided basic social assistance to vulnerable immigrants that came in relatively great numbers from Bulgaria, Romania, and Slovakia without having access to housing or regular jobs. But there are also many examples of cities ignoring the situation of vulnerable newcomers on their territory, hoping that they move on to another city, or depicting

[5] See M. Ambrosini, "'We are against a multi-ethnic society': policies of exclusion at the urban level in Italy", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2013, pp. 136-155.

[6] L. Bosniak, "Being Here: Ethical Territoriality and the Rights of Immigrants", *Theoretical Inquiries in Law*, vol. 8, no. 2, 2007, pp. 389-410.

[7] Municipality of Utrecht, "Human Rights in Utrecht: How Does Utrecht Give Effect to International Human Rights Treaties? An Urban Quest for Social Justice", Utrecht, Gemeente Utrecht, 2011.

the presence of the vulnerable immigrant population (and not their situation) as an emergency for the local community, and policing and harassing the immigrants to leave the city, or at least depriving them of their livelihood[8].

Rights: substantiating local membership

While the recognition of city-membership is important, this status only reveals its real significance through the social, political, and cultural rights it gives access to. While the state formally acts for many as a grantor for such rights, for instance through international treaties on human rights, the city's position as 'last instance' of government and its proximity to the phenomena of exclusion puts it in the special role of monitoring and safeguarding access to rights. Depending on their remits, city councils have different degrees of control and tools in their hand to fulfil this role.

Firstly, in the areas that are directly **under the control of cities**, which typically include services such as childcare, adult education, basic social assistance, cultural facilities, or newcomer orientation, cities usually can define access criteria themselves. The scope cities have here is illustrated by the different reactions of Italian cities to their new powers under the above-mentioned 2008 "security package". While some cities, such as Milan, which was then governed by a pro-Berlusconi Mayor, made access to childcare conditional on regular residence status, others, such as Genova, kept this service on a local residency basis[9].

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[8] For examples of US-cities on undocumented migrants see M. Varsanyi, "Immigration Policing Through the Backdoor: City Ordinances, the 'Right to the City', and the Exclusion of Undocumented Day Laborers", *Urban Geography*, vol. 29, no. 1, 2008, pp. 29-52. For examples on European cities policing EU-citizens see, for instance V. Barker, "Nordic vagabonds: The Roma and the logic of benevolent violence in the Swedish welfare state", *European Journal of Criminology*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2017, pp. 120-139. A related but different case are the "campi nomadi" in some Italian cities.

[9] M. Ambrosini (2013).

Secondly, the core social and educational rights such as employment services, housing, and school education are often **co-regulated between cities and regional or national governments**. Obviously, these services do not only address immigrants, but their general quality and capacity to compensate for all types of disadvantages, such as those related to being an immigrant and having language deficits, is crucial. This means that a sufficient stock of affordable housing, an education system with the means to compensate inequalities, or strong, personalised employment services are a precondition for providing sufficient opportunities for immigrants, while their absence places a heavy burden on any attempt to foster equality. Here, cities committed to equal opportunities may increase the capacity of mainstream services to compensate disadvantage through specific local initiatives and programmes or coordinate an often disparate and complicated service offer provided by various institutions and levels of government. The city of Nuremberg is one example of a local authority that created a "central contact point for migration" (ZAM) to help immigrants navigate through a complicated offer of language courses offered by a myriad of different providers to find the one best suited to their rights, duties, and needs. For this, the city set up a partnership with the local language course providers, the federal employment office, and the state immigration agency. Taking such a coordination role also towards actors that operate at a national level is a difficult task but can also make a big difference for citizens.

Thirdly, there are areas in which cities have **no competence at all**, but which are nevertheless crucial for the rights of their citizens, such as access to nationality or healthcare. Here, cities can defend their citizens' rights by providing legal advice and information and other types of support to build bridges to other institutions. Such "bridges" are particularly important when access to rights is complicated and bureaucratic, which is typically the case in areas such as skill recognition.

Several Italian cities, for example, run a campaign with civil society organisations under the name "A window to your rights" to inform children of immigrants aged between 18 and 19

about their one-year window opportunity to apply for Italian nationality. This commitment expresses concern about making sure that all of their citizens have the most opportunities, which uncommitted cities might not worry about.

A specific type of rights on which cities do not have a say are **political rights**, which, as potential drivers of political change, are particularly important. While the exclusion of non-national residents from formal political participation through national legislation deprives many immigrants of a key instrument to take their situation into their own hands, participation rights are still better at a local than at a national level[10]. For instance, while only two EU Member States under certain circumstances grant residents with nationalities from outside the EU the right to vote in national elections, 15 grant voting rights to this group at the local level, and EU citizens can vote in municipal elections everywhere[11]. However, in some of Europe's biggest immigration countries (such as Germany, France, and Italy, and for most nationalities Spain), non-EU-national residents are still excluded from local voting rights, and access to nationality is only granted after a relatively long period of residence. In addition, even where local voting rights exist, the actual participation of immigrants is often four to five times below the overall turnout, in particular in a large number of countries where they need to register separately in order to vote[12].

In this situation, building bridges to political rights can imply running campaigns for registration and electoral participation

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[10] L. Pedroza, "The Democratic Potential of Enfranchising Resident Migrants", *International Migration*, vol. 53, no. 3, 2015, pp. 2235.

[11] K. Groenendijk, *Local voting rights for non-nationals in Europe: what we know and what we need to learn*, Washington, Migration Policy Institute, 2008.

[12] European Commission, Report on the application of Directive 94/80/EC on the right to vote and to stand as a candidate in municipal elections by citizens of the Union residing in a Member State of which they are not nationals, COM 2012, 99. According to the EUDO-citizenship database (Conditions for Electoral Rights), specific registration rules are in place in BE, HR, CY, EE, FR, EL, HU, IT, LU, MA, PO, PL, SI, ES, UK and parts of AT and DE, http://eudo-citizenship.eu/electoral-rights/conditions-for-electoral-rights-2015

that target the immigrant population, as happened in the city of Dublin's migrant voters campaign. Cities can also draw on immigrant advisory bodies to address the absence or the low take up of such formal rights. While these bodies are never on an equal footing with local governments, in some cases they manage to exert pressure on city governments through formal requests and declarations. Their setup and role reflect whether a city is serious about political participation or merely interested in clientelism or symbolic policies[13].

A *fourth* area in which cities have scope to make a difference for the rights of their citizens is the **area of human and civil rights**, which are often not properly addressed by any level of government. Some cities remain passive or hide behind the state that has ultimately recognised these standards in international treaties or through its constitution, while others are more proactive in making these rights a guideline for their policies. This can mean monitoring, tackling, and raising awareness about discrimination, fulfilling international obligations about universal access to health care and education, or enforcing compliance with decent work standards on the territory of the city.

An example of this type of policy is Munich's commitment to providing basic medical services for all citizens. In the German context, this involved setting up a dedicated local health service for immigrants with no access to mainstream health services and informing local healthcare providers that instructions from the German government to denounce immigrants in an irregular situation should be ignored[14].

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[13] M. Martiniello, *The limits of consultative politics for immigrants and ethnic immigrant minorities. Political and social participation of immigrants through consultative bodies*, Strasburg, Council of Europe Publishing, 1999, pp. 77-89; S. Guentner and R. Stanton, "Urban citizenship through democratic variety – reflections on the local political participation of migrants in European cities", *Open Citizenship*, vol. 4, no. 2, 2013.

[14] Stadt München, "'Wir haben Sie nicht vergessen …' 10 Jahre Umgang mit Menschen ohne gesicherten Aufenthaltsstatus in der Landeshauptstadt München. Das Münchner Modell", 2010.

Fostering a sense of belonging and an inclusive local identity

As a result of their history and the current composition of their population, cities tend to be less ambiguous than states about the fact that their *demos,* the group of people who belong, is not a matter of common ethnicity and origins, but of common civic values and rights or economic interests. Another difference is that, due to their size, cities are less "imagined communities" than states and more based on real everyday interactions between their members.

One effect of these differences is the stronger identification of immigrants and minorities with their city of residence compared to the state they live in (Table 1). This pattern of higher identification with the local level is either non-existent or less pronounced in the general population. As blurry one might consider such data on identification to be, it illustrates the potential of cities in fostering a sense of belonging in times where the politics of many states do the opposite by stigmatising certain groups of immigrants, or demanding a stronger cultural alignment in citizenship and integration tests.

Apart from this historical, political, and sociological advantages of cities in terms of fostering a sense of belonging, what makes somebody identify with a city is certainly to a fair degree the result of very practical things: the opportunities and rights that the city offers, across all the policy dimensions described above. Strengthening this "material basis" of identity, there is a – usually related – symbolic dimension of political discourses and attitudes of local policies and institutions, which draw the boundaries of who belongs and who doesn't and indicate whether one is welcome in the city or not.

Tab. 1 - Degree of identification of minority residents with their city and their state

City	Group	Strong Identification with		Source
		City	State	
Frankfurt	Residents with migration background	80%	36%	Halisch 2008 209*
Amsterdam	Young adults of			van der Welle 2011 135 and 141**
	Surinamese origin	74%	61%	
	Turkish origin	82%	72%	
	Moroccan origin	82%	69%	
Barcelona	2nd generation of Moroccan origin	76%	68%	TIES-Survey according to Crul et al. 2010 313***
Madrid		90%	88%	
Amsterdam		69%	42%	
Rotterdam		74%	44%	
Antwerp		64%	50%	
Brussels		58%	48%	
Berlin	Muslim residents of one neighbourhood in each city	72%	40%	Open Society Foundations (2010) At Home in Europe Survey, city reports**** http://osf.to/1MRajRh
Hamburg		66%	52%	
Antwerp		88%	75%	
Copenhagen		81%	73%	
Amsterdam		84%	79%	
Rotterdam		74%	66%	

The categories used in the surveys are:
*strong and very strong feeling of belonging;
**feeling connected (“verbonden”);
***strong feelings of belonging (values estimated from graphic);
****feeling strongly or fairly strongly to belong to

Communication efforts and campaigns emphasising the civic basis and cultural diversity of the urban polity (take the campaigns "Discriminatie - Amsterdam is er klaar mee", Amsterdam is done with discrimination or "One City One People" in Dublin) can strengthen a sense of belonging. But they must obviously correspond to reality in order to be credible, and be mirrored in the degree to which city services, local associations, cultural institutions, media, businesses, or local festivities represent the whole population and are based on the values those campaigns convey.

In the opposite direction, there are city leaders and institutions which promote an understanding of the local *demos* that merely follows the way the state's identity is constructed, and/or pursue an exclusionary, ethnic, and nationalistic vision. Neighbourhood development measures can, for instance, aim to drive back the multi-ethnic character of neighbourhoods, as examples in Naples[15] or Marseilles[16] illustrate. Other instruments for symbolically excluding (some) immigrants from the urban polity are regulations on the use of public space by immigrants, for instance, by using zoning regulation to ban typical economic activities of immigrants in certain areas[17], by applying particularly high planning standards for mosque buildings[18], by banning team sports to prevent groups from playing cricket, as in Brescia, or by obliging non-Christians to keep a distance from Catholic churches, as did an obscure ordinance in the Italian city of Rovato[19]. Many of these measures have more symbolic than practical effects, but they can be very effective in undermining the immigrants' loyalty and sense of belonging.

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[15] N. Dines, "Urban renewal, immigration, and contested claims to public space: The case of Piazza Garibaldi in Naples", *GeoJournal*, vol. 58, no. 2, 2002, pp. 177-188.

[16] M. Peraldi, "La Métropole déchue (Belsunce breakdown)", in A. Donzel (Ed.), *Métropolisation et citoyenneté dans la région marseillaise*, Paris, Maisonneuve & Larose, 2001, pp. 37-59.

[17] M. Varsanyi (2008).

[18] J. Cesari, "Mosque conflicts in European cities: Introduction", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, vol. 31, no. 6, 2005, pp. 1015-1024.

[19] M. Ambrosini (2013).

Bringing it together: a comprehensive perspective on urban citizenship policies in Barcelona

While the previous section has explored the different levers through which cities can influence immigrants' status, rights, and identity through individual examples, this section looks at how these different elements come together drawing on the case of the city of **Barcelona**. Although the city makes only sparse reference to the concept of urban citizenship, its policies illustrate very well the approach and the ambition it stands for.

Barcelona has roughly 1.6m inhabitants. Over the last two decades the city has been a destination for significant international immigration flows. In the early 2000s in particular, the non-Spanish population often saw an annual increase of 30 to 50% – a speed of transformation matched by few other European cities. Today, just like in other European cities, refugees have become an important new immigrant group. It is important to stress that many of the newcomers do not have resident permits initially. Today, about 17% of the population has a nationality other than Spanish. The most represented regions of origin are, in an almost even representation, Europe, Latin America, and Asia.

In the strongly decentralised Spanish state, significant competencies in social policies, education, employment, housing, or immigrant integration are devolved to the regional level of autonomous communities and to cities. This three-tier setup implies that, while Barcelona has a say in many policy areas, it often works from a subordinate position not only in relation to the Spanish state, but also to the Catalan government.

All city governments in Barcelona since the late 1990s have demonstrated their commitment to immigrant inclusion. In spite of political changes that saw three different parties ruling over the city since the beginning of the economic crisis[20], there

[20] Centre-left governments led by the Catalan Socialist Party governed until 2011, when the centre-right party Convergència i Unió took over. Since 2015, the left-wing citizen platform Barcelona en Comú is in power.

has been no major change of the general policy model, and no major politicisation of immigration. Within this relative continuity, the current government led by the citizens' coalition "Barcelona en Comú" has arguably only stepped up the commitment of previous administrations to social inclusion and immigrant integration. Civil society organisations traditionally play a strong role in the local society and pressure the city hall to lead participative and inclusive policies. In the current term, they play an even stronger role, as some of their representatives are part of the governing platform. One of the new catchwords introduced by the current government has been that of *municipalism* to underline its efforts to make full use of and extend local autonomy in addressing the problems that local citizens face[21].

Consolidating and substantiating local membership

Founding its policies of immigrant inclusion, the city of Barcelona has set itself the goal to guarantee equal rights for all its inhabitants from early on. The first strategy related to immigration, the 1997 "pla intercultural" (Ajuntament de Barcelona 1997) already formulated the goal of granting equal rights to all, and connected this goal to the recognition of cultural diversity and the idea of fostering intercultural interaction. Three policy plans and one intercultural plan, which is currently under revision, successively substantiated these three pillars of the city's philosophy[22].

It is a national legal framework, namely that of the local register (*padrón*), which provides an important basis for strengthening residence as a basis of city membership. According to national legislation, getting on the register is not linked to a

[21] See the webpages of Barcelona en Comú dedicated to this topic: https://barcelonaencomu.cat/ca/tags/municipalisme

[22] Ajuntament de Barcelona (2012). BCN Pla d'Immigracio (2010). Pla Barcelona Interculturalitat (2008). Pla municipal d'immigració 2008-11 (2002). Pla of a residence based urban citizenship through the *padrón* is not a local, but a national policy. But municipal d'immigració; and (1997). Pla Intercultural.

residence permit, but to the fact of living in the city. Across Spain, being on the local register not only gives access to local services but, as specified in the Immigration Act, also to education. The potential leverage of this legal instrument is fully exploited by the city. Firstly, in making sure that everybody who actually lives in the city, including people living in informal arrangements or in the streets, is encouraged to register. And secondly, in having local institutions accept the *padrón* (and not a residence permit) as an access criteria to services. The current city administration increased efforts in this area and aligned the local employment services to make sure that their training sessions, whenever possible, are accessible on the basis of being on the register. All this means that people who, in other contexts would be considered merely "undocumented" or without legal status have meaningful local status.

This philosophy also goes beyond the local register. For instance, half of the users of Barcelona's comprehensive newcomer reception service SAIER (Service Centre for Immigrants, Emigrants and Refugees) are in an irregular situation, and – in contrast to the Catalan programme for newcomer reception – language courses are also accessible for those without a residence permit.

The city's policies towards metal collectors living in squatted industrial hangars can serve as an illustration of how the principle of territoriality is applied. In a specific plan, which was the result of the pressure of civil society groups, the city makes efforts to lift this group of people – who typically come from African countries and often lack a residence permit – out of the informal economy and to find formal housing arrangements.

In spite of these different efforts in recognising membership to the city based on residency and territoriality, Barcelona cannot ignore the impact of the regulation of national membership: whether the state grants the residence and work permits or not to a city's immigrant residents crucially affects their personal situation and life chances. In facing this challenge, the city tries to use many small levers to work towards avoiding situations

of exclusion through an irregular status whenever possible, arguing that "(f)ull legal status, in other words, full citizenship, must be the starting point for legal integration"[23]. These "small levers" were compiled in an official local government initiative for "encouraging access to regularisation and preventing people from falling back into irregularity"[24]. It includes legal support and initiatives and services of the city for building pathways out of irregularity, for instance, the practice of issuing a document through which the city council accredits integration efforts and local links of citizens with an irregular status in order to influence decisions taken by state agencies on their status.

The key role of mainstream services for structural integration

One of the biggest challenges for Barcelona is corresponding its ambition to guarantee equal rights for all with mainstream services that are in the hand of other city departments and other levels of government. The city's policies are based on the principle that the city serve immigrants, whenever possible, through mainstream services that are capable of compensating their particular situations and disadvantages . But in order to achieve this, the city needs to get other city departments and higher levels of government to opt into its philosophy of immigrant integration. The two following examples on education and employment illustrate the particular challenges in this area.

The education system in Barcelona is managed jointly with Catalonia, and is characterised by a lack of political will to invest in the education system's capacity to deal with all kinds

[23] Ajuntament de Barcelona, *Government measure for encouraging access to regularisation and preventing regularisations from lapsing*, 2017, p. 19.

[24] The first sentence "This Government Measure aims to boost and improve the reception and inclusion processes for irregular immigrants in Barcelona" already shows the degree to which irregularity is not considered in itself an obstacle for membership with the city, but rather one for exercising rights (Ajuntament de Barcelona 2017).

of disadvantages. Above all, the local educational landscape is characterised by a polarisation between public schools and schools run by private providers, with most immigrants sending their children to the public sector, and thereby reinforcing existing social segregation along ethnic lines. Addressing this segregation and tackling specific disadvantages related to discrimination has not been a priority for the local-regional body responsible for schools in Barcelona so far, and the city's department for diversity and immigration has only a limited mandate and limited resources to address this issue systematically. It relies on smaller initiatives such as programmes for intercultural mediators, teachers' training and mentoring programmes, which cannot change the systematic deficiencies in the field of education.

In the field of employment policies, the situation is similar in that the local employment service does not address much the specific needs of immigrants, although they have been hit much harder by the economic crisis than the average population[25]. But here, since the last government came into power in 2015, the orientation of the local employment service regarding its target group has changed. Today, there are more training offers addressing profiles that correspond to immigrants, and obstacles to the participation of immigrants with an irregular status were removed[26]. Having said this, however, employment support is by and large still mainly in the hands of the Catalan government, which does not show the same ambition to address the employment needs of immigrants and other vulnerable groups.

[25] For instance, in 2013 immigrants represent 11.6% among the roughly 20,000 participants receiving employment training in 2013, which is roughly half of their representation in the active population, and even less with regard to the unemployed population Immigració, formació i inserció laboral. (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2014. Dades sociodemografiques, marc formatiu i alguns recursos de la ciutat de Barcelona. Jornada Immigració, Formació i Inserció laboral Barcelona, 11 de juliol de 2014).

[26] Ajuntament de Barcelona (2017).

These two examples on education and employment illustrate the challenge of aligning big mainstream services with an urban citizenship approach that, by aiming to create equal opportunities, tries to compensate the specific disadvantages of immigrants. For housing or healthcare the results would have been similar, as these services are often beyond the immediate control of the city departments working on immigrant integration and are in need of support from other actors within or even outside the city council. What is more, beyond the question of immigrant integration, the inclusiveness and capacity of these mainstream services are crucial for any achievements to foster equal opportunities. Without well-staffed schools, employment and health services, and stocks of affordable housing, it will be difficult to advance in the area of immigrant integration.

Political rights and participation as vectors of change

In the area of granting political rights to immigrants, Barcelona, like cities everywhere, depends on the enfranchisement of foreigners through national legislation. Spain grants the right to vote in local elections only to a select group of non-nationals, which are EU citizens and citizens of (predominantly Latin American) countries with which Spain has reciprocity agreements. This means that some of the main groups in Barcelona (Pakistanis, Chinese, and Moroccans) are excluded from formal political participation. Moreover, these same groups can only access nationality after 10 years of residence, while Latin Americans benefit from a fast-track to naturalisation already after two years. In addition to these legal restrictions, only about one-third of those nationals that could vote locally get registered on the electoral roll[27].

[27] According to data from 2015 (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2015. Informe sobre les Eleccions Locals, 24 maig 2015, Dades provisionals) some 20,000 voters with foreign nationalities are on the electoral register. The actually eligible population who could take part can be estimated to be at least 60,000. This is based on 94,000 registered persons in the population register in 2014 that have nationalities enjoying the right to vote in Spanish local elections, of which minors and

In this situation, in order to compensate for the lack of participation, in 1997 Barcelona set up a council for the participation of immigrant organisations in some local politics. While immigrant organisations that participate in the council do not feel that it allows them to operate on equal footing with the municipality, the council is nevertheless seen to be a useful arena for forging networks between migrant organisations and to make a difference related to immigrants' rights, for instance when it comes to speeding up administrative procedures. The city also undertakes efforts to promote the participation of those who have voting rights by organising information campaigns when it is time to get registered – efforts which are to be increased for the next municipal elections in 2019.

Fostering a common civic identity

As mentioned above, the identification and loyalty of immigrants with the city is to a large degree the result of how they are perceived and treated. Additionally to inclusive policies, communicating the principles that policies already aim to implement, for instance, that people can belong to the city independently from where they come from and what their status is, can strengthen this bond.

The most proactive policies in Barcelona in this regard are efforts to challenge existing anti-immigrant bias among mainstream society through the city's anti-rumour network[28]. The city also aims to address stereotyping by simply making visible its diversity, by, for instance, supporting the celebration of holidays like Ramadan or the Sikh Baisakhi procession; organising tours of different immigrant groups in the city together with their organisations; or making local public institutions promote sports or literature from the immigrants' countries of origin[29].

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people with an insufficient length of residency need to be subtracted.

[28] http://interculturalitat.bcn.cat/bcnacciointercultural/ca/la-xarxa-antirumors

[29] Ajuntament de Barcelona (2010 and 2012).

At the same time, the city distances itself from "pigeonholing and merely classifying communities"[30], preferring to identify and promote intercultural commonalities, intersections, and hybridisation, and dealing with individuals rather than with "communities".

In a more structural way, policies for interaction are designed to provide incentives to bring together different socio-cultural groups, building a common culture based on common experiences in all areas of life. So, in some neighbourhoods, social workers encourage Pakistani and Chinese businesses to sign up to the local business associations, and immigrants are invited to join the city's commissions on youth, LGBT, and women's issues. In the other direction, the city's traditional associations are encouraged to reflect the diversity of the city, too.

Summing up, the city actively tries to even out participation and mix up people of different origins, not by forcing them together, but by providing incentives.

Forging peer city networks and feeding up the pressure

As argued at the beginning of this contribution, immigrant citizenship is co-produced by cities and other levels of government. Here, an additional register of cities' activities is to influence the ways in which the other actors conceive and produce citizenship, in particular when their actions create exclusion. Barcelona has been particularly active in this regard. For instance, the city has, together with the immigration council, elaborated proposals to the provincial delegation of the national government for a more inclusive interpretation of the Spanish foreigners' legislation.

The above-mentioned government initiative on avoiding an irregularisation of immigrants is another example, as one objective of this initiative is to "draw attention to the reality of people living in Europe in irregular situations" and to the necessity to address their situation in the city's national and international networks.

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[30] Ajuntament de Barcelona (2012)

Since 2015, Barcelona has also started, together with the cities of Valencia and Madrid, to challenge the presence of immigrant detention centres on or in the vicinity of their territory. The city has accused the state of running the centres without a license, and sued it for violating human rights.

Coinciding with the massive inflow of refugees since 2015, and in response to a Spanish government's reluctance to welcome refugees from Greece and Italy within the EU's relocation scheme, the city committed to hosting relocated refugees and urged the Spanish government to let them in. At the European level, the city teamed up with Athens and Milan in the Solidarity Cities initiative to showcase the willingness of cities to host refugees, and to claim more powers and financial support to do so. Although these claims have so far not been heard, the cities demonstrate an alternative to the divisions that their own national governments have created regarding refugee accommodation, an alternative based on international solidarity between cities.

These are just a few examples of how Barcelona, together with other committed cities is "jumping scale" and aiming to break out of the chain of command of hierarchical governance by providing unsolicited feedback to the national government, building a critical mass with other cities and civil society initiatives at European and global level, meeting up with EU representatives when their national government is ignoring them, and so on. These foreign policies of major cities are, at least in their present intensity, still a relatively new phenomenon, which complements the day-to-day activities of strengthening immigrant citizenship in and through cities, whether they are called municipalism or urban citizenship.

Conclusion

This contribution presented urban citizenship policies as an ambitious project for cities to step up their efforts in immigrant integration. It showed the wide set of registers and measures that cities can use to bend citizenship into a more inclusive

direction; and how they can form a coherent approach focusing on the defence of the human, social, and political rights of all people living in the city, whether they are immigrants or not.

The different measures from Barcelona and other cities that were presented here may not all be transferrable one to one to other cities, due to the specific context of institutions, resources, and competencies, and their multi-level governance framework. But what can be transferred is the ambition of cities to be a source of citizenship in their own right, not to hide behind formal limitations of power, and to find creative solutions to live up to the challenges to immigrant inclusion. In this way, urban citizenship is not so much about a specific ideology of how to design integration policies, but about the self-confidence of cities, about the awareness of their specificities and an ambition to make a difference to immigrants, and to treat them as citizens of the city like the others.

Many of the examples that were used in this contribution to illustrate such an approach are handpicked among cities that pursue an inclusive philosophy. They often show cities going beyond their statutory duties and pursuing initiatives that emerge from the city or the civil society, often financed by the city's own resources. On the other side, we have to be aware that many city councils ignore the pressure to bend citizenship into a more inclusive direction, and be it just for the sake of social cohesion. They ignore the presence of immigrants in their cities because they consider them illegal, do not try to accommodate the growing diversity among their population, or actively lead policies that marginalise immigrants.

It is therefore particularly important that those cities that try to find constructive and practical solutions to the growing diversity of their population do not limit their activities to their home turf, but actively challenge regional and national governments that work in the opposite direction; team up with other cities to ask for a political and financial acknowledgement of their role; and lead by example by constructing alternative narratives and policies on how to face the challenge of immigration.

3. Migrant Reception: Fostering Inclusion

Magda Bolzoni, Davide Donatiello

Approximately 650,000 asylum applications were filed in 2017 in the countries of the European Union, a figure close to that of 2014 (626,000 applications) and lower than that of 2016 (more than 1.2 million applications) and 2015 (approximately 1.3 million). If what has often been defined by the media as the "refugee crisis" seems to be drawing to a close, which can also be attributed to securitarian and externalisation policies, there is no doubt that in recent years European countries have experienced a general increase in arrivals and asylum applications. Much attention has been paid to figures, the distribution of people and burdens between countries, places of entry and transit, but the current situation calls for the issues of long-term reception and inclusion to be put at the centre of the debate. In general, relatively little has been said about integration pathways and what happens after the protection has been granted. However, it must be recognised that the foundations for such pathways are laid from the earliest stages of reception and that cities have played and still play a central role in this[1]. On the other hand, according to UNHCR, more than 60% of the global refugee population, which amounts to about 22.5 million people, now lives in urban areas, and cities are to be considered, as we will see, not just as a *context*, but also as a major *institutional actor* in the management of this phenomenon. If the framework of constraints and opportunities in which the actors find themselves is shaped by decisions, interventions, and international, national and local factors, it is at the city level that the processes of reception and integration of migrants take place.

[1] See for instance the debate on the *Journal of Refugee Studies* 19 March 2006 and 29 April 2016.

The first part of the chapter provides an overview of the legislation and the state of reception in Italy and EU countries, with a specific focus on forced migration. Then, the role of cities is outlined, pointing out continuity and breaks with the past, as well as some critical points in which cities, as contexts and institutional actors involved in the initial reception and inclusion, are called to take a stand. The chapter ends with some concluding reflections on the role and position of cities in multi-level governance contexts.

Forced migration and migrant reception in the European Union

The European and Italian legal framework on forced migration is based in the first place on the Geneva Convention on the Status of Refugees, presented by the United Nations in 1951 and created to respond to another refugee crisis, that of the period after the Second World War. With the changes established by the 1967 New York Protocol, it constitutes the legal and normative framework of the right to asylum – not only for European countries but for all 144 states that have signed it. With reference to these documents, refugee status can therefore be granted to any person who, due to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it.

Despite the common references, the framework of effective implementation has remained for a long time fragmented and marked by profound differences between national territories. Italy, for example, although it ratified the Geneva Convention in 1954, did not promulgate any organic law on asylum and

only ratified the amendments to the New York Protocol in 1989. It was in 1990 that a first explicit reference to the right of asylum appeared, in the first article of the Martelli Law on immigration. In this highly fragmented context, the European Union has promoted a process of progressive harmonisation of the right to asylum and towards the creation of a Common European Asylum System (CEAS). A first phase began in 1999 with the Tampere Conference: the countries agreed to establish tools for determining the country responsible for examining asylum applications, common standards for a fair and efficient asylum procedure, common minimum conditions for the reception of asylum seekers, and shared standards for the recognition of refugee status. The Dublin Regulation, which outlines the principles for establishing the state responsible for examining the asylum application (and binds, with a few exceptions, the migrant to lodge an asylum application in the first European country of arrival) and the establishment of the Eurodac shared data and fingerprint database (a crucial tool for ensuring the implementation of the Dublin Regulation) have all emerged at this stage.

This first period is considered to have ended in 2005 with the adoption of the first legislative acts to approximate Member States' legislation: the three Directives on "Qualification", "Procedures" and "Reception", which aim to establish common references for the recognition of refugee status, accompanied by a second form of international protection, subsidiary protection, and minimum standards of reception. In the following period, the harmonisation instruments were improved, through new versions of the Directives, and in June 2011, the European Asylum Support Office (an EU Agency based in Malta), which should support the correct application of the instruments of the Common European Asylum System in the various Member States, was officially launched.

Considering our focus, we can underline that the Reception Conditions Directive (updated in 2013 and applicable from 2015) aims at establishing better minimum standards and

harmonised rules on reception conditions for asylum seekers waiting for their application to be examined: at this stage, access to housing, food, healthcare, and employment (within a maximum of 9 months), as well as to medical and psychological care, must be guaranteed. In addition, the Directive establishes common standards on the detention of applicants and reception conditions for applicants and reception centres and deals with reception conditions for vulnerable persons and unaccompanied minors.

At this stage, and starting with the European Agenda on Migration of May 2015, the European Commission is progressively changing the assumptions of its legislative policies on the right of asylum, attaching crucial importance to the management of the so-called "refugee crisis", the numbers of which have been considered unsustainable. In what has often been termed "repulsive reception", the EU has first of all structured a plan of agreements and understandings with third countries of origin and transit of foreign citizens arriving in Europe, in order to reduce the flows of people arriving and make return policies more effective, also strengthening the Frontex agency for external border control. With the aim of easing the pressure on Greece and Italy, countries of first arrival, strongly affected by the "crisis" and which, according to the Dublin Regulation were also supposed to handle asylum applications and reception, in 2015, a programme of emergency relocations of asylum seekers was launched. According to this programme, a share of applicants fleeing states with a status recognition probability of more than 75% (Syria, Eritrea, and Iraq) could have benefited from a relocation to other EU countries, which would therefore have taken on the task of examining the applications and supporting the simultaneous and subsequent path of reception and integration. Between its launch in 2015 and September 2017, the programme was expected to relocate 100,000 people, 66,400 from Greece and 39,600 from Italy. However, compared to the expected numbers, it should be noted that, by May 2018, only fewer than 35,000 people had benefited from the programme.

Meanwhile, from 2016 onwards, a number of reform proposals have been put forward to amend the Dublin Regulation in a restrictive sense. The process underway risks not only shrinking rights but also going in the direction of modifying the balances between different levels: by creating increasingly stringent constraints, the space for local action, even if crucial, in some way risks diminishing, hinged as it is in a more rigid framework.

In this context, what is the Italian situation? While there has been an overall decrease in the number of asylum applications lodged in EU countries, in Italy, 2017 figures actually confirm a continuity in terms of the extent of the phenomenon. According to the Ministry of the Interior, in fact, there were about 130,000 asylum applications submitted in 2017, compared to 123,000 submitted in 2016. This is the highest number of applications ever submitted in Italy, which, before the exponential growth that has occurred since 2014, stood at between 10,000 and 37,000 per year in the previous ten years. The asylum seeker, i.e. the person who has applied for international protection and is awaiting his/her examination, can legally reside in the territory, can access the labour market two months after the application and has the right to a reception path. The application for asylum is examined by the Territorial Commissions specifically appointed for this purpose and, despite their recent bolstering to meet the increase in applications, the waiting times are quite long, averaging about a year. In 2016, approximately 91,000 applications were examined, and approximately 81,000 in 2017. Of these, 58% were rejected, 8% were granted refugee status, 8% were granted subsidiary protection, and 25% humanitarian protection. The first two forms of protection, established by the European legislation, give access to a residence permit for five years, renewable; the third, introduced by the Italian legislation, to a two-year permit, also renewable.

The Italian reception system is defined by Legislative Decree 142/2015, which in turn is based on the guidelines of the Unified Conference of the State and Regions of 10 July 2014,

implementing the European Reception Directives. In principle, it is structured in three phases: a preliminary phase of rescue, initial reception, and identification, which takes place in so-called hotspots and government centres established near the places most affected by landings; a first phase of reception, which should be ensured in regional hubs or temporary facilities already operational on the national territory, in which the identification operations are carried out, where still necessary, as well as the recording of the asylum application, and the initiation of the procedure for examining it; a second phase of reception within the SPRAR (Protection System for Asylum and Refugee Applicants) system, where the applicant remains for the entire duration of the application examination procedure and the first period following recognition (or, in the case of judicial appeal, for as long as the stay on Italian territory is authorised). At the same time, if there are not enough places in the first or second reception phase, extraordinary and in theory strictly temporary centres are set up, the CASs (Extraordinary Reception Centres). In practice, however, the reception path often differs from the letter of the law, partly due to a general absence of first level facilities provided for by the legislation (the regional hubs) and an undersizing of the reception numbers available at the second level (SPRAR). The first level of reception was to be provided by regional hubs or by temporary structures already in operation, such as the Reception Centres (CDA) and the Asylum Seekers' Reception Centres (CARA), which were to be dismantled as the regional hubs became operational: each region was called upon by the Legislative Decree to provide itself with a hub with a capacity of between 100 and 250 beds, but only in **Emilia Romagna** and more precisely in the city of Bologna – and here we begin to glimpse a space for action within which local institutions and cities can move and play a proactive role – seems to have followed the request. On the other hand, the numbers in the SPRAR system are still well below requirements. In this context, the parallel emergency response system, based on the CASs, has taken up an increasingly

important role. As of July 2017, the total number of reception places available in Italy was approximately 205,000, of which 78% in the CAS, 15% in the SPRAR, and 7% in the first or very first reception centres. Recall that the SPRAR system, started in 2001, is based on the voluntary participation of municipalities to the network with the development of territorial projects that, if positively evaluated, are supported by a co-financing between the proposing local authority and the National Fund for Asylum Policies and Services, within the limits of available resources. The system provides for an integrated approach to reception, aimed at including the migrant not in a care circuit but in a path of inclusion and integration in the territory, promoting personalised projects, also in cooperation with third sector organisations, in centres with limited numbers. The rather stringent and complex reporting is accompanied by minimum guidelines and requirements. Historically undersized, with a number of available places that until 2012 remained below 4,000, it has been recently expanded, reaching 25,743 reception places in 2017. However, in view of the recorded arrivals and asylum applications, the numbers do not appear to be sufficient. The CASs were set up as early as December 2013 to cope with the growth in arrivals on the one hand and the under-sizing of first- and second-tier structural reception centres on the other. In this case, it is the prefectures of the regional capitals that, according to the need, can set up new Centres following the procedures for awarding public contracts and, in case of extreme urgency, with recourse to direct entrusting. In this case, therefore, the relationship is between the prefecture and cooperatives, associations, individuals, or third sector organisations that propose to set up the centres, while the local authorities remain in the background. It should be noted that the emergency approach has often characterised Italian reception, as also highlighted by the so-called North African Emergency, which between February 2011 and February 2013 led to the creation of a reception path parallel to the SPRAR into which about 60,000 people were channelled. Therefore, the structural

and emergency reception systems also differ from each other in terms of the role assigned to local authorities. With reference to the 205,000 reception places as of July 2017, it is interesting to note that these involve 40.5% of Italian municipalities, a third of which are located in **Lombardy** (20.3%) and **Piedmont** (10.8%). The highest incidence of Municipalities involved in reception in the total of the region, however, concerns **Tuscany** (83% of Tuscan Municipalities receive asylum seekers) and **Emilia Romagna** (78.1%), while the lowest values are found in **Abruzzo** (19.3%) and **Sardinia** (17.8%)[2].

Cities as institutional actors and contexts of reception and integration

It is clear that cities are at the forefront of receiving immigrants. This is all the more true because, due to various factors – economic, social, cultural, demographic, political – urban spaces tend to attract the flows of people who move voluntarily or forcibly, historically constituting territories of transit and concentration of arrivals before even being places of long-term settlement. It does not seem by chance that studies on the integration of foreigners at a local level, in Italy and other western countries, have so far focused mainly on urban contexts and larger agglomerations[3]: only recently has there been growing interest in what is happening in rural areas and small municipalities[4]. In Europe too, the analysis of the challenges posed by the presence of immigrants and the possible policy responses at the local level

[2] For further details, see Anci (National Association of the Italian Minicipalities), Caritas Italiana, Cittalia, Fondazione Migrantes, Servizio Centrale dello SPRAR – in collaboration with UNHCR, Rapporto sulla protezione internazionale in Italia 2017, Roma, 2017; C. Marchetti, "Le sfide dell'accoglienza. Passato e presente dei sistemi istituzionali di accoglienza per richiedenti asilo e rifugiati in Italia", *Meridiana*, vol. 86, 2016, pp. 121-143.

[3] F. Pastore and I. Ponzo (Eds.), *Inter-group Relations and Migrant Integration in European Cities. Changing neighbourhoods*, Springer, 2016,

[4] M. Balbo, *Migrazioni e piccoli comuni*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2015.

has developed through attempts to compare and monitor what has been done in the cities of various countries, recognising the important role of city authorities in the elaboration and testing of strategies for the management of migratory phenomena. In the context of the reflections on the relationships between the institutions involved in the multi-level governance of migration (see chapter 1), attention to the urban context has often been accompanied by the idea of a progressive and inexorable loss of centrality, and therefore of the capacity to intervene, of nation-states with respect to the decision-making processes in question[5]. In this perspective, it is believed, on the one hand, that the local level (the city as an institutional actor) is more pragmatically oriented to interventions and therefore can better meet the most urgent needs of immigrants than a national policy more shaped by values and ideals; on the other hand, urban realities (the city as a context, characterised by constraints and opportunities) are considered in themselves well equipped to deal with a complex process such as the reception and integration of immigrants because they tend to combine a certain availability of economic resources to a rich and diverse range of services (in some cases specifically oriented to foreign users or new arrivals), managed by public actors but also by private social realities and by civil society associations that constitute a fertile ground, open to difference and receptive to changes in terms of specific needs, in which not infrequently dynamics of innovation and the experimentation of new solutions to new problems find space[6]. In a broader and more general sense, the city is a space of contamination and transformation in which the trajectories of those who arrive are projected on those who arrived before – of fellow nationals and other immigrants who express a variety of paths and migratory trajectories – and of

[5] T. Caponio and M. Jones-Correa, "Theorising Migration Policy in Multi-level States. The multilevel governance perspective", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2017.

[6] I. Ponzo, *L'accoglienza dei rifugiati nelle aree extraurbane: rischi e potenzialità per l'integrazione*, 18 July 2017.

those who already exist: a central issue, in fact, is that of interaction and relations with the resident population.

In the urban environment, the critical issues related to the arrival, transitory stay, and stable presence of immigrants can become more acute and evolve towards forms of exclusion, with problematic situations of degradation, spatial segregation (as shown by the high concentration of people with a migrant background in some suburbs and disadvantaged districts of European cities), and social marginality, on which it can become difficult to intervene effectively. An example of this is the informal encampments on the outskirts of various Italian cities – in reality, settlements of this type are distributed from north to south, along the entire peninsula, including border areas and forgotten rural areas, but prevail in the outlying areas of medium-large urban centres – in which thousands of asylum seekers and refugees live, who, although regularly present on the ground, are unable to be received by a reception system that is still largely inadequate in relation to their real needs[7]. We can therefore argue that today cities retain a (renewed) centrality with respect to the challenges of reception and integration, precisely because they correspond to the territorial level in which the most visible manifestations of the phenomenon are combined with the tensions connected with its management: from the more or less numerous presence of migrants to their distribution on the territory, from the attitudes of openness or hostility of the resident population to the activation of local policy-making actors, from the informal initiatives undertaken by civil society to the implementation of institutional responses, from the need to apply effective and rapid solutions on the ground to the respect of a common horizon of European immigration policy.

Starting from these reflections, it is also possible to highlight some elements of discontinuity with the past. If we consider the

[7] Medici Senza Frontiere, *Fuori Campo. Insediamenti informali, marginalità sociale, ostacoli all'accesso alle cure e ai beni essenziali per migranti e rifugiati*, Secondo Rapporto, 2018.

context in which the arrivals of refugees and asylum seekers have intensified in recent years – particularly since 2011, following the fall of the Gaddafi regime in Libya and Ben Ali in Tunisia – and the resulting emergency situation, it should be remembered that the cities came under pressure at a time when the European economies were facing a complicated economic situation and were heavily conditioned by its medium-term effects[8]. On the one hand, this situation has forced local policy-makers to come to terms with the adoption of austerity policies at national level and with a progressive contraction of transfers (and therefore of the available budget) for social spending; on the other hand, it should not be forgotten that in some cases, negotiations and attempts to resolve conflicts have clashed with a hostile attitude on the part of resident populations – already severely tested by the crisis and its consequences on employment – and with the oppositional demonstrations and exploitation of parties and movements of racist or xenophobic inspiration. The concern on the part of the European institutions to control the fiscal conduct of the Member States has also intensified the political debate on the role of the European Union itself and on the attribution of competences in the field of immigration, to which has been added the difficulty of reaching a new agreement on the reform of the European legislation on the right of asylum.

Moreover, beyond the crisis, if, as stated above, cities succeed in doing more and better than national governments in receiving refugees, satisfying their needs, establishing the conditions for their permanence on the territory and an acceptable socio-economic integration, it is also true that not all cities have the same administrative capacity and equal financial resources, nor did they accumulate the same experience in managing the challenges of receiving refugees and asylum seekers, just as they differ in relation to economic development and political and cultural traditions. It is not only *know-how* that counts, but

[8] See T. Caponio and T. Cappiali, "Italian Migration Policies in Times of Crisis: The Policy Gap Reconsidered", *South European Politics and Society*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2018, pp. 115-132.

also *willingness to do*: consider, for example, the heterogeneous participation in the SPRAR network, and also the profound diversity in the implementation of residence regulations and the resulting access to services[9]. Also for this reason, as is evident in reference to the Italian context, the various initiatives through which the reception system is developed constitute a highly-fragmented framework, characterised by a non-homogeneous organisation of services and by a high heterogeneity of the structures that provide hospitality. The management of the phenomenon is also complicated by the peculiarity of refugees and asylum seekers as a category of immigrants. In fact, it is a not-chosen migration, unwanted either by the host society or by the migrants themselves (they are not really the so-called economic migrants), who may be received in countries that do not correspond to those in which they are directed, have family members and acquaintances in different cities, and therefore lack the support networks that typically facilitate the integration into a new context. In addition to having often experienced trauma and abuse, they suffered both in their areas of origin and on the arduous journey to Europe.

It is now clearer why the reception of migrants, while a subject of debate at the international and national level, remains a challenge that presents itself primarily to local governments. What, then, are the possibilities for intervention by urban institutional policy to promote better reception? In which directions can cities take concrete action to support immigrants in their efforts to integrate into society? For some decades now – faced with the growing need to exchange ideas, initiate dialogues, and find synergies – European cities have begun to set up dense networks of exchange and interaction to cooperate in order to identify common solutions and to encourage the transfer of best practices relating to integration and, more recently, to reception. The development of networks and collaborations between different European cities is explained by the fact that

[9] See E. Gargiulo, "The limits of local citizenship: administrative borders within the Italian municipalities", *Citizenship Studies*, vol. 21, no. 3, 2017, pp. 327-343.

at a local level – of medium-sized cities in particular – it is easier to undertake effective processes of policy transfer and policy learning, on the one hand because the transfer of practices and interventions requires (economic and human) resources, coordination structures, conditions, and skills that those who govern an urban reality can activate more easily than those who administer a small municipality, and on the other because of the proximity with the actors and knowledge of the territorial dynamics that supra-local institutions – being more distant – cannot guarantee. Among the networks of Eurocities, the CLIP – European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants (see box p. 72), the URBACT Network of Arrival Cities[10], the Intercultural Cities Program[11], and Divercities-Governing urban diversity[12].

Cities have an interest in positioning themselves within these networks to cooperate in the development of policy strategies and to join forces in entities that have more visibility and greater negotiating weight, especially *vis-à-vis* the European institutions. The themes and issues around which the discussion on interventions to promote the reception and integration of immigrants are developed are varied; below, we draw attention to four areas that we deem relevant, in respect of which cities – in the double capacity of institutional actors and the context in which a multiplicity of actors operates – are called to take a stand, developing strategic plans and interventions:

- A first point concerns the role of cities in promoting and coordinating synergies between local actors, both public and private, and in fostering positive relations between the actors (civil society, NGOs, the third sector, etc.) that act in favour of immigrants. These networking strategies combine with communicative interventions (for example, before the arrival of refugees), aimed at making the context more welcoming and

[10] http://urbact.eu/arrival-cities

[11] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/home

[12] https://www.urbandivercities.eu/

CLIP
European network of cities for local integration policies for migrants

CLIP is a network of 30 European cities working together to support the social and economic integration of migrants. The network promotes initiatives that receive the support of the European institutions and is supported by a group of specialised research centres. One of the main objectives is to encourage the sharing of experiences through relations between cities and in thematic workshops: the network enables local authorities to learn about the positive experiences of their partners and aims to establish a virtual and permanent laboratory in which to develop more effective integration policies. The workshops are organised along four research modules, have an operational connotation, and aspire to identify and suggest concrete lines of action. In each workshop, a specific problem related to the integration of migrants is examined in relation to the role and space of local authorities. A first module deals with housing – segregation, access, quality, housing costs for migrants – which is a priority issue for the development of paths of integration of migrants in host societies; a second one deals with equal opportunities policies and diversity policies related to employment opportunities in public administration and city services; the focus of the third module is on intercultural policies and inter-group relations; the fourth one deals with initiatives to promote ethnic entrepreneurship.

receptive: the local communities must be informed, engaged, and accompanied, preparing for events and occasions when any hostilities may occur, in order to initiate paths of negotiation and conflict reduction. All these conditions are essential to promote an "integrated approach", understood as the integration of measures and services provided by different local actors, public and private, with the support of an attitude of openness by residents.

- A second issue is linked to the option of a mainstreaming approach to access and provision of services (social, educational, health). The EU has always stressed to local

institutions the need to be able to balance mainstreaming approaches with targeted measures where the specific needs of the migrant population are highlighted. However, the wider spread of a mainstreaming approach has occurred in a context of economic crisis, where the adoption of this model has often been an excuse to make cuts to policies dedicated to migrants[13]. Having said that, the mainstreaming approach poses at least two major challenges: one concerning the structure of funding and the other arising from recent migratory developments. The first is linked to the constraints established by the European Integration Fund (EIF), now the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF), which can only be used for measures targeting third-country nationals, thus excluding both EU and national citizens. The second is that such an approach does not seem to work for newly arrived refugees, as they have specific problems and vulnerabilities (e.g. precarious legal status, lack of social support networks, past trauma, etc.) that make access to and use of services complex.

- For a long time, policies have prioritised economic considerations in managing immigration, but given the composition of recent flows (the increase in forced migrants) and the effects of the crisis, the mechanism – typical on the European scene – of economic integration, which was based on rapid integration into the labour market (albeit sometimes in the informal economy), appears to be in difficulty. The situation of many refugees and asylum seekers gives an idea of how problematic meeting with the local labour market can be. On this front, cities are called to promote (in the logic of an integrated approach) innovative services for the recognition of skills and professional accreditation of migrants.

[13] I. Ponzo et al., *Researching Functioning Policy Practices in Local Integration in Europe: A Conceptual and Methodological Discussion Paper*, European Migrant Integration Academy (EU-MIA), 2013.

- Another critical issue is that of the risks of socio-spatial segregation of asylum seekers and refugees. Of course, their location in urban space poses major challenges to urban planning and management, which are primarily the responsibility of cities. Despite the fact that spatial proximity does not necessarily imply social proximity and integration, especially considering the cities in Southern Europe[14], the concentration of more or less large numbers of asylum seekers or beneficiaries of protection on the outskirts of cities or in its marginal interstices is an important aspect of integration paths that needs to be taken seriously.

Conclusion

The chapter opened with a reconstruction of the legislation and the state of reception in Italy and the European Union to focus on some of the main challenges and critical issues related to the arrival of refugees and the presence of immigrants on the territory. A number of reflections were then proposed, which have made it possible to underline the renewed centrality of cities in the management of these phenomena and in offering concrete and effective actions. A proactive attitude of city institutions – with respect to various areas of intervention – can have a positive impact not only on the outcome of the reception and integration of migrants but more generally on the quality of life and social cohesion of urban areas, and in the broadest sense of the society in which they arrive. As we have seen, on the one hand, cities need to intervene because they are under pressure from the most visible and concrete manifestations of the hardships linked to the presence of foreigners; on the other hand, within the framework of a multi-level governance, cities are the

[14] S. Arbaci, "(Re)viewing Ethnic Residential Segregation in Southern European Cities: Housing and Urban Regimes as Mechanism of Marginalisation", *Housing Studies*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2008, pp. 589-613.

most equipped institutional subject to elaborate effective interventions and adequate responses to the needs of the migrants themselves and to the characteristics of the local context. This is happening at a time when the effects of the economic crisis and the structural reforms of the European asylum system are making things particularly difficult: two factors that are resulting in a reduction in the "institutional" area of action of cities, precisely because of growing regulatory constraints and the gradual erosion of resources for social spending.

Within this framework, the strategies and policies adopted by cities contribute to structuring further constraints/opportunities with respect to reception and integration paths. In order to promote the positive management of these complex processes, it is therefore appropriate for cities to be put in a position and to take action to fully interpret their role – to propose measures that are calibrated and in line with real needs – in dialogue and negotiation with the other (supra-local) institutions involved in the governance model.

It is also essential that the proposals be drawn up in an integrated perspective, involving the variety of actors – private, public, third sector – which is one of the distinctive features of the urban landscape and from whose collaboration dynamics of innovation can be generated. Without forgetting the need to prepare the citizens and spread a welcoming and open climate, through training activities, sharing of experiences, and better communication strategies. In order to lay the foundations for a virtuous evolution of integration paths, it is important that initiatives to welcome refugees are not perceived by local communities as something "imposed from above" but rather as the outcome of negotiations and concerted processes with the territory and its inhabitants.

In conclusion, it is worth mentioning one last issue, which concerns the relationship between cities and their suburban territories. For some time now, increasing attention has been paid to forms of reception and integration paths in non-urban areas, including small municipalities and rural areas. Moreover,

according to what was outlined at the Unified Conference of July 2014, the Italian reception system should proceed towards the development of a widespread reception, through a progressive expansion of the SPRAR system, thus exiting from the logic of emergency and formally recognising the centrality of local authorities, including small-sized municipalities. From this point of view, there is a need to rethink the relationship between the main medium-large cities – which attract and concentrate flows – and the surrounding areas where reception initiatives spread. It is a question of redefining the role that cities play in relation to larger territories and in relation to institutional players – small municipalities – that are not as well equipped and lack the necessary skills to meet the challenges and do not have sufficient means and resources to build them. The failure of the project to set up regional hubs based in the most representative cities only serves to underline the urgency of these reflections.

4. Education: A Challenge for Intercultural Cities

Mariagrazia Santagati, Cristina Zanzottera[1]

Intercultural change as an urban phenomenon and educational process

For a long time, school education policies for migrants have not been considered a priority by European and Italian scholars and policy-makers, who have underestimated family, intergenerational and educational dynamics triggered by migration[2]. Only in the face of the progressive increase of the children of immigrants and of a greater demand for integration on the part of foreign families, have differentiated political responses been thought out in the various European countries, on the basis of the characteristics of the immigrants, of the migratory flows, of the national history of the states, and of the visions of integration[3]. Despite the different national education systems and political visions[4], the new century has seen a kind of "intercul-

[1] This chapter has been written jointly by the two authors. However, the analytical and theoretical-interpretative framework is by M. Santagati, while the identification and presentation of best practices is mainly by C. Zanzottera.

[2] These interventions are part of welfare or immigration policies: see, M. Santagati, "Le politiche scolastiche per i giovani stranieri in Europa e in Italia", *Autonomie locali e servizi sociali*, n. 1, 2013, pp. 179-188.

[3] See Eurydice, *Integrating Immigrant Children into Schools in Europe*, Brussels, European Commission, 2004.

[4] See for example the assimilationist approach or the multiculturalist model, applied to training contexts: P. Wood (Ed.), *Intercultural Cities. Towards a model for intercultural integration*, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2009, p. 24.

tural turn"[5] in Europe. This is an established trend for dealing with and managing diversity in education and beyond. This perspective, emphasised by EU official documents and proposals, is outlined in institutional speeches and political practices and is based on the idea that interaction between people with different backgrounds "matters".

The intercultural shift also coincided with a crucial role in the diversity policies of cities, which are increasingly recognised as key players in responding to the challenges of welcoming diversity and successfully integrating immigrants through local immigration governance. Interculturalism has proved to be an urban phenomenon, a strategy of cities based on proximity between natives and immigrants and the promotion of face-to-face relationships. It was a pragmatic response to the concerns of multicultural cities, developed through actions and exchange practices aimed at recognising the positive aspects of diversity, strengthening social cohesion, and fostering the belonging of all citizens to the public sphere.

Interculturalism – which has spread especially in European countries where immigration is more recent and the presence of foreigners is more limited – has emphasised a "contacts-based policy approach", recalling at a theoretical level Allport's Contact Theory, which hypothesises that forms of hostility are supplanted by mutually positive attitudes if relations between the majority and the minority develop under particular conditions[6]. The intercultural approach, in fact, promotes contact in every aspect of the public sphere and in social institutions, focusing on building bonds, interdependence, common projects, socialising to a "culture of diversity", according to which

[5] As defined by R. Zapata-Barrero, "Introduction: framing the intercultural turn", in R. Zapata-Barrero (Ed.), *Interculturalism in Cities: Concept, Policy and Implementation*, Cheltenham, Edward Elgar, 2015, pp. vii-xvi.

[6] That is to say, between subjects with similar status, in the absence of competition, with the objective of collaborating towards a common end, with an institutional control that punishes deviant behaviour. G. Allport, *The Nature of Prejudice*, Reading, Addison-Wesley, 1954.

the latter is a profitable resource incorporated into the political, civic, and public culture at the level of institutional structures and routines, and managed politically as a driver of social, cultural, and economic development[7]. In addition to this, there is also a public narrative that supports and sustains the beneficial impact of contact (through the media, political leaders, the educational system, etc.).

A "governance through diversity" strategy[8], in which diversity is part of political practice and culture, undoubtedly requires active support of educational policies: as underlined by the Recommendation of the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of 2014, *Promoting diversity through intercultural education and communication strategies*, a change in attitude towards diversity and knowledge of its benefits implies a considerable educational commitment towards one's own population. Also, the documents of the Intercultural Cities Network (ICC)[9], as well as the Recommendation of the Committee of Ministers to Member States on intercultural integration (21.01.2015), stress the centrality of educational strategies in: cities that invest in the language training of all migrants, so that all are able to converse in the majority language, but at the same time recognise minority languages in the public sphere, facilitating communication between minorities and institutions; cities that offer intercultural training programs for all their officials and

[7] R. Zapata-Barrero, "Interculturalism in the post-multicultural debate: a defence", *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2017, vol. 5, no. 14; "Exploring the foundations of the intercultural policy paradigm: a comprehensive approach", *Identities*, vol. 23, no. 2, 2015, pp. 155-173.

[8] T. Matejskova and M. Antonsich, *Governing through diversity: Migration societies in the post-multiculturalist age*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

[9] This Council of Europe programme, launched in 2008, aims to disseminate the intercultural perspective among policy-makers in Europe's major cities by providing a comprehensive methodology for urban governance in cities and appropriate assessment tools (e.g. an "index of intercultural cities"). Currently, the network groups more than 100 European (and non-European) cities, including national networks in Spain, Italy, Norway, Ukraine, and Portugal. See www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities.

citizens (politicians, administrators, teachers, municipal police officers, journalists, health workers, etc.).

The intercultural approach in training policies: three dimensions of analysis

When dealing with the analysis of policies in urban contexts in the field of education and training, it seems useful to refer to the operational definition of the concept of interculturalism offered by Giménez[10]. In line with the introduction, this author breaks down interculturalism as a model of integration into three dimensions: 1. right to equality, independent of culture, religion, language, ethnicity; 2. right to recognition and acceptance of differences; 3. emphasis on positive interactions between people belonging to different cultures.

1. The educational system takes on the primary function of ensuring that the new generations of immigrant origin are guaranteed equal educational opportunities with the natives in terms of access to different levels of education (including non-compulsory ones, such as nursery school, post-compulsory education, tertiary education); opportunities to attend quality, mixed, inclusive, and non-segregated schools; chances of achieving educational and training success at different levels of education, without language deficiencies and with basic skills, avoiding excessive delays and drop-out risk; opportunities to have good teachers and to enjoy equal treatment on their part, regardless of the cultural diversity they bring.
2. The educational and training system is committed to the challenge of recognising linguistic, cultural, ethnic,

[10] C. Giménez, "Pluralismo, multiculturalismo e interculturalidad", in L. Díe (Ed.), *Aprendiendo a ser iguales. Manual de Educación Intercultural*, Valencia, CeiMigra, 2012, pp. 49-65.

and religious diversity, which should be considered as resources to be exploited in order to support individual talents, which can be traced even in the most fragile and vulnerable subjects (unaccompanied foreign minors, asylum seekers, etc.), creating the conditions for their full participation. Educational institutions and policies are redesigned treating diversity as an advantage and demonstrating, through empirical evidence, the effectiveness of heterogeneous educational contexts and strategies and practices for the enhancement of cultural differentiation[11]: pupils with an immigrant background have extra competences and additional skills, while heterogeneous groups prove to be more functional in plural and complex cities. Diversity is seen not only as an individual right and competence[12], but as being managed institutionally to avoid it becoming a source of conflict and disadvantage, by teaching staff capable of treating diversity as a community, collective, and public good[13].

3. As UNESCO highlighted in 2006[14], interculturalism emphasises the dynamic nature of cultures in order to create a sort of "third space" in which natives and immigrants develop a new shared culture, through dialogue and respect for the common heritage and equal dignity of every individual, reciprocity, and symmetry in inter-ethnic relations. According to the Council of Europe[15], this dialogue must always be pursued,

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[11] K.K. Rubicondo and D. Pinelli, *Evidence of the Economic and Social Advantages of Intercultural Cities Approach. Meta-analytic assessment*, Intercultural cities, Strasbourg, Council of Europe, 2012.

[12] T. Faist, "Diversity: a new mode of incorporation?" *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 32, no. 1, 2009, pp. 171-190.

[13] R. Zapata-Barrero, "The limits to shaping diversity as public culture", *Cities*, no. 37, 2014, pp. 66-72.

[14] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Guidelines of Intercultural Education*, Paris, 2006.

[15] Council of Europe, *White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, Strasbourg, 2008.

including with those who do not (fully) share democratic values (freedom of expression, opinion, and other fundamental rights). In such cases, dialogue can be the starting point of a long process of interaction, at the end of which an agreement on the meaning and implementation of respect for human rights, democracy, and the rule of law can be reached. A dialogue aimed not only at interpersonal contact but also at a widespread exchange to deconstruct stereotypes and reduce prejudices, increasing the intercultural skills of citizens until they reach a shared commitment in the political community through active citizenship.

4. Education is the ideal place to encourage and practice this form of dialogue. In school, this translates into intercultural education, which implies the transformation of the educational reality through meetings, cooperative learning, and the activation of communicative processes among culturally different students[16]. Finding convergences between diversities should necessarily lead to the deconstruction of the identities of the majority and of minorities, to the re-examination of feelings of belonging, and to the overcoming of ethnocentrism, in order to produce new skills and social relations.

Based on this tripartition of interculturalism given by Giménez (right to equality, right to difference, positive interaction between culturally different subjects), the chapter reconstructs the development and implementation of the intercultural model in the field of education, presenting a reasoned and analytical catalogue of interesting practices, implemented in European and Italian cities, illustrating the dimensions identified. How are equal educational opportunities guaranteed for foreign pupils

[16] A.J. Liddicoat and A. Diaz, "Engaging with diversity: The construction of policy for intercultural education in Italy", *Intercultural Education*, vol. 19, 2008, pp. 137-150.

in European cities? To what extent and in what way is the cultural diversity of which they are part of recognised and accepted within the education system? Is a positive exchange between culturally different subjects pursued and realised in the curricula and in the relationships that develop in the educational institutions? With the aim of answering these questions, the text looks at intercultural policies in local realities based on official documents, primary and secondary data, studies and research reviews[17], and project databases at European and Italian level[18].

European and Italian versions of intercultural education

Since the beginning of the new century, interculturalism has been strongly promoted at European level, starting in 2008 with the proclamation of the "European Year of Intercultural Dialogue" and the adoption of the Green Paper *Migration and Mobility: challenges and opportunities for Europe's education systems*. With these initiatives, the European Union has opened a debate on policies and strategies to be promoted in the Member States to deal with socio-educational issues arising from migratory phenomena. With its 2009 *Resolution on Educating the children of migrants*, the European Parliament stresses that diversity is to be seen as a "normal situation" and that schools must ensure that the talents of immigrant students are developed and not dissipated, at an economic, social, and cultural

[17] See the reviews on school integration in Italy: M. Santagati, "Scuola, terra d'immigrazione. Stato dell'arte e prospettive di ricerca in Italia", *Mondi Migranti*, vol. 2, 2012, pp. 41-85; M. Santagati, "Researching integration in Multiethnic Italian Schools. A Sociological Review on Educational Inequalities", *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2015, pp. 294-334; D. Azzolini, D. Mantovani, and M. Santagati, "Four Emerging Traditions in Immigrant Education Studies", in P.A. Stevens and G.A. Dworkin (Eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Race and Ethnic Inequalities in Education*, London, Palgrave, 2018.

[18] For instance, www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/good-pratice; www.sirius-migrationeducation.org; ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration

cost to society as a whole. In this direction, the Union promotes interculturalism, synonymous with intercultural dialogue, a process that includes an open and respectful exchange between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious, and linguistic backgrounds (*White Paper on Intercultural Dialogue*, 2008). It implies freedom and the ability to express oneself, as well as the will and the ability to listen to the visions of others. Intercultural dialogue, in line with Europe's cultural identity, contributes to political, social, cultural, and economic integration and to the cohesion of culturally diverse societies[19].

In the European training systems, the intercultural reference framework is divided into 4 dimensions[20]: a focus on interpersonal relations, through the promotion of tolerance and dialogue in schools; a focus on knowledge, with a commitment to intercultural teaching in all disciplines and at an interdisciplinary level; a focus on interaction and exchange, with the development of extracurricular activities; a focus on integration, with the adoption of devices for non-native students, also in terms of the reduction of prejudice and discrimination.

As far as the Italian case is concerned, since the 1990s, before the other European countries and even before the development of European policies for the promotion of intercultural dialogue, Italy has chosen an intercultural model of school integration of foreign pupils, which was the only approach adopted for the management of cultural diversity in the educational system[21]. Italy can be considered the European country where in-

[19] L. Bekemans (Ed.), *Intercultural Dialogue and Multi-level Governance in Europe. A Human Rights Approach*, Bern, International Academic Publishers Peter Lang, 2012.

[20] M. Catarci and M. Fiorucci, *Intercultural Education in the European context: theories, experiences, challenges*, New York, Routledge, 2016.

[21] The presence of foreign students in Italy is stable and structural. According to the latest data regarding the academic year 2016/17, the number of students is around 826,000, equal to 9.4% of the total school population. More than 60% of them were born in Italy, have parents from all continents (Romania, Albania, Morocco, and China have long been the first nationalities). Pupils with an immigrant background are distributed unevenly throughout the country, concentrated

tercultural pedagogy has received the most recognition in terms of school practices and legislation.

Moreover, in terms of ensuring educational equality, the Italian school, since the arrival of the first migration flows, has proved particularly inclusive and has opened its doors to all foreign children, regardless of their legal status, ensuring the fulfilment of compulsory schooling: from 1989 onwards, new arrivals were accepted into compulsory schools even when they lacked the necessary documentation, and placed in classes with their peers on the basis of different criteria such as age, the organisation of studies in the country of origin, skills, and level of preparation. The Italian school has chosen to place students of non-Italian citizenship within the normal school classes[22], based on the idea that immigrant students benefit from being placed in mixed classes with natives, both at the level of learning and at the level of relational well-being.

In the same period, already with the C.M. 205/1990, the Ministry of Education recognised intercultural education as a distinctive aspect of the Italian school, an educational action that "has the task of promoting coexistence, preventing the formation of stereotypes and prejudices towards people and cultures, and overcoming all forms of ethnocentric vision". "Intercultural education is not limited to the problems posed by the presence of foreign students at school, but extends to the complexity of the dialogue between cultures, in the European and world dimensions of teaching, constituting the highest response to racism. It offers the possibility of knowing and making oneself known, while respecting one's identity, in a climate of dialogue and solidarity" (C.M. 73/1994). It is then through the ministerial document of 2007, *La via italiana per la scuola interculturale e l'integrazione degli alunni stranieri* (The Italian way for intercultural school and the integration of foreign

in some cities (large ones such as Rome, Milan, Turin, but also medium-small ones such as Brescia, Prato, Piacenza). See MIUR, *Gli alunni con cittadinanza non italiana. A.s. 2016/17*, Rome, Ufficio Statistica e Studi, 2018.

[22] Eurydice (2004).

students) that we arrive at a greater clarification of the Italian model of intercultural school integration. Such education takes on the meaning of a new way of teaching and learning, the foreign presence loses its connotations of exceptionality, and the recognition of difference is only possible with the construction of a dialectical and mixed cultural framework in which to trace and share similarities[23].

Recalling the definition of Giménez, European interculturalism (and its Italian version) is based on a vision of education that respects the cultural diversity of the learner through the provision of culturally appropriate education for all (right to respect for difference in education); offers every learner the knowledge, skills, and competencies necessary to participate fully in the society to which they belong (right to educational equality); enables students to contribute to respect, understanding, and solidarity between individuals, social groups and ethnic, cultural, and religious groups (positive interaction between people with different backgrounds). Within this framework, therefore, it is interesting to consider some of the intercultural strategies and practices of European cities that conform to the principles mentioned above: alongside contexts that are still taking their first steps, there are experiences of excellence to look at to identify transferable elements useful for city policies.

Interculturalism as a guarantee of equal educational opportunities

Interventions in the area of equal educational opportunities are crucial, as highlighted by the above-mentioned 2009 European Resolution, since the data still show a systematic disadvantage of foreign pupils compared to natives in European education systems: these pupils are reported, for example, for delayed access to schooling with lower participation in pre-school

[23] M. Clementi, *La scuola e il dialogo interculturale*, Milan, Ismu, 2008.

education[24], as well as in post-compulsory education; for worse school performance than natives[25]; for early exit from the education system and higher risk of dropping out, like their most disadvantaged peers, especially when they are newly arrived, young children alone, or particularly vulnerable[26]; for the experience of concentration in schools in the suburbs or of poor quality in several European countries[27]. According to the latest edition of MIPEX 2015 (Migrant Integration Policy Index)[28], education is the area of greatest weakness among policies in most of the countries considered, compared with other areas of integration (work, political participation, access to citizenship, family reunification, etc.). Among the 38 countries considered, 20 are characterised by inadequate educational policies (among these many countries of Southern and Eastern Europe): interventions aimed at improving access to education are still few and, in many cases, governments are confident that any potential problem of learning between children of immigrants will find a solution in the general functioning of the education system. Below are some cities that have distinguished themselves for significant practices of school integration in the field of equal opportunities.

As regards access to the education system for all pupils and the reduction of segregation, some 100 schools in **Zurich** are

[24] See, European Commission, *Key data on Early Childhood Education and Care in Europe. Eurydice and Eurostat Report*, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2014.

[25] OECD, *PISA 2015 Results (Vol. I) Excellence and Equity in Education*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2016.

[26] R. Hippe and M. Jakubowski, *Immigrant background and expected early school leaving in Europe: evidence from PISA*, Luxembourg, Publications Office of the European Union, 2018.

[27] Council of Europe, *Fighting school segregation in Europe through inclusive education: a position paper*, Commissioner for Human Rights, Council of Europe, 2017.

[28] An initiative promoted by the British Council and Migration Policy Group, MIPEX is a useful tool for the analysis of immigration policies (also in the field of education) at a comparative level in 38 countries (www.mipex.eu).

involved in the Quality In Multicultural Schools (QIMS)[29] special programme. By raising and monitoring the quality of the educational offer, QIMS aims to make all schools equally attractive for middle-class Swiss students and families, as well as for families and peers of foreign origin, in order to avoid the white flight phenomenon and emergencies typical of the so-called "ghetto schools"[30]. To guarantee the success of the programme, each school is assigned a contact person who coordinates the activities of the teachers' staff. Each school receives training, monitoring, and accompaniment during the first two years of activity, while the teachers receive ongoing training and have the opportunity to work in a network with other schools so as to learn from the comparison and sharing of experiences of others. QIMS offers financial and professional support to schools for the development of special projects, in line with the aims of the program and responding to local needs.

With regard to the school enrolment of new arrivals, in the city of **Vic** (Spain) the school inspectors, the host teacher, the school directors, and the municipality representative meet regularly to assign the new arrivals to the schools, taking into consideration multiple criteria (e.g. the area of residence, the level of education of the child, the availability of places, the schools attended by brothers and sisters, etc.), with the aim of distributing foreign children from the same origin in different schools in the city to avoid ethnic concentration. This "controlled choice" approach, where pupils are assigned to schools on the basis of a process designed by the central institutions, has good results thanks to the collaboration of public institutions[31].

The SAFE project (School Approaches for Family Empowerment), promoted by the Municipality of **Reggio**

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[29] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/-/quality-in-multicultural-schools-qims-

[30] In the canton of Zurich, the QIMS is compulsory for all schools with more than 40% of pupils with a migrant background.

[31] See P. Wood (2009), p. 65.

Emilia[32], identifies strategies to promote the reception and integration of foreign families starting from the school, considered the first intercultural meeting place. The initiative is implemented with the contribution of the European Investment Fund (EIF) and involves the cities of Turin and Arezzo and the London municipality of Lewisham. The added value of the project is the *Guidelines with strategies for the empowerment of families*[33], produced by a multi-level comparison between the educational practices and policies of the three cities: the document contains experiences, indications, and useful suggestions for school staff, administrators, and families themselves. In particular, a model of intervention is proposed in which parents become increasingly present and active actors in the school context: from "informed" parents (e.g. through multilingual materials and linguistic-cultural mediators) to "competent" parents (also in Italian L2), capable of accompanying their children in school tasks and life, up to "proactive" parents who co-plan and co-build school activities and paths. The project also proposes an online benchmarking system, a concrete tool for the evaluation and measurement of the interventions carried out, with the aim of increasing their effectiveness in the comparison between different territories, for the empowerment of families with an immigrant background that is as measurable as possible and evidence-based.

[32] Particularly interesting are also other interventions in the city of Reggio Emilia, through its Intercultural Centre Mondinsieme. The "Tutor in lingua madre" project enhances the role of second-generation young people, supporting the scholastic success and social inclusion of foreign minors in the city's high schools (http://www.mondinsieme.org/tutor-in-lingua-madre.html). For the same school order, the Intercultural Centre has also developed an intercultural curriculum that covers topics such as religion, media, prejudice, culture, etc. through regular workshop and cooperative activities throughout the school year. (*The intercultural city step by step. Practical guide for applying the urban model of intercultural integration*, Council of Europe, 2013, p. 65).

[33] http://www.mondinsieme.org/safe.html; cfr. *Verso linee guida. Strategie educative per l'empowerment a favore delle famiglie*, Comune di Reggio Emilia, Comune di Torino, Comune di Arezzo, Fondazione Mondinsieme, Reggio Emilia, 2014.

To remain on the subject of access and educational success, the **Vienna** Integration and Diversity Monitor, a report on the city's integration processes and diversity policies, is significant. It also analyses the situation of young newly arrived immigrants who do not study or work. The report shows that the dropout of these young people is structural and created by the reception system itself (they cannot be placed either in compulsory school due to age, or in secondary school because they do not have sufficient skills in L2). So the city of Vienna has established a special youth college designed to meet the needs of these young people, avoiding their dispersion and linking them to the educational system[34].

An example of the attention paid to L2 learning by minors and adults with a migrant background is the city of **Reykjavik**, where the Department of Education and Youth has initiated and manages, in collaboration with the association "Mother Tongue", the Centre of language and literacy project[35]. The project is part of the Department's "The World is Here" action plan, which aims to promote literacy, educational, and recreational policies for the city's growing number of immigrant families. The Centre, in particular, implements policies related to Icelandic language teaching such as L2, active bilingualism (preserving and enhancing mother tongues) and cooperation between schools and families. To this end, the Department has among its staff teachers of the languages of origin of immigrant families, language facilitators, specialists, and experts who support teachers and all staff of many educational institutions in the city: kindergartens and primary schools but also extra-school educational centres. Teachers receive advice, cross-cultural training courses, and support on how to work in a targeted and meaningful way with pupils who are heterogeneous in their native languages and cultural universes[36].

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[34] https://www.wien.gv.at/english/social/integration/basic-work/monitoring.html

[35] https://reykjavik.is/sites/default/files/ymis_skjol/skjol_utgefid_efni/fjolmenningarstefna_uppsett_enska_n.pdf

[36] The innovative project Parents' Integration through Partnership (PIP), which

On educational success and prevention of dispersion, the European project EDUQUAL has promoted strategic alliances in **Turin**, **Madrid** and **Hamburg**[37], in order to promote educational equity in disadvantaged contexts, supporting 97 foreign teenagers with school difficulties to 76 mentors, university students with the same background, who played an essential role in supporting them, as an educational support and in developing their motivation to continue their studies. The project participants, followed in the critical transition to secondary school, were also involved in cultural activities aimed at improving, in addition to basic skills, also transversal skills, aimed at increasing self-esteem, self-confidence, communication skills, and creativity.

Moving to tertiary education, an interesting proposal comes from the German University Friedrich-Alexander-Universität Erlangen-Nürnberg (FAU), one of the first in Germany to develop the project Study Opportunities for Refugees, which facilitates access to university paths for refugees and asylum seekers, avoiding complex bureaucratic procedures. An interview and the evaluation of basic German language skills select candidates who, through language courses and test lessons in different disciplines, are oriented towards the choice of the faculty and the most suitable course for their profile. The added value of the project is the many activities of integration in university life that involve university students alongside young refugees in a reflexive and intercultural action[38].

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was launched in the city of London with European funding and includes a 5-week English language course (based on daily life content and linked to the children's school), as well as a training programme for volunteers to support parents in their school participation and to promote language learning in informal conversation, also applies to the teaching of L2 to mothers of primary school students from outside Europe (https://ec.europa.eu/migrant-integration/intpract/parents-integration-through-partnership).

[37] The programme is documented by the Sirius network http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/eduqual-strategic-alliance-for-educational-equity-in-disadvantaged-contexts/

[38] https://bit.ly/2NWyu7x

In Italy, the "Dai barconi all'università" initiative starts from the teaching of Italian L2 and moves far beyond that. The initiative is carried out as part of the Summer School at the School of Italian Language for Foreigners at the University of Palermo. Responding to the needs of the territory, the School has opened its doors to unaccompanied foreign minors in the Italian language and culture paths initially addressed to young people with high schooling (Erasmus students, international students of exchange projects, doctoral candidates, etc.), thus transforming an international training proposal into an opportunity for growth, exchange, and intercultural dialogue. An original aspect of this initiative is the fact that young university students experiment as tutors for newly arrived colleagues, developing multilingual and intercultural skills in a context of real, complex, and dynamic migration[39].

Interculturalism as the promotion of cultural diversity

As far as the principle of recognition of cultural diversity is concerned, it still represents a challenge for Europe, which is committed to becoming multilingual and multicultural through training, as set out in the document *Multilingualism: an asset for Europe and a shared commitment* (2008). The promotion of multilingualism and the maintenance of mother tongues, understood as valuable resources for the educational experience, still remain in the background[40]. According to MIPEX 2015 data, few European countries seem to seize the opportunities offered by the presence of foreign pupils: in most cases, when languages and cultures are taught at school, only immigrants are often involved; communication difficulties persist between foreign teachers and parents; immigrants' children frequently

[39] https://minorinonaccompagnatialluniversita.wordpress.com

[40] NESSE network, *Education and Migration. Strategies for integrating migrant children in European schools and societies*, Brussels, Education & Culture DG, 2008.

experience hardships during the learning process, as they are particularly represented among those who do not speak the language of instruction at home[41]; school difficulties also derive from the fact that the contents of curricula are mainly monocultural and that there is still little presence of teachers with an immigrant background in the various European countries. Yet there are cities that develop projects that take into account the various forms of cultural diversity in educational contexts.

The Welcome to School programme, promoted by the City of **San Sebastian** with the support of the Basque Government as part of the city's wider intercultural strategy, adopts a systemic approach to the recognition of cultural diversity, involving and valuing the diversity of all the actors operating in the school-space, teaching and non-teaching staff, both internal and external. The attention dedicated to newly arrived families, each of which is put in contact with a local "family tutor", who accompanies them in school integration and approaching the services of the territory, is crucial. The city plan also offers many Basque language courses and encourages participation in moments of recreation, opportunities to meet and socialise between local and foreign families[42]. Attention to families was also crucial in the Platform of Migrant Parents in Education (PAOO) project which, through a network of national immigrant organisations, aimed to promote contact between immigrant parents, municipalities, and schools in the **larger cities of the Netherlands**, increasing the empowerment and proactivity of families, presenting their different cultural points of view to institutions, fostering dialogue, and supporting the positive growth of bilingual pupils[43].

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[41] Eurydice, *Cifre chiave dell'insegnamento delle lingue a scuola in Europa*, Florence, Eurydice Italy, 2017.

[42] The group of tutor families initially came from the parents' association of the city, which also includes mothers of foreign origin, now professionals, positive examples of a successful migration path. (Compilation of Good Practices from ICC Cities, Intercultural Cities (Building the future on diversity), and Council of Europe, 2017, p. 72).

[43] http://www.sirius-migrationeducation.org/the-netherlands-platform-of-migrant-

In the perspective of multilingualism and linguistic-cultural mediation, in Germany, the Rütli school in **Berlin** has succeeded in transforming from a peripheral and segregated school into an educational centre of excellence. Among the main actions undertaken, the promotion of the languages of origin of the students, Turkish and Arabic in particular, is seen as an opportunity: they are valid languages for example, for "Arbitur", a required exam to enrol to university. To increase motivation, moreover, some disciplines are offered in students' L1s thanks to native language teachers. The initiative was a great success among parents who felt accepted and valued for their cultural and linguistic identity. The result is a more positive approach to school, where families with a migrant background can find their place more easily[44].

Intercultural education recognises a plurality of languages, cultures, and religions. In particular, the project Segni per Incontrarsi (Signs to Meet), promoted by the Department of Citizens' Rights of the Municipality of **Cremona**, promotes the enhancement of religious diversity in the context of the activities of the Intercultural Centre, in collaboration with the Interreligious Working Group. Several secondary schools in the city visited the main places of worship in the area and met representatives of religions in Cremona. They reflected on the reality of religious pluralism and the importance of dialogue between all religions, which share basic values such as brotherhood and peace among peoples. The result of the project was a blog that "maps" the different religious communities and tells their stories through the materials developed by the schools[45].

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parents-in-education/

[44] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/-/campus-rutli

[45] https://www.comune.cremona.it/node/471845. Proof of the attention and investment of the city of Cremona on this front is also the national seminar "S-cambiando s'impara. Scuola e pluralismo religioso", which reached its fourth edition in 2016, and related publications. See, F. Caruso and V. Ongini, *Scuola, migrazioni e pluralismo religioso*, Todi, Tau Editrice, 2017.

The recognition of the food dimension of religious and cultural pluralism in the school's public space is the central theme of A tavola con le religioni, led by the Fondazione Benvenuti in Italia in **Turin**, in collaboration with school canteens in 8 European cities (Bucharest, Paris, Tirana, Zaragoza) and Italian cities (Milan, Sesto Fiorentino, Turin, and Rome). The study examined the eating patterns and habits of families with different migration backgrounds, with the aim of evaluating the canteen service provided by educational institutions in terms of social inclusion/exclusion. Through events and dissemination initiatives, the project also highlighted how food, in its collective dimension, can actively contribute to socio-cultural integration, promoting communication, inclusion, and cohesion[46].

The German Rucksack KiTa programme, aimed at children between the ages of 3 and 6, parents and, kindergarten educators, promoted by the federal and municipal authorities of **North-Rhine Westphalia** (NRW), is a step in the direction of the school and social inclusion of families from an early age. The programme enhances multilingualism at school as an important educational resource from an intercultural perspective, a cultural citizenship project for all children and their families. Rucksack KiTa aims to respond to the needs of families to preserve, for their children, the links with the language and culture of origin, supporting and enhancing the parental role in the context of migration and promoting paths of promotion and socio-cultural inclusion. In particular, groups of parents meet weekly at the school attended by their children: accompanied by a tutor, they receive teaching materials in their own L1 (German, Turkish, Arabic, Albanian, Italian, Russian, English, Serbian, and Croatian) along with directions and suggestions on how to use them at home with their children. The meetings also become a space for information and sharing of problems related to the path of school and social integration. Particular attention

[46] M.C. Giorda, L. Bossi, and E. Messina (Eds.), A tavola con le religioni (nella ristorazione collettiva), Fondazione Benvenuti in Italia, 2014, https://www.olir.it/areetematiche/334/documents/report_ita_definitivo_2014.pdf.

is paid to the school context where the programme takes place: the tutor coordinates her intervention with the nursery school educators, so that the activities proposed at school, for learning German as L2, develop in parallel (at the level of themes and contents) with the work done at home, by the parents, for learning L1. Educators and teachers are committed to following moments of common planning, training courses, and deepening on the themes of intercultural education and multilingualism. This innovative method makes it possible to make the most of the languages of origin of the many language groups present at school and in the area, while at the same time developing skills in the second language for adults and children[47].

Finally, on the same territory of North-Rhine Westphalia, there is a network of teachers with a migrant background that was the first established on German territory in 2007, with a ministerial contribution, coordinated by municipal offices for integration and followed by seconded teachers. The network develops from the idea that these teachers can be mediators, ambassadors, and positive examples for pupils of immigrant origin, for the results achieved through their educational and social integration, despite their different cultural affiliations. The activities of the network include: orientation of students with immigrant background towards the teaching profession, emphasising the potential of this choice; accompaniment of these students during initial training, in order to create connections, exchange information, and offer the benefits of peer-to-peer learning, also raising awareness in the trainers of the importance of cultural diversity; training of in-service teaching staff, with refresher courses, thematic workshops, coaching, support in career development.

[47] http://www.kommunale-integrationszentren-nrw.de/. See, S. Cantù and A. Cuciniello (Eds), *Plurilinguismo. Sfida e risorsa educativa*, Milan, Fondazione Ismu, 2012. See also the case of multilingual language education in NRW in G. Extra and K Yagmur, *Urban Multilingualism in Europe. Immigrant Minority Languages at Home and School*, Multilingual Matters Ltd, 2004, pp. 93-99.

Interculturalism as a positive interaction between students from different backgrounds

The principle of positive interaction between culturally different people seems to be the least supported element within the intercultural projects of European countries. Also from the monitoring of MIPEX 2015, it emerges that, in many national contexts, schools are required to teach all students how to live and learn together in a differentiated society, without schools receiving ad hoc funding. The majority of European countries still tend to use traditional methods in teaching and interculturalism is not always considered mandatory in teacher training. In some particular contexts in Europe, interculturalism is taking shape within citizenship education programmes.

In this field, a special mention should be made of the experience of the city of **Barcelona**, which has reorganised its school and educational services through the Convivència i Mediació project, with the aim of promoting coexistence, respect, knowledge, and dialogue with others in an educational context strongly characterised by linguistic and cultural diversity. First of all, the project has established a group of referees and experts in the pedagogical field, considering the intercultural perspective as a fundamental element for the revision of the curriculum. Among the other qualifying elements of the project:

- intercultural teacher training, with a focus on the importance of learning about pupils' school paths in their countries of origin;
- recruiting teaching staff, including those of foreign origin, thus facilitating the recognition of qualifications taken abroad and selecting the most suitable teachers to work on integration projects;
- attention to the teaching of L2 and the maintenance of L1 in the perspective of multilingualism and reciprocity;
- attention to the local community by involving non-school actors, encouraging the creation of social networks capable of training active and aware citizens;

- strong activation of families in the educational process. The schools become open spaces for meetings and discussions, even during extracurricular hours and weekends, between parents, local organisations, and teachers; they promote training for parents (who can be active, for example, and join the parents' association) and spaces for creative and recreational activities[48].

The Förskolan Örnen (Eagle Primary School) project in **Alby**, on the outskirts of Stockholm, a suburb where about 82% of residents are not of Swedish origin and where all school pupils have immigrant backgrounds, aims to develop the intercultural competencies of small 5-year-old pupils. The project accompanies children in exploring the places of the city, promoting attitudes of openness and curiosity, with a democratic and intercultural spirit (inspired by the work of the Malaguzzi Centre of Reggio Emilia). The sense of space, in fact, is considered fundamental in the process of building the identity of children called to explore the surrounding area, to choose (and photograph) the most significant and interesting places for them, motivating their preferences. The project encourages the meeting between Alby's students and Swedish peers from the "good school" of the city centre who have followed a similar path, to discover that it is possible to find new ways of non-verbal communication, experimenting with intercultural skills valuable for their future life in a multi-ethnic world[49].

The proposal of the city of **Sumy**, Ukraine, to include intercultural education in the school curriculum also looks at scholastic well-being and the construction of a shared culture: the school is committed to working on conflict prevention and to teaching values such as respect for different cultures, tolerance, the enhancement of the personality and skills of each pupil. A series of courses have been introduced with which training credits are obtained, as for any other curriculum teaching, such

[48] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/-/co-existence-through-education
[49] https://www.coe.int/en/web/interculturalcities/-/forskolan-ornen

as "All the same, all different", "We are together under the same sky", "Me and us", "Tolerance and multiculturalism", "Respect those around you", "Good neighbours live in peace", and "The alphabet of tolerance"[50].

It seems interesting to take up here some of the ideas offered by the already mentioned intervention plan "The world is here" promoted by the Department of Education and Youth in **Reykjavik**, useful for the co-construction of a "third space" inhabited and redefined by different cultural universes that meet at school and outside of it. The aim of the city's diversity policies is for citizens to "experience diversity in culture and community", culture and community where knowledge and openness, equity and mutual respect characterise relationships, so that everyone can derive maximum benefit from diversity for the benefit of the community[51]. Key words of the city's policies are: involvement of families in school and leisure activities; building a climate of trust and collaboration, in the knowledge that in a multicultural society families have different structures and different needs; then flexibility and development of skills, primarily in educators and social workers, to communicate and cooperate "between" and "across" languages and cultures; finally, cooperative methods in teaching and organised leisure activities, which thus become the laboratory where to experience social skills and citizenship for children, teens, and families[52].

The same direction is taken by the city of **Turin**, with its recently published Guidelines for the Coordination of Policies for Interculturality and Participation (March 2018), which systematise the city's policies, proposing an "inclusive and intercultural vision (which) permeates all the activities" of the city, and in particular all the interventions of the Orientation, Adolescents and School Inclusion Service. The presence of these services

[50] http://18-sumy.com.ua; *Compilation of Good Practices from ICC Cities*, Intercultural Cities (Building the future on diversity) and Council of Europe, 2017, p. 74.

[51] https://reykjavik.is/en/multicultural-issues

[52] https://reykjavik.is/sites/default/files/ymis_skjol/skjol_utgefid_efni/fjolmenningarstefna_uppsett_enska_n.pdf

offers a greater continuity of actions aimed at the scholastic and social inclusion of students and families with immigrant backgrounds, promoting attendance and educational success in a climate of recognition and enhancement of all differences and diversities. Significant is the collaboration of schools in the area with the Intercultural Centre of the City, which, since 1996, carries out activities of "education and support to new generations with projects aimed at combating early school leaving, building significant educational relationships with adults and peers, aggregation and youth leadership"[53].

Finally, the Atlas pedagogico initiative, promoted by **Genoa** Municipality, is particularly significant, with possible medium-long term effects: it is an online catalogue that collects "intercultural education activities carried out in schools and outside schools". Educational practices are presented through descriptive cards and documented with texts and images. The theme of monitoring and documenting intercultural education practices is of fundamental importance, in order to guarantee the transferability and innovation of quality intercultural paths[54].

Conclusion

The excursus on the intercultural practices of European cities in terms of guaranteeing equal educational opportunities,

[53] See for instance the "Giovani al centro" (Youth at the Centre) experience, a proposal aimed at secondary school children in Turin, with after-school activities, aggregation, production of artistic and cultural events. http://www.interculturatorino.it/il-centro/giovani-al-centro-2016/

[54] http://www.atlantepedagogico.comune.genova.it/Intercultura/Default.aspx. In this regard, a one-of-a-kind project (though currently suspended) was that of the "Database of projects and initiatives of intercultural education" (BDEI) implemented in Lombardy. The BDEI (promoted by the ISMU Foundation and the Lombardy Region) was the only extensive Italian experience in monitoring and systematically analysing school design in the intercultural field, which gathered a database of about 2000 projects, also offering a model for the qualitative evaluation of the various projects. See, E. Colussi, *Repertorio di buone pratiche di educazione intercultura in Lombardia,* Milan, Fondazione ISMU, ORIM, 2010.

tolerance, and enhancement of cultural diversity, and positive interaction between people with different backgrounds in training contexts, has highlighted the plurality, heterogeneity, and complexity of the interventions that have aimed to develop this approach to "governance through diversity".

Undoubtedly, interculturalism is currently in many cases more an aspiration than a concrete reality. Among other things, this perspective has been severely tested by the economic crisis that has heavily affected Southern Europe, with a clear reduction in financial and human resources dedicated to foreign students and intercultural education[55]. This approach is even more questioned at a time of crisis in social ties and growing fears, when schools are being called upon above all for their role in preventing the radicalisation of the younger generations, in combating violent extremism and terrorism of a religious nature[56]. In Italy, too, early attention to interculturalism and the regulatory impetus of the 1990s seems to have been exhausted. The issue still remains that of the universalistic reception of all students, with a care towards inclusive, mixed, and positive learning environments, avoiding the rise of school ghettos, improving the training offer, learning processes, and the quality of inter-ethnic coexistence.

In conclusion, it can be said that the major challenge of the policies is still to keep together, through systemic and integrated approaches, the three dimensions previously analysed and that define the "canon" of the intercultural model: 1. guarantee of the right to education for all, especially for the newly arrived and the most disadvantaged (single minors, asylum seekers, etc.); 2. recognition of the linguistic and cultural resources of pupils with an immigrant background (and their families) as

[55] M. Colombo and M. Santagati, "Education in a crisis. Italy within Southern Europe: trends and the way forward", *Arxius de Ciències Socials*, no. 35, 2016, pp. 29-48.

[56] M.C. Giorda, M. Santagati, and A. Cuciniello, "Nuove generazioni e radicalismo violento. Stereotipi e antidoti", *Rassegna Italiana di Criminologia*, vol. XI, no. 4, 2017, pp. 227-235.

an opportunity for all students; 3. transformation of the training offer, curricula, staff training in an intercultural sense, with an investment also on the management of school relations, on conflict mediation, and on the strengthening of cooperation[57].

On the first point, good practices have taken into account the following areas (and therefore city policies need to include the following actions): facilitation of access to pre-school education; support in learning the second language for parents and children from a very early age; de-segregation and qualification measures for the educational offer of schools with a high percentage of immigrant pupils; guidance and accompaniment measures to support school choices and encourage the participation of foreign pupils in quality secondary education; support for study, measures to prevent and combat early school leaving, with the recovery of learning at school and in the extra-school (after-school or in other contexts attractive to young people), thanks to teachers, peers, or other educational figures from the same or different backgrounds; interventions to guarantee the right to study for particularly vulnerable people (minors on their own, etc.); support for the continuity of pathways in non-mandatory secondary education and in access/passage to tertiary education.

On the second point, the areas of intervention indicated by the intercultural practices of the cities are manifold, and concern: the recognition of linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity (with the transformation, for example, of school buildings with multilingual signs, objects and decorative elements from different cultural backgrounds, through school menus that respect different cultural/religious traditions, etc.); the enhancement of skills in the language of origin of minors and parents, the maintenance of the mother tongue as a resource for learning L2; the multilingual school (and extracurricular) offer; the interventions of linguistic-cultural mediation, also for

[57] On good learning outcomes, not separated from positive relationships at the school, see, M. Colombo and M. Santagati, *Nelle scuole plurali. Misure di integrazione degli alunni stranieri*, Milan, FrancoAngeli, 2014.

the facilitation of school-family relations, through the recognition of the diversity that they carry; the heterogeneity of the teaching staff, with the recruitment, training, and professional updating of teachers with immigrant backgrounds.

On the third point, the areas of action identified are related to: curriculum review activities; interventions aimed at improving the learning climate in a cooperative and participatory way; actions for conflict mediation and the improvement of inter-ethnic relations in educational and extracurricular contexts; intercultural training of the teaching staff; the opening of schools to the territory and collaboration with extracurricular organisations; the involvement of immigrant students and parents as leaders and initiators of projects, as well as their presence in representative school bodies.

Crucial, at all three levels, is the role of cities in providing support services to guarantee the right to education of all citizens, especially the most disadvantaged (family services, catering services, linguistic and cultural mediation, L2 courses, interventions for students at risk of dispersion, etc.), as well as offering services that can qualify the educational offer of schools in areas with a strong migration process, facilitating access to different levels of education and promoting the educational success of pupils with immigrant backgrounds. Cities are concerned with building a more balanced link between school and territory, ensuring better use of school facilities, avoiding imbalances and overcrowding, concentrations of immigrant students, of the same nationality or excessively disadvantaged, making schools peripheral or at risk of segregation attractive and inclusive.

Finally, the role of the local authority is undoubtedly crucial in fostering a synergistic development between educational policies and other immigration policies in the different local contexts. The challenge is to continue with a constant coordination and comparison between organisations and institutions that, in various ways, deal with school and training, not only to guide practical actions but also to monitor and evaluate results achieved (and limits) in the implementation of educational

policies in urban contexts, defining indicators, criteria and benchmarks, to understand where we stand in combating educational inequalities, recognition of cultural diversity, and the intercultural transformation of knowledge and relationships in educational contexts.

5. Labour Market Integration of Migrants and Cities: Policies Management, Good Practices and Recommendations

Iraklis Dimitriadis

Due to the recent sharp rise in migrants' inflows in the EU, policy-makers have focused on how to deal with the integration of an unprecedented number of migrants arriving mainly from conflict countries such as Syria, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Although most migrant inflows to Europe concern sea arrivals to Greece, Italy, and Spain, all EU Member States have been asked to contribute to the successful integration of migrants who have been relocated from the country of arrival to the European inland. Both national and local authorities are engaged in providing support to these populations; at first, by providing food and accommodation, then by facilitating their socio-economic integration.

According to the EU, "*integration should be understood as a two-way process based on mutual rights and corresponding obligations of legally resident third country nationals and the host society which provides for full participation of the immigrant*"[1]. Although migrants' integration may occur in a wide range of domains connected with social, economic, cultural, civic, and identity aspects, the focus here is on labour market integration and employment issues such as the ability of migrants to find jobs, become self-employed workers and finance themselves and their families, and contribute to the economic success of the receiving

[1] B. Gidley and J. Hiranthi, *An evidence base on migration and integration in London*, ESRC Centre on migration, policy and society, University of Oxford, 2010.

society[2]. As regards literature on socio-economic integration, it pays particular attention to the role of the institutions and the interplay between opportunities and barriers, without underestimating the dynamic connection between labour market integration and other forms of economic integration such as housing, healthcare, and education[3].

Barriers for migrants typically include limited or no language competences, difficulties in recognition of qualifications acquired in a third country, lack of social networks and acquaintances capable of circulating information about job opportunities and labour market rules, and poor familiarity with local business and workplace rules[4]. Such challenges are exacerbated for non-EU born migrants who face further obstacles connected with their status, thus being exposed to a higher risk of poverty and social exclusion[5]. In an effort to overcome such constraints and find employment opportunities, migrants tend to concentrate in urban areas[6]. This means labour market integration is addressed mainly at the city level.

Local authorities, as part of the multi-level governance framework for labour market integration of migrants, are responsible for implementing integration activities, and sometimes for designing integration policies. Their involvement depends on the extent to which national governments are willing to retain control over integration policies or devolve responsibilities to lower

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[2] K.F. Zimmermann, *Refugee and Migrant Labor Market Integration: Europe in Need of a New Policy Agenda,* Princeton University and UNU-MERIT, 2016.

[3] S. Spencer, M. Ruhs, B. Anderson, and B. Rogaly, *The Experiences of Central and East European Migrants in the UK*, York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, 2007.

[4] K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant, *Improving the Labour Market Integration of Migrants and Refugees: Empowering Cities through Better Use of EU Instruments*, Migration Policy Institute Europe, 2017.

[5] B. Gidley and J. Hiranthi (2010).

[6] M. Brezzi et al., *Determinants of localisation of recent immigrants across OECD regions*, OECD Workshop on Migration and Regional Development, 7 June 2010, Paris, OECD; J.M. Bak, "The Diverging Logics of Integration Policy Making at National and City Level", *International Migration Review*, vol. 46, no. 1, 2012, pp. 244-278.

levels of governance. However, even though local governments are on the frontlines of labour market integration due to the concentration of migrants in cities, and have to coordinate integration policy activities among different levels of governance, they may be ill-equipped to do so.

In particular, local authorities have to address constraints such as funding cuts by higher levels of government. Under-financing limits cities' ability to integrate migrants, and their efforts to help newcomers and settled migrants may have little impact. Problematic integration is also connected to gaps of integration priorities at different levels of governance when local governors' and national policymakers' views on how to integrate migrants diverge. In addition, cities often have little experience in evaluating integration programmes, and thus setting priorities in the integration policies. Under these circumstances, integration becomes even trickier, as cities have to answer to increasing social tensions between newcomers and native-born populations[7].

In the light of these considerations, this chapter discusses how and to what extent cities can manage labour market integration of migrants. In doing so, it sheds light on the interaction between cities and the national and EU governance of migration, and highlights the challenges that local authorities face in managing integration. Then, policies at the city level are illustrated by good practices from various European cities based upon successful case studies, as well as on innovative, not-yet-evaluated initiatives. The chapter also provides some recommendations that can guide policy actions at the local level.

Multi-level governance and implementation of labour market integration

Labour market integration of migrants has been part of debates on the governance and the implementation of integration

[7] OECD, *Working Together for Local Integration of Migrants and Refugees*, Paris, OECD Publishing, 2018.

policies in Europe. Widespread agreement exists on the understanding of the involvement of various social actors (national, regional and local governments, the private sector, civil society) as a crucial element for immigrant integration. However, there is disagreement on the level at which integration policies should be created (national *vs* local governance), as well as on the role of sub-national (regional/local authorities) and non-state actors (i.e. NGOs, private sector) in implementing integration measures (proactive or with little leeway to adapt centrally designed policies)[8].

Political and social sciences literature often distinguish two types of multi-level governance: the vertical and the horizontal[9]. According to the vertical type of governance of policies for immigrant integration, national governments set goals, create policies, adopt measures and define the ways in which immigrant integration has to be implemented by regional or local authorities. This type of governance minimises the set of jurisdictions that have to be coordinated, and contributes to the convergence of policies, since cooperation between the various actors is based on a pyramidal structure; local authorities have to implement policies formulated at a higher hierarchical level, having little space to adapt them. On the other hand, the horizontal type of multi-level governance provides interaction between both state actors at any level and state actors and non-state actors (bottom-up approach). According to this form of governance, national governments devolve tasks to local authorities that in turn may assign part of them to other state and non-state actors. Policy-making and implementation of integration policies is the result of cooperation across actors, who undertake various responsibilities, as argued below. Horizontal

[8] R. Careja, "Making good citizens: local authorities' integration measures navigate national policies and local realities", *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 2018, DOI: 10.1080/1369183X.2018.1441613

[9] G. Marks and L. Hooghe, "Unravelling the Central State, But How? Types of Multi-level Governance", *American Political Science Review*, vol. 97, no. 2, 2003, pp. 233-243.

governance is characterised as flexible, since it takes into consideration the changing needs of societies. This type may lead to more divergent policies across levels, and may entail that integration policies are framed in a particular local way.

The importance of bottom-up approaches in integration governance

In the face of the unprecedented massive arrivals of migrants in Europe, there is a greater agreement that bottom-up approaches on governance of integration can manage migration effectively[10]. The places where migrants arrive have different characteristics, and the resources at cities' disposal differ too, thus adding to the necessity of adopting a place-based approach that relates to integration measures. In addition, migrants are usually identified with the city and not at a national level, since their daily life (job, activities with children and socialisation) takes place where they live[11]. On the other side of the coin, national governments may face difficulties in developing responses to migrants' needs, as they lack knowledge about issues at the local level, and thus fail to develop practices favouring trust and participation of migrant citizens; elements that contribute to successful integration results.

Cities proved to be entrepreneurial and dynamic in dealing with labour market integration of immigrants. In many cases, they develop tailored policies and measures to meet the growing complexities of labour market integration. Adaptation of integration programmes to territorial realities falls in line with mainstreaming of migrant integration[12], that is such policies

[10] K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant (2017); M. Ambrosini, "We are against a multi-ethnic society': policies of exclusion at the urban level in Italy", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, vol. 36, no. 1, 2012, pp. 136-155, DOI: 10.1080/01419870.2011.644312

[11] P. Scholten and R. Penninx, "The Multilevel Governance of Migration and Integration", in B. Garcés-Mascareñas and R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration Processes and Policies in Europe*, London, SpringerOpen, 2016, pp. 91-108.

[12] B. Garcés-Mascareñas and R. Penninx (Eds.), *Integration Processes and Policies in*

apply to the whole population, and migration is considered a part of all public service policies (labour market, education, health, housing). In this context, cities have been able to adapt policies designed by higher levels of governance to various extents, reflecting the kind of migration governance in the specific country, the experience each city has in dealing with migration issues, and the priority each city attributes to integration. Numerous examples of actions that demonstrate cities' capacity to adapt policies for migrant integration include:

- Circumvent requirements imposed by national legislators on migrants eligible to participate in integration programmes;
- Shorten lengthy processes and waiting periods for migrants to access the labour market;
- Offer vocational and language training to participants in specific occupations to respond to the needs of local societies, local businesses and migrants;
- Diversify sources of funding (co-financing schemes across different levels of government and partner municipalities, fundraising campaigns);
- Help specific categories find employment (young people, vulnerable groups from disadvantaged neighbourhoods, those who receive social assistance, long-term unemployed);
- Avoid measures allowing different treatment of clients based on nationality or ethnicity;
- Develop policies to attract high-skilled migrants.

The interaction between cities and EU institutions

Cities' involvement in policy-making and implementation of integration does not just entail interaction with national governments, but also with EU institutions. In general, though EU jurisdictions in designing migration policies have been

Europe, London, SpringerOpen, 2016.

increasing[13], it can be said that in the migration integration area the power of EU institutions is more limited. This is also reflected in the extent to which EU institutions and local governments interact in immigrant integration areas, in the sense that this form of vertical relation passes largely through national governments[14]. However, a series of documents published by EU institutions[15] have called for support to cities and local governments by the EU, and have highlighted the significant role of local actors in designing and implementing integration policies.

In particular, EU institutions favour the involvement of local actors in immigrant integration in three ways: (1) by publishing policy documents (with no mandatory authority – soft law); (2) through funding schemes; (3) by supporting the creation of knowledge exchange mechanisms[16]. First, EU welcomes and prompts local authorities' involvement in the design and application of measures aiming at immigrants' integration in the labour market through Communications and reports. At the practical level, EU policy documents help local governments, public officers and civil society actors engaged in immigrant integration promote initiatives and implement adequate measures. This may include programmes to assess the skills and the qualifications of migrants, tools providing language instruction and professional formation, or plans to encourage migrant entrepreneurship.

Second, the EU promotes various funding schemes for labour market integration of immigrants. The most important of them are the Asylum, Migration and Integration Fund (AMIF) and

[13] See for instance *Common European Asylum System* and *Family Reunification Directive*.
[14] For instance, cities can access EU funding largely after national state approval.
[15] See for instance *Common Basic Principles for Immigrant Integration Policy in the EU*, Brussels, 19 November 2004; European Commission, *European Agenda for the Integration of Third-Country Nationals*, Brussels, SEC(2011) 957 final, 20 July 2011; and European Commission, *Action Plan on the integration of third country nationals*, Brussels, COM(2016) 377 final, 7 June 2016.
[16] P. Scholten and R. Penninx (2016); K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant (2017).

the European Social Fund (ESF), whereas further funding derives from the Employment and Social Innovation programme and other European Structural and Investment Funds[17]. The aim of these funding schemes was initially to promote the exchange of knowledge and experiences among national governments. Gradually, they provided various tools that enhance labour market integration that could be used by local authorities too. Nowadays, for instance, cities may apply for funding to promote activities such as language instruction, labour market orientation, professional training, to support job mobility or to enable entrepreneurship through loans to migrants. Funding of local actors' initiatives depends on national governments' jurisdictions, because funds derived from EU funding schemes are allocated by central state governments. The only financial instrument that can be reached directly by the cities is the Employment and Social Innovation Programme (EaSI), but its application can be difficult due to local actors' inexperience in allocating resources, or lack of clarity about how to use them.

The third means through which the EU promotes the involvement of cities and local actors is the forums or networks in which individual and collective actors from various government levels meet. With regard to labour market integration, these networks serve to identify and disseminate best practices, and exchange information and challenges that cities face. These networks aim to manage the integration of migrants and refugees; to share best practices on integration and draw attention to cities' role in labour market integration; to encourage initiatives for migrant entrepreneurs; to evaluate integration policies. Not only do network members share knowledge during the meetings, but new databases and original research serve to disseminate best practices. Some of these networks supported by the EU and other forums at the international level are:

[17] See for instance Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived (FEAD); European and Regional Development Fund (ERDF); European Agricultural Fund for Rural Development (EAFRD); European Maritime and Fisheries (EMFF).

- The Partnership on Inclusion of Migrants and Refugees (within the Urban Agenda for the EU)
- EUROCITIES (Migration and Integration working group)
- CLIP (Cities for Local Integration Policy Network))
- Integrating Cities
- Intercultural Cities
- The European Coalition of Cities against Racism
- DELI (Diversity in the Economy and Local Integration)
- The SHARE Network
- The Global Mayoral Forum
- URBACT (Network of Arrival Cities)
- The Mediterranean City-to-City Migration Project
- The Champion Mayors for Inclusive Growth

Challenges in the governance of labour market integration at the local level

As already stated, the development and implementation of immigrant integration policies at the city level bring challenges that local governments have to deal with. First, cities face difficulties in integrating immigrants into the labour market due to lack of funding. Cities may implement integration activities and develop innovative approaches through their own annual budgets or using funds derived from higher levels of government such as central government and EU schemes. However, in many countries, national governments have cut funds intended for integration due to the 2008 crisis. Reacting to this lack of resources, local governments may access funding through EU schemes, but lengthy bureaucratic procedures on the one hand, and national governments' jurisdiction to allocate funds according to the design of integration at the national level, on the other hand, constrain cities' ability to access EU funding[18].

[18] For instance, cities that approach integration policy differently from higher governance levels and set misaligned priorities for labour market integration with national governments (i.e. when cities tailor integration frameworks to local needs or set up innovative projects designed at the local level) may encounter

Cities are confronted with a second significant challenge that is linked to their limited capacity to evaluate the results of integration programmes. Continuous evaluation of initiatives is constrained by the lack of financial resources and expertise of local actors. This involves barriers in prioritising needs of cities and migrants, and results in the problematic tailoring of integration programmes. Establishing one's own evaluation processes enhance cities' capacity in this respect, although it cannot be straightforward for cities with little experience in integrating migrants or those dealing with big numbers of service recipients.

Third, coordination between local authorities and other levels of governance, as well as with civil society actors, constitutes an important challenge for labour market integration of immigrants. Lack of coordination between local authorities and public employment services or national labour market authorities may result in increased costs for integration activities, when for instance migrant skills and qualifications are assessed more than once. Coordination also is required between local governments and civil society actors such as NGOs representatives or employers. Inefficient collaboration between these parts may limit the success and sustainability of integration activities.

Taking into account the multi-dimensional nature of labour market integration policies and that central governments often devolve integration responsibilities to local actors, some cities have been able to manage effectively immigrant integration and put forward innovative practices that contributed with good labour market integration results. The next section presents some of the existing good practices for managing labour market integration at the city level.

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constraints in accessing funding.

Good practices and innovative approaches for managing labour market integration at the city level

Labour market integration of refugees and migrants is a crucial component of their socio-economic integration in the new society and contributes to promoting broader social inclusion. Cities are at the forefront of efforts to support migrants to enter labour markets, and have developed a wide range of good practices that, if replicated, could have a significant impact in other cities. This section is divided into two parts, taking stock of numerous examples of immigrant labour market integration in European cities. By focusing on successful practices, the first part aims to underscore the importance of the cooperation between cities and public and private sector actors, and to emphasise the significant contribution of every single actor involved. For this reason, every single good practice aims to centre on one specific actor, while stressing the importance of the collaboration between all engaged actors. The second part identifies successful activities or promising innovative approaches to integration and concentrates on specific instruments that can improve migrants' prospects to access labour markets. It also calls for attention to migrant entrepreneurship that can be an alternative option to dependent employment.

The importance of involving various actors to foster immigrant labour market integration

Employment-related institutions

A number of good practices for immigrant labour market integration have been developed during the last years at the local level by engaging various institutions such as employment centres, public employment services, chambers of labour, chambers of commerce and vocational centres. These actors have provided a wide range of services to migrants who often rely on informal

networks to find a job in local labour markets. However, immigrants without established networks with people able to link them to the labour market fail to find employment, whereas many times knowledge about the rules and norms of the market is limited. This is precisely the reason for which employment-related institutions have to undertake a significant role to foster migrant integration. Not only public employment agencies though, but also privates companies can contribute to integration. The involvement of private actors is crucial since they possess professionals with expertise in skills assessment, matching between offer and demand sides, and counselling on the labour market. Good examples are identified **Stuttgart**[19] and in **Amsterdam**[20].

Employment agencies in Stuttgart

The Stuttgart job centre and the local employment agency in partnership with Daimler (German automotive corporation) developed a programme aiming to create internships for some 300 refugees and migrants. Until the end of 2015, 40 participants got work experience in technical functions at Daimler. By engaging also temporary employment agencies, the partners achieved to ensure continuity of migrant employment after the end of the internships within the industry or in relevant trades. The programme last 14 weeks and the costs of the first six weeks is covered by the two employment centres, which organised also the selection of participants.

[19] Daimler, "Internship at Daimler builds bridge into German job market for refugees", accessed 10 May 2018.

[20] Ivi, p. 157.

Manpower in Amsterdam

The municipality of Amsterdam stipulated a contract with the private employment agency Manpower to assess better the skills of migrants and have a better image of their aspirations. Using its particular expertise in assessing workers' skills, Manpower contact refugees and asylum seekers while still living in refugee centre, and creates a database which information is available to local entrepreneurs.

Employers

Design of good policies for the labour market integration presupposes that employers are willing to offer job opportunities to migrants. However, private companies often face difficulties in hiring migrants due to unfamiliarity with the process (mainly when employers have to apply for migrants' work/residence permits), inexperience in assessing clients' skills and worries about language or cultural barriers[21]. To overcome such barriers, cities can incentivise employers to employ migrants or offer them training or apprentice programmes by assisting companies in the selection process. Municipalities may target both big companies and small and medium-sized enterprises. A series of good practices show that engage business to foster migrant integration can bring very good results; small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) make part of the ARRIVO[22] project in **Berlin** that is recognised as a good practice. In **Oslo**, the Boost Refugee project[23] encourages innovation within local employers.

[21] K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant (2017), p. 11.

[22] Ibid.; OECD (2018).

[23] SoCentral, "Creating new solutions to societal challenges", accessed 3 May 2018, https://socentral.no/english/

ARRIVO Project in Berlin

In 2014, the local authorities of Berlin and the local Chamber of Skilled Trades implemented the ARRIVO project to improve refugees' prospects of employment and fill labour shortages in local craft businesses. The project trains people in skills through vocational programmes and workshops, providing also to them information on labour issues, and organising language classes. In partnership with local authorities, small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) had a significant contribution to the successfully integrating migrants as they employed 95 participants of the ARRIVO project who had enrolled in sections of craft trades and completed a training period of 3 to 6 months. The success of ARRIVO in crafts section encouraged projectors and SMEs who expanded the initiative also to other sectors such as hospitality, health and social care, and construction: by the beginning of 2017 they had already trained more than 900 refugees overall. ARRIVO project's good results led larger companies of the German labour market such as Bayer Healthcare, Siemens and Daimler to contemplating the design and implementation of similar activities.

Boost Refugee in Oslo

From September 2016, the Oslo Municipality is leading a partnership to improve labour market integration in Oslo. This partnership includes the Nordic Social Innovation Incubator (SoCentral) and the Lundin Foundation (a Canadian non-profit organisation). They designed an incubator program, the "Boost Refugee project" that aspires to contribute to refugee integration by helping local entrepreneurs to develop business plans aiming to getting employment to refugees. A specialised jury selected five projects that started to develop and implement their ideas on how to improve refugee access to the labour market. Various ideas have been implemented to achieve the common goal:

- Organize specialised job fairs aiming at connecting local community leaders and employers with refugees (Give a Job project;
- Create a platform that uses peer-to-peer technology where refugees can interact both with employers and among themselves in order to find a job or to learn new skills (Social Innovation / Kobler project);
- Establish a model of set up hair salons and water pipe wagons that will be run by refugees. Some refugees have already been hired through successful testing of the models at local festivals (WIDE-INK project);
- Provide training in sewing course for refugees willing to be employed in the textile and fashion industry (Possibilities project);
- Provide training in food industry for unaccompanied male refugees and asylum seekers. Young participants make and sell ice cream sandwiches. Another goal is to create a franchising model that can be developed in other cities (International Sandwich Brothers project).

This project is considered as an innovative partnership as it brings together the public sector, business community and a NGO. It supports new entrepreneurial ideas that can be sustainable solutions to immigrant unemployment. Partners also focus on influencing public opinion and policy orientation by making the whole initiative as visible as possible.

Social enterprises

Another important actor to promote immigrant integration, and especially that of youth immigrants and women, is social economy organisations. Such organisations are supposed to foster social inclusion and make a very substantial contribution to vulnerable population integration[24]. In particular, social enterprises aim to provide employment opportunities and training for people who face difficulties in accessing the labour market. In addition, social enterprises may contribute to cities' efforts for integration, since they often operate at the local level and face social challenges for local economies[25]. Hence, helping to set up new social enterprises or engaging immigrant in already existed social economy organisations are good examples that enhance immigrants' opportunities within the labour market. Two good practices were developed by two social enterprises in **Riga**[26] and **London**[27].

Humusa Komanda in Riga

Set up by two Latvian entrepreneurs in Riga, Humusa Komanda (The Hummus Team) is a social enterprise that aimed to offer job opportunities to refugees from the Middle East. This economic activity is a small-scale food production business that cooks and sells authentic Middle Eastern dishes. Its products are sold at open markets of the city, as well as to private clients. Not only does this initiative aim to create employment for refugees, but it brings local people and refugees closer as an effort to counter racism in the city.

[24] OECD (2018), p. 162.

[25] L.A. Swanson and D.D. Zhang, "Social Entrepreneurship", in T. Burger-Helmchen (Ed.), *Entrepreneurship. Gender, Geographies and Social Context* ed., IntechOpen, 2012.

[26] European Parliament, *Labour Market Integration of Refugees: European Networks and Platforms*, Employment and Social Affairs, Briefing, 2017.

[27] Bread & Roses, *Helping Refugee Women to Flourish through employment*., accessed 9 May 2018. http://www.wearebreadandroses.com/; *The Guardian*, "Hiring refugees: 'we have an amazing wealth of talent on our hands'", 11 August 2017. Accessed 8 May 2018.

Bread & Roses in London

Bread & Roses is a social enterprise that offers employment opportunities to refugee women. It aims to train refugee women in floristry with a view to helping them find permanent jobs. The programme lasts at least six weeks and train women to arrange jam jars of flowers and create cultivated bouquets and posies that are sold to organisations and individuals. At the same time, Bread & Roses provides them with the space to learn English and build their confidence.

Non-profit organisations

Municipalities are often faced with lack of human resources to deal with immigrant access to the labour market. In order to address challenges more efficiently, cities more and more include actors from non-profit organisations in projects of immigrant labour market integration. Such actors may help migrants who are disconnected from employment opportunities channel into jobs; NGOs can come closer to migrants who cannot be reached out by municipalities. One good example of how collaboration with NGOs may contribute to immigrant integration is identified in **Vantaa**[28], Finland.

[28] Arrival Cities Network, *Integration of migrants into the labour market*, Workshop Report, Vantaa, 24-27 January 2017.

Coaching for Integration Project in Vantaa

The city of Vantaa and the Uusimaa Employment and Economic Development Department collaborated closely with the NGO Hakunila International Organisation to offer local migrants advice and support for job seeking, to get information about migrant communities profiles, and to register the needs and challenges of local residents. The Coaching for Integration project was financed by the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Employment, the City of Vantaa, and the Employment Office. From April 2015 to December 2016, two officers from the municipality of Vantaa were relocated from their offices to the premises of the NGO in order to transfer knowledge and skills to the NGO staff. The innovation of the project consists in the fact that services were relocated to a more accessible place to migrants who were already in contact with the specific NGO. Furthermore, the collaboration between municipality officers and the staff of the Hakunila International Organisation resulted in better understandings of the context and service recipients' needs and profile; clients who have been probably excluded in the past from training and counselling provided through this project. However, two challenges for the project were the lack of direct collaboration with employers and how to expand the service beyond the clientele of that NGO.

Instruments to promote labour market integration

Validation of professional qualifications and diplomas recognition

One of the thorniest areas when dealing with labour market integration is the validation of qualifications and professional skills. This constitutes one of the initial steps toward getting migrant started on accessing labour markets. Diploma recognition procedures and skills assessment are often under the responsibility of national governments, but cities may assist migrants in understanding how to obtain validation of their titles[29]. In doing so, municipalities can collaborate with educational institutions and employer associations to develop systems for the validation of qualifications and support migrants in collecting the necessary documents. The municipality of **Helsinki**[30] and four German cities[31] developed good practices for the recognition of migrants' qualifications and experience.

[29] Ivi, p. 162; K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant (2017), p. 10.

[30] Metropolia University of Applied Sciences, "Recognition of competences for highly educated immigrants at Metropolia to be integrated into work-based projects", 29 September 2016, accessed 12 May 2018; Metropolia University of Applied Sciences, "SIMHE - Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education in Finland", accessed 12 May 2018.

[31] German Federal Institute for Vocational and Professional Education (BIBB), "Recognition of Professional Qualifications By Way of Qualification Analysis", accessed 8 May 2018.

SIMHE services (Supporting Immigrants in Higher Education) in Helsinki

Since 2016, the municipality of Helsinki has partnered with the Metropolia University of Applied Sciences in Helsinki and the private company Luona (responsible for reception centres management in Finland) to create a programme that maps the competences of asylums seekers and immigrants in the field of technology. The programme is funded by the Ministry of Education and Culture and, by the end of 2016, had reached around 200 migrants. The recognition of qualifications starts with comparing the client's diploma and prior work experience with other case studies from Metropolia's coursework. After the first step of evaluation, experts discuss with migrants (in English, Finnish or Arabic language) to identify their skills and competences. Clients may be asked to demonstrate their competences acquired in the past, but they are also encouraged to learn how to express their skills through self-evaluation. The programme offers also counselling services, as well as the opportunity to network with Metropolia students and staff.

Prototyping Transfer project in German cities

The Institute for Vocational and Professional Education (BIBB) engaged the Chamber of Crafts of Hamburg and Mannheim, the Chamber of Industry and Commerce of Cologne and Munich, the IHK FOSA (Foreign Skills Approval), and the WHKT – West German Chambers of Crafts and Skilled Trades' Council in a programme that recognises the professional qualifications of migrants who miss proof of their competences. Funding came from the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the project has been implemented from 2015 to 2017. In the event of missing written proof, migrants were asked to provide evidence of their skills and capabilities through the method of the so-called qualification analysis, that includes professional interviews and presentations.

Counselling - Mentoring

Migrants with little or no knowledge and information on labour market rules, and those who do not possess social networks, lag behind in finding employment in the new society. One instrument that may help migrants overcome such hurdles is counselling[32]. Counsellors support migrants in looking for employment opportunities and offer guidance on how to navigate labour markets. They also provide access to social networks for those lacking contacts, or advise them about the educational or training programmes suitable for each individual. The Volkshochschulen (VHS) institution[33] for adult education in Berlin plays an important role in migrants' employment orientation services during their job searches.

Educational counselling for refugees (MoBiBe) project in Berlin

Since October 2015, MoBiBe counsellors provide permanent counselling services to migrants and refugees in Berlin. For newcomers, counselling take place in the reception centres, and afterwards interested migrants may arrange an individual counselling meeting at the premises of MoBiBe. Counselling concern German language courses, vocational and academic education, additional qualifications, and recognition of degrees and certificates, job search and application writing/strategies, work opportunities and internships. Counselling services are offered in many languages and are free of charge.

Vocational and Language training

Vocational and language training increase migrants' employability and prospects for accessing labour markets. Although there have been several examples of training initiatives at the

[32] K. Hooper, M.V. Desiderio, and B. Salant (2017), p. 10.

[33] MoBiBe - Mobile Education Counselling, Welcome to Mobile Educational Counseling for Refugees, accessed 11 May 2018, http://www.pib-berlin.com/mobibe/en/; OECD (2018), p. 161.

city-level throughout this chapter, the following practice[34] suggests that establishment of contacts between migrants and cities prior to the arrival of the former contributes to improving outcomes of labour market integration. The Internship and Training Programme for Women in **Val-de-Marne**[35] is also a good example of how to bridge gender divides.

Internship and Training Programme for Women in Val de Marne

Since 1989, the Municipal Office for Migrants (Office Municipal des Migrants) launched a programme that aims to facilitate access to employment through vocational and language training. The programme is funded by the national government, the employment centre, and the municipality of Val-de-Marne and provides training for almost eight months to immigrant women without professional experience. Migrant women have the opportunity to apply to enrol in the programme before moving to Val-de-Marne, but have to demonstrate availability and motivations for training and finding employment. The programme offers French courses and training in different areas according to each participant's orientation: mathematics, ITC, communication, entrepreneurship. More than half of the participants found employment thanks to the training course in 2015.

Services for future migrant entrepreneurs

Last but not least, particular attention should be paid to migrant entrepreneurship. Beyond those migrants who opt to start up a business or become self-employed workers, entrepreneurship can be an alternative option for those who lack professional and linguistic skills and social networks to find employment as dependent workers in the local labour market. Cities can help migrants unfamiliar with the legal framework to start up a company and secure funding. The Refugee LaunchPad programme[36] in Utrecht

[34] European Parliament (2017).

[35] Arrival Cities Network (2017).

[36] The Urban Lab of Europe, "Identify and test innovative solutions for sustainable urban development", accessed 10 may 2018. http://www.uia-initiative.eu/

and the "Mentoring for Migrants" programme[37] in **Vienna** are two good examples of how to develop services for migrants interested in setting up an entrepreneurial activity.

"Mentoring for Migrants" a Vienna

Since 2008, the city of Vienna partnered with the Federal Economic Chamber (WKO), the Austrian Integration Fund (ÖIF), and the Labour Market Service (AMS) to pilot a programme of counselling for migrants interested in the possibility of setting up a business. The programme lasts six months, and participants have the possibility to be assisted in developing a business plan, to access professional networks, and to get advices about the sector in which they aim to invest and how to secure funding. Migrants can also be accompanied by experts to meet the business community, and get ideas and advices about their entrepreneurial plans.

Refugee Launchpad in Utrecht

The Utrecht Refugee Launchpad programme develops free entrepreneurship courses in the context of an initiative adopting an inclusive approach to facilitate the integration of asylum seekers in the city. The scheme is funded by the EU (ERDF) Urban Innovative Actions (UIA) programme and is run by the Utrecht City Council and other partners, such as the Utrecht University's School of Economics and the Centre for Entrepreneurship. The project starts at the asylum centre and offers specialised training courses for entrepreneurs, as well as language courses and counselling about the cultural and regulatory environment.

en; OECD (2018), p. 162.

[37] Osterreichischer Integrations Fonds, "Mentoring for migrants", accessed 2 May 2018.

6. The Role of Cities in the Integration of Migrants: Facilitating Access to HealthCare for All

Alyna C. Smith

Health and social inclusion

The European Union's 2016 action plan on the integration of migrants recognises that "human mobility, in varying degrees and for a variety of different reasons, will be an inherent feature of the 21st century for Europe as well as globally"[1]. It also affirms the relationship between social inclusion and the well-being, prosperity, and cohesion of European societies:

> In times when discrimination, prejudice, racism and xenophobia are rising, there are legal, moral and economic imperatives to upholding the EU's fundamental rights, values and freedoms and continuing to work for a more cohesive society overall. The successful integration of third-country nationals is a matter of common interest to all Member States[2].

As part of this plan, the EU has launched a European Network on Integration and Partnerships under the Urban Agenda for the EU, to offer a framework for cities to exchange experiences and best practices on the urban dimension of diversity and migration. These initiatives offer great promise, particularly if they strive for holistic approaches that address the

[1] European Commission, *Action Plan on the integration of third country nationals*, Brussels, COM(2016) 377 final, 7 June 2016.

[2] Ibid.

needs of communities, without discrimination, including based on residence status – despite the explicitly narrow focus of the EU's integration agenda to people who are regularly-residing[3].

City-level officials are often well aware that residence status can be a complex matter, and that many people, even those who are regularly residing, may have precarious status and thus precarious access to social rights. Targeting integration efforts to narrow, and arbitrarily defined, categories of individuals undercuts efforts to achieve the goals of social inclusion, and tends to leave out people facing the highest levels of discrimination, marginalisation and exclusion.

Undocumented migrants and exclusion from services

Indeed, residence status is consistently cited as one of the most significant factors determining access to affordable and adequate health services for migrants in a country[4]. The linking of social rights to residence status means that people with precarious status tend to live in precarious living conditions, which has significant consequences for the health of individuals, and the wellbeing of their families and communities. There is growing evidence that precarious residence status is itself a risk factor for poor mental health, and that more secure status can have a positive impact on mental health and wellbeing[5].

[3] The EU's integration strategy is grounded in a principle of exclusion: it draws a strict line between regularly- and irregularly-residing migrants, and sees integration as a project limited the for the former. Similarly, the European Pillar of Social Rights, a commitment from the EU's highest political levels to a delivering on equal opportunities and access to labour markets, fair working conditions, social protection and inclusion, explicitly leaves out people without regular status. European Commission, Priority Policy Area: European Pillar of Social Rights.

[4] A. Hannigan et al., "How do variations in the definitions of 'migrant' and their application influence the access of migrants to health care services?", Health Evidence Network Synthesis Report, no. 46, Copenhagen, WHO Regional Office for Europe; 2016.

[5] R.G. Gonzales, et al., "Analysis: DACA boosts Young immigrants' well-being,

At the far end of the spectrum, in terms of secure status, are undocumented migrants. Someone who is undocumented[6] does not have a valid permit to stay in the country in which they live. Often, people become undocumented because they no longer meet one or more of the conditions of their visa[7], or being born to undocumented parents, among others. In most countries in the European Union, crossing the border irregularly or residing without papers is not a criminal offence[8]. People living in the EU irregularly often have extremely limited rights to social protection and healthcare in most EU countries[9]. Some member states have tried to deter certain forms of migration by limiting access to basic services[10]. In those countries where there is some entitlement to healthcare, the real or perceived absence of a firewall between the provision of health services and

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mental Health", *NBC*, 15 June 2017.

[6] Throughout this brief, we refer to people who are without a valid residence permit "undocumented" (or, alternatively, as having "irregular" status), and not "illegal". The term "illegal" is discriminatory and implies criminality. A person can never be "illegal". Migration is not a crime. "Illegality" as a status is only applied to migrants and used to deny them their rights. It also has a real impact on policy and public perception. Inaccurate language leads society to accept that people should be prosecuted and punished. See PICUM Terminology Leaflet, available at http://picum.org/en/resources/picum-terminology-leaflet/

[7] Reasons might include job loss, administrative delays in processing an immigration application, expired documents, separation from a spouse, a failed asylum claim, being convicted of certain offenses.

[8] EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Criminalisation of Migrants in an Irregular Situation and of Persons Engaging with Them*, 2014.

[9] In five EU member states, someone who is undocumented is only entitled to emergency care, and of the ten member states that provide some degree of primary or secondary care to people without proper status, in only eight does this include access free of charge. Just nine member states guarantee children the right to full care, regardless of status. *See*, e.g., PICUM, *The Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights of Undocumented Migrants: Narrowing the Gap Between their Rights and the Reality in the EU*, 2016, pp. 21-22.

[10] D. Ingleby and R. Petrova-Benedist, *Recommendations on Access to Health Services for Migrants in an Irregular Situation: An Expert Consensus*, Brussels, International Organization for Migration (IOM), Regional Office Brussels, Migration Health Division, 2016.

the enforcement of immigration law significantly undermines patients' trust in the health systems, deters and significantly delays health-seeking behaviour[11].

EU nationals residing in another member state can face similar hardships. Under Union law[12], EU citizens must be treated equally with nationals after three months of residence. However, their right to reside in another EU country is tied to their level of economic self-sufficiency, so that economically inactive or destitute EU citizens may lose their right to reside after three months, and thus their right to social benefits, including healthcare coverage. Their eligibility for benefits must be demonstrated based on a high degree of social integration, determined on a case-by-case basis, and benefits may be limited in scope or duration (e.g., jobseeker's allowance received in another EU member state is limited to three-month maximum)[13][14].

The right to health is a universal right that is not dependent on any kind of status. It is established in numerous international and regional human rights treaties, and in many national constitutions, as a universal right guaranteed to all[15].

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[11] *See* R. Feldman, *The Impact on Health Inequalities of Charging Migrant Women for NHS Maternity Care: A Scoping Study*, Maternity Action, March 2017.

[12] Directive 2004/38/CE.

[13] E.-M. Poptcheva, *Freedom of movement and residence of EU citizens: Access to social benefits*, European Parliament Research Service, 10 June 2014,

[14] Healthcare schemes set up for undocumented migrants in some member states are not applicable to EU citizens without authorisation to reside, with the exception of Belgium and France. Médecins du Monde, *Legal Report on Access to Healthcare in 17 Countries*, November 2016.

[15] See Universal Declaration of Human Rights (Article 25), International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), (Article 12); International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (Article 5), International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Article 12); Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) (Article 24); the Charter of Fundamental rights of the European Union (Article 35), European Convention on Human Rights and Freedoms (Article 3, as interpreted by the European Court of Human Rights in the case of *Pretty v. UK*, where the court found that "*the suffering which flows from naturally occurring illness, physical or mental, may be covered by Article 3, where it*

The ratification of these instruments by all EU member states obliges them – at all levels of government - to ensure access to healthcare services for all without discrimination, regardless of residence status. Expert bodies that monitor states' compliance with international human rights treaties that protect the right to health have repeatedly expressed serious concerns about a range of both legal and practical barriers to obtaining healthcare, goods and services. These barriers impede and undermine the enjoyment of the right to health by people without status.

What is the impact of exclusion from health systems?

The damaging effects of systematically limiting access to health systems for people based on residence status begin with the individual, and ripple outward to affect the broader community. Most obviously, restricted access to healthcare means that people are unable to get assistance that allows them to adequately treat and manage existing conditions, to the detriment of their mental and physical health. Exclusion from health systems also means exclusion from basic information about risk factors, disease prevention and health promotion, as well as access to routine testing for pregnancy, communicable infections, and chronic conditions. It means no diagnosis or support for mental health conditions until they reach a crisis point; and no appropriate management and treatment of physical or cognitive disabilities. In some cases, it means the absence of pre- or

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is, or risks being, exacerbated by treatment […] for which the authorities can be held responsible.") and the European Social Charter (Article 13). Recent case-law found that by employing a dynamic interpretation of the Charter, its rights cannot exclude undocumented migrants if their human dignity is found to be directly impacted. See for example International Federation of Human Rights League (FIDH) v France (Complaint no. 14/2003), Defence for Children International (DCI) v The Netherlands (Complaint no. 47/2008); Defence for Children International (DCI) v Belgium (Complaint no. 69/2011), Médecins du Monde – International v. France (Complaint No. 67/2011).

post-natal care, and vaccines or routine paediatric follow-up during childhood[16].

In turn, excluding a segment of the population from public health systems can have a negative impact on public health programs, and undermine efforts to improve infant and maternal mortality, to manage of chronic conditions, and prevent and control the spread of communicable diseases. The European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control has recognised the particular obstacles faced by the undocumented in accessing HIV services and urged states to take steps to address them[17].

Providing healthcare primarily through emergency care departments in hospitals, frequently the only place where people with irregular status can access care, is also extremely costly for health systems[18]. For women without status, for instance, undetected or untreated health conditions during pregnancy can mean complex interventions later, if not identified during prenatal care. Laws that limit their entitlement to care, or deter health-seeking behaviour by imposing heavy financial costs, expose the woman and her child to unacceptable risk, and the health system to significant and avoidable costs[19]. A recent study financed by the European Commission demonstrates that timely treatment in a primary healthcare setting can save between 49 and 100% of direct medical costs (incurred by the patient and the health system) and non-medical costs (incurred by the patient or wider society as a result of disability and illness-causing health burden) for patients who would

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[16] Médecins du Monde (2016).

[17] European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control (ECDC), Evidence Brief – Migration, *Monitoring Implementation of the Dublin Declaration on Partnership to Fight HIV/AIDS in Europe and Central Asia: 2012 Progress Report*, 2013.

[18] EU Agency for Fundamental Rights (FRA), *Cost of Exclusion from Healthcare: The Case of Migrants in an Irregular Situation*, September 2015; K. Bozorgmehr and O. Razum, "Effect of Restricting Access to Health Care on Health Expenditures among Asylum Seekers and Refugees: A Quasi-Experimental Study in Germany, 1994-2013", 22 July 2015.

[19] R. Feldman, "Maternity care for undocumented women: the impact of charging for care", *British Journal of Midwifery*, vol. 24, no. 1, January 2016.

otherwise only be entitled to emergency care[20].

There are also, undeniably, broader human and social costs reflected in the impact on families and communities, of an individual's inability to obtain adequate medical assistance[21] as well as the well-recognised impact of ill-health on a person's ability to work[22]. Restrictive health policies also negatively affect health professionals, whose commitment to medical ethics is contradicted by requirements to sort their patients, based on complex immigration rules, into those who are and those who are not entitled to care[23]. In some cases, health professionals and other service providers have responded by mobilising to protest discriminatory rules[24], and to provide basic health services to excluded populations, often working under challenging conditions.

How are cities responding?

Laws regulating the health system, including who has the right to access health services and under what conditions, are often established by the central, or national, government. Nonetheless, in many countries, governmental authorities at the more local level retain a degree of responsibility for health-related

[20] Centre for Health and Migration, Summary of Findings, Infographic on costs of exclusion from healthcare, Wien, July 2016.

[21] National Latina Institute for Reproductive Health, *Nuestra voz, nuestra salud, nuestro Texas: The Fight for Women's Reproductive Health in the Rio Grande Valley*, 2013.

[22] OECD and European Commission, *Health at a Glance in the EU: 2016. State of Health in the Eu Cycle*, 2016.

[23] See, for instance, World Medical Association, Council Resolution on Refugees and Migrants, April 2016; American Nurses Association (ANA), *Nursing Beyond Borders: Access to Health Care for Documented and Undocumented Immigrants Living in the US*, ANA Issue Brief, 2010; European Board and College of Obstetrics and Gynaecology, *Standards of Care for Women's Health in Europe: Gynaecology Services*, 2014.

[24] See, e.g., in the UK: *Docs not Cops*, http://www.docsnotcops.co.uk/; in Italy: 8 January 2009, *Corriere della Sera*, "'Niente cure mediche ai clandestini in Friuli' – E i medici insorgono"; in Canada: "OHIP for All – Healthier Together", http://ohipforall.ca/.

policy-making[25]. In some European countries, regional governments and city councils have authority to legislate concerning or to organise the delivery of local social services, including healthcare, although they may be constrained by regulations on public finances. At the same time, they are also bound by international, regional and national human rights standards.

Moreover, European cities play an increasing role in designing and delivering social inclusion and welfare policies, which gives them latitude to pilot and test innovative approaches, stimulate local partnerships, and implement tailored solutions to populations at greatest need[26].

Unlike their national counterparts, municipalities are directly confronted with the day-to-day experiences of their residents and expected to meet their needs: "local governments, with their proximity to the city population, are most directly called on to meet human rights and public services obligations in the provision of adequate shelter, food, healthcare, education, water, and sanitation facilities […]"[27].

There are numerous examples of cities using their autonomy to adopt measures that facilitate access to healthcare for residents living with irregular status. This includes initiatives at the global level, such as the following:

- The **Global Mayoral Forum on Mobility, Migration and Development**[28], an initiative sponsored by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) and other partners that gathers

[25] See the Committee of the Regions for detailed information on the division of competences between national, regional and local authorities available at http://extranet.cor.europa.eu/divisionpowers/countries/Pages/default.aspx.

[26] Eurocities, *What role do cities play in social inclusion and welfare policies?*, Policy brief for Eurocities, 2017.

[27] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), *Cities Welcoming Refugees and Migrants: Enhancing Effective Urban Governance in an Age of Migration*, 2016.

[28] UNITAR, *Facilitating Policy Dialogue. The Annual Mayoral Forum on Mobility, Migration and Development*, https://www.unitar.org/dcp/human-mobility-programme/facilitating-policy-dialogue.

representatives from cities from around world to consider issues of urban governance in the face of increasing diversity. A basic premise of the forum is that migration is a largely positive phenomenon that benefits development. At the first global forum, held in June 2014, mayors adopted the Barcelona Declaration[29], which called on authorities to assure the "same rights, duties and opportunities to all persons residing in their territory," and for minimising exclusion of migrants in an irregular situation, and stressed the need to strengthen the "voice and role" of cities in defining migration policies. At its second forum in November 2015, mayors adopted the Quito Local Agenda for Migration and Development[30], which underscored that cities are at the forefront of integration and of service delivery to an increasingly diverse populace, and called for specific action to guarantee access to health service for all, regardless of residence status.

- The **UN Conference on Housing and Sustainable Urban Development (Habitat)** adopted, in October 2016, a New UN Urban Agenda[31], which recognises the multiple forms of discrimination faced by migrants, and commits to ensuring the full respect for human rights and humane treatment of refugees, internally displaced persons, and migrants, regardless of status, and promoting equitable and affordable access to healthcare and family planning for all, without discrimination.
- The **WHO European Healthy Cities Network**[32] consists of nearly 100 cities and towns from 30 countries

[29] Barcelona Declaration, 2014, http://www.bcn.cat/novaciutadania/pdf/ca/home/DeclaracioBcn.en.pdf.

[30] UNITAR, *The Local Agenda on Migration and Development. The Second Mayoral Forum on Mobility, Migration and Development*, Quito Outcome Document, 2015.

[31] New Urban Agenda, https://bit.ly/2IHEakh

[32] WHO European Healthy Cities Network, http://www.euro.who.int/en/health-topics/environment-and-health/urban-health/activities/healthy-cities/who-european-healthy-cities-network

concerned with health and sustainable development. The network launches priority themes every five years with a political declaration and accompanying strategic goals. Its overarching goals for Phase VI (2014-2018) are improving health for all and reducing health inequalities. The national meeting of Italian Health Cities Network in May 2016 in Palermo, Sicily, focused specifically on migration.

- In November 2016 **UNESCO**, together with the Marianna V. Vardinoyannis Foundation and the European Coalition of Cities against Racisms (ECCAR), convened a conference in Athens, Greece on the theme of "Welcoming Refugees: Promoting Inclusion and Protecting rights"[33]. The mayors and deputy mayors of Athens, Amaroussion, Lesvos, Piraeus and Thessaloniki gathered alongside political representatives from Albania and Cyprus as well as civil society actors to exchange good practices on ways to achieve greater inclusion and protection of rights. The conference also served as an occasion to launch a publication on enhancing effective urban governance in the age of migration, according to which "[g]overnment at all levels has obligations to ensure respect, protection and fulfilment of human rights for all migrants and refugees, irrespective of their stats." The report provides a checklist for a "welcoming city governance agenda," which includes the provision of universal access to social services for all, without discrimination on any basis.

There are examples across Europe of cities, often working in cooperation with civil society organisations, which have taken a pragmatic approach to facilitating and improving access to services available to people living in an irregular situation in their localities[34].

[33] UNESCO (2016).

[34] For more information, see Platform for International Cooperation on

The following sections provide a more detailed look at two city-level initiatives, from Gdansk, Poland and Kiel, Germany, that aim to improve access to health services for residents, regardless of status, from the perspective of civil society partners that were instrumental in their developments.

Undocumented Migrants (PICUM), *Cities of Rights: Ensuring Health Care for Undocumented Residents*, 2017.

Building Partnerships to Tackle Gaps in Access for Undocumented Residents: The Example of Kiel, Germany

Christoph Krieger

The German Asylum Seekers Assistance Law provides theoretical access to healthcare for people who are undocumented in Germany. Like asylum seekers, they may receive coverage for healthcare in the event of acute illness and pain and for maternity care. In practice, however, this is undermined by the German Residence Act, which requires all public bodies, except educational institutions, to notify the immigration or competent police authorities when they obtain information about a person without a valid residence permit[35].

This obligation to report is not imposed on healthcare providers or administrative staff within healthcare institutions, due to extended medical confidentiality. When care is provided by emergency hospital departments, the healthcare provider applies for reimbursement from the social welfare office (*Sozialämter*), extending medical confidentiality to the welfare office. However, when care is provided outside hospital emergency departments (including services for acute illnesses or maternity services), for it to be covered by social authorities, it must first be approved by the social welfare office, which provides a medical certificate (*Krankenschein*). In such cases, the welfare office has a duty to share undocumented patients' data with the relevant authorities, exposing them to the risk of detention and deportation.

[35] Medecins du Monde (2017).

Despite their entitlement to certain services under federal law, people without papers living in Germany have great difficulty obtaining health insurance, which imposes considerable barriers on their ability to access necessary services in practice. For most individuals without residence status who are unable to pay for health services out-of-pocket, obtaining non-urgent medical care is possible only through the assistance of volunteer health professionals or non-governmental organisations (NGOs), or by exposing themselves to the risk of detention and deportation if they approach the public health system. This leads not only to inadequate access to healthcare; it also encourages the use of untested or unsafe alternatives (such as resorting to traditional healers or remedies), and strong dependencies that result from having to rely on others (e.g., for use of their documents, for loans, for accommodation, or other favours) that increase the risk of exploitation and even human trafficking.

Citizens mobilise to address gaps in access to services: The establishment of Medibüro Kiel

The obstacles created by Germany's contradictory legislation were discussed in 2009 at an intercultural event held in Kiel, the most populous city in the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein. The issue sparked concern among medical professionals and others working within the social services sector. Some citizens decided to take action and, in 2010, began setting up a voluntary network of doctors, midwives, pharmacists, and other health professionals willing to provide medical treatment for undocumented persons free of charge.

Medibüro Kiel was founded as an access point linking this network and people in need. It remains a self-organised initiative of people working on a voluntary basis, providing consultations once a week. During hours of service, the volunteers connect patients to the needed medical services. There are always two volunteers in the office, one man and one woman, one of whom is a person with a medical background. All persons

involved are obliged to maintain patient confidentiality, and no data is collected. Fees for medicines, orthopaedic aids, glasses, laboratory tests, (diagnostic) imaging techniques, and other devices or interventions are financed through donations. Severe and chronic conditions usually fall outside what the network can provide for, especially when hospitalisation is required, even if the organisation always works to find individual solutions.

While the work of the network responds to the immediate need created by a legislative scheme that pushes people out of the mainstream health the system, the primary aim of Medibüro Kiel is to integrate undocumented migrants into the public healthcare system. Achieving this would require the reform of federal legislation, which Medibüro Kiel and other civil society organisations continue to advocate for. In the meantime, they have also sought to make incremental gains at the local level, and have looked to establishing cooperation with local authorities and hospitals to improve access to maternity care and childhood vaccinations for people in an irregular situation.

Working with partners: the essential role of the city and local hospitals

A critical step in the network's efforts to ease some of the obstacles faced by undocumented residents needing health services was to partner with a local hospital. In 2010, Medibüro Kiel approached the city's largest hospital, through personal contacts, and was able to negotiate an informal agreement: anonymised birth-related care would be provided for the minimal rate of €300, for pregnant women without status referred by Medibüro. This rate roughly covers the involvement of external midwives, who are paid by the hospital, and is far lower than the usual rate for delivery, typically paid via health insurance, which is between €1000 and €3000, depending on the region and the complexity of the delivery. In order to identify and mitigate risk factors and avoid unexpected complications, the Medibüro informs the hospital in advance of the woman's basic

medical history and arranges financial support to enable her to pay the hospital bill.

At the beginning of its partnership with the hospital, Medibüro also sent women to a gynaecologist within its network for screenings. This, however, proved to be unmanageable, as the number of women seeking help continued to rise and surpassed the network's capacity to respond.

In 2013, Medibüro launched a campaign, "For a fair start to life", addressing the public, and accompanied by targeted dialogue with city politicians. In 2014, the City of Kiel established an anonymised gynaecological screening for pregnant women without health insurance, through its public health office. The services offered included nearly the entire spectrum of obstetric care, including postpartum care. This achievement was significant and institutionalised a service that before had depended on the willingness of midwives – already limited in number – to provide their services for free to women without health insurance. Around 45 women take advantage of this service every year[36].

The initiative's impact

According to a 2018 report[37] by the City of Kiel's public health office, the available services, which include both prevention- and treatment-related services for pregnant women, lead to a reduction of child morbidity and reduce the medical risk for pregnant women. The head of the city's Department of Social Affairs and Public Health has said that the main goal is the reduction of maternal and childhood diseases due to a lack of prenatal care.

The City has also concluded that measures to ensure care for undocumented pregnant women save costs by detecting and addressing preventable conditions and reducing the need for

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[36] Infosystem Kommunalpolitik, *Medizinische Vorsorge schwangerer Frauen ohne Krankenversicherung im Amt für Gesundheit*, 22 March 2018.

[37] Ibid.

emergency deliveries. The program's financial impact is modest, entailing 20 working hours for a gynaecological specialist, and 110 € for devices and materials per woman. With respect to undocumented children, vaccines are largely funded by other programs; however, the costs of providing undocumented children with vaccines appears to be relatively low compared to the cost of treating otherwise preventable illnesses in one or more children.

The initiative has also demonstrated that good advisory networks and cooperation among the participating institutions – such as migrant consulting centres, the offices of immigration, youth welfare, municipal registration, and social assistance, as well as health insurances and women's rights organisations – are very important in reducing bureaucratic obstacles in access to healthcare, particularly where integration into the mainstream healthcare system is possible. The health office of Kiel estimates that about one-third of the women it assists are in fact eligible for care under the national healthcare system and social assistance. This is true, for instance, of women who are citizens of other European countries or who are in a relationship with a European citizen. If the partner claims paternity of the foetus, then access to healthcare becomes possible because of European rules concerning freedom of movement for European citizens.

The initiative's sustainability

The social achievement of the initiative, i.e. integrating around one-third of all pregnant women into the regular healthcare system, is clearly sustainable for both women and public budgets. The availability of counselling services that would link healthcare administration and social advice could accelerate progress, both on the human and financial level, especially given the evidence that the experiences of the City of Kiel with the group of pregnant women can be transferred to other migrants without health insurance.

The cooperation between city authorities, hospitals, and the Medibüro initiative would not have been possible without a

dramatic increase in awareness about the situation of undocumented pregnant women and their exclusion from services within the city council in 2013. It was therefore instrumental that the network included activists who were connected with decision-makers through party membership. They were able to raise the issue within the party's internal agenda-setting processes, answer questions, and clarify misunderstandings when necessary. This may have been achievable thanks to the political makeup of the party leadership at the local level, which is not reflected in the national parliament, where a different majority dominates.

Nonetheless, to extend the initiative to the northern state of Schleswig-Holstein, the activists of Medibüro Kiel approached decision-makers within parties and ministries throughout the 2017 legislative period. In 2017, the government of Schleswig-Holstein agreed to establish a clearing service for all migrants without health insurance, with the aim of facilitating access to the regular healthcare system, if possible. The local Refugee Board and the Medibüro Kiel developed a concept for such a clearing service and applied for funding out of an existing budget of €200,000, which was set up to support voluntary medical workers, but which had, until then, been underutilised. The idea was to offer legal and social advice to migrants without health insurance. Like the public health office of Kiel, most Medibüros in Germany estimate that up to 50% of their clients could be integrated into the healthcare system. By helping those people to resolve their residence status, or to find ways to obtain health insurance, it would become clearer how many people have no possibility of accessing the healthcare system at all, and which strategies are needed to help them in the long term. At the time of writing, the requested funding had not been granted. Should the region of Schleswig-Holstein agree to support the concept proposed by the Refugee Board and Medibüro, it would become one of the most progressive regions in Germany and provide a perspective for a national solution to an unacceptable *status quo*.

Healthcare as an Integral Part of Social Inclusion: The Example of Gdansk, Poland

Marta Siciarek

According to the Polish Constitution, "Everyone shall have the right to have his health protected"[38]. At the legislative level, the Act on Health Care Benefits Financed by Public Funds of 27 August 2004[39] specifies who is eligible for services under the national healthcare system, which is based on statutory health insurance[40]. Undocumented migrants are not included. This implies that they only have a clear legal entitlement to emergency care – that is, "care that cannot be denied to any person in the event of immediate danger to life or health"[41].

[38] The Constitution of the Republic of Poland 1997, Article 68(1) "Everyone shall have the right to have his health protected". Full text available here: http://www.sejm.gov.pl/prawo/konst/angielski/kon1.htm

[39] https://www.global-regulation.com/translation/poland/3353836/the-act-of-27-august-2004-about-health-care-benefits-financed-from-public-funds.html

[40] Insurance is compulsory for most of the population, who pay income-based contributions (9% of salary or benefits). Others may take out insurance voluntarily. Anyone who is not insured may be refused healthcare unless there is an "immediate threat to life or health". Children and pregnant women who are citizens are also entitled to additional care regardless of insurance status. Certain care is always free of charge. Refugees and people with subsidiary protection status are entitled to statutory health insurance on the same basis as nationals, and asylum seekers and unaccompanied minors have access to free "health services" with costs covered by public funding by specific providers (see also Act of 13 June 2003 on Granting Protection to Foreigners, full text available here. For more information, see HUMA (Health Access to Migrants) Network, *Access to Health Care and Living Conditions of Asylum Seekers and Undocumented Migrants in Cyprus, Malta, Poland and Romania*, 2011, pp. 99-106.

[41] Ibid, p. 101 citing various laws relating to the provision of healthcare.

In Poland, responsibility for the healthcare system is shared between the central government and local municipalities. Poland has a national health insurance system legislated at the national level. The funding from the National Healthcare Fund is distributed to cover treatment by the public and private healthcare institutions, such as hospitals and clinics. The funding of healthcare is distributed at the provincial (*voivodship*) level by the National Health Fund. At the same time, each municipality (*gmina*) is responsible for meeting the healthcare needs of its residents and may, should the need arise, fund some of the medical treatment through its own budget. Most healthcare is provided through healthcare institutions set up by the municipality and funded by the National Health Fund.

In Poland, rescue teams operate in a separate system, managed at the provincial level, and funded directly by the central government's budget. These teams consist of 2-3 people performing medical rescue activities on people in immediate risk of loss of life out the hospital. Emergency care provided by rescue teams is free of charge to everyone, but it is not clear whether such care is free of charge when provided in hospital departments, because no legislation establishes who would bear the costs[42]. This means that undocumented patients may be liable to pay the full costs for emergency care in hospitals after treatment. Similarly, care during labour and delivery cannot be denied, but undocumented women may have to pay the full costs. Exceptions exist regarding HIV screening and treatment, and the treatment of certain infectious diseases[43], which everyone can access free of charge[44]. Undocumented children have access to healthcare under the same conditions as undocumented adults, except for medical and dental devices, as well as mandatory vaccinations, medical check-ups, and screening tests, which are free of charge while they are attending public

[42] Ibid.

[43] Ibid, p. 104-105 citing the Law on contagious diseases.

[44] HIV treatment is unconditional, but only Post-Exposure Prophylaxis (PEP) is free of charge.

school[45]. In practice, however, healthcare in schools is delivered by nurses, and not every school has its own nurses. Moreover, schools cannot insure children without documents under the national insurance system, as they do with other pupils, even though in theory they are eligible for services under the national healthcare system as long as they attend schools. And while the check-ups and screenings may be free of charge (when accessed), the treatment is often prohibitively expensive (especially specialist, dental, or optometry care). This means that undocumented children do not receive continuous care.

For the most part, undocumented migrants avoid public health facilities and hospitals, unless it is an emergency. This is largely due to fear of being detected, the high costs involved (when the type of treatment is not free of charge), and the high rate of refusal because valid identity papers, which are not issued to foreigners, are often required for registration.[46] Uninsured patients admitted for emergency hospital treatment are often released as soon as possible to minimise the financial costs to the hospital, without due consideration for their condition and the possible health risks. Thus, they end up largely relying on self- and non-professional medical help[47], or else access private clinics[48] where they can receive care without providing identification documents. Treatment and medication must still be paid for in full[49].

[45] Ivi, p. 101 citing Articles 92(1)(2) of the Law on education system of 7 September 1991 and Regulation of the Minister of Health on the organisation of the prophylactic healthcare for children and youths of 28 August 2009.

[46] Ivi, p. 125

[47] Ibid.

[48] There are also some outpatient clinics contracted by the National Health Fund to provide medical services on payment, without requiring identification documents (Ivi, p. 131).

[49] Ivi, pp. 126-127.

An integration strategy that encompasses access to services

CWII was founded in 2012 as a centre to promote the social inclusion of immigrants in the City of Gdansk. From the beginning, the organisation recognised that, in addition to providing services, such as legal advice, language courses, and career counselling, it also had to engage in system change and adopt a holistic approach to integration and social inclusion.

Following two years of advocacy, the City's social affairs department first, followed by the City's Mayor, saw the need to adopt a coherent and comprehensive approach, and the Mayor invited all the municipal institutions to work on developing an Immigrants Integration Model[50]. The City Council voted a policy on integration on June 2016.

Since then, a team of over 100 people across eleven thematic issues have been working cooperatively on the Model, which addresses school and higher education, health, housing, employment, social welfare, culture, local communities, sport, safety, and social communication.

CWII has been a partner in both developing the Model's content and in its implementation, which is taking place through yearly action plans across thematic areas. Each area has 2-3 leaders and a team of around 20 people (city officials, employers' associations, teachers, NGOs, activists, representatives of cultural institutions, academics, and law enforcement, among others). All the work is essentially voluntary and driven by the motivation and interest of individuals and organisations, but of course, city units are "strongly encouraged" to be involved.

All CWII workers – a diverse staff of both Poles and immigrants, who deliver services daily to migrants – are involved in working on the Model: coordinating with other agencies and organisations, finding solutions for individual migrants, doing advocacy, building links among various partners, etc.

[50] Gdank Immigrant Immigraiton Model, http://www.gdansk.pl/migracje/Immigrant-Integration-Model,a,67017.

Cross-sector work is still a novelty, and distrust is overcome gradually through the experience of close cooperation. The effort represents a kind of inter-operational partnership, which is in itself an achievement, particularly given that migration and integration are spheres where political agendas are sometimes in conflict.

Promoting inclusion, addressing institutionalised forms of discrimination

The City of Gdansk has adopted an anti-discrimination approach to integration and social inclusion, recognising that the 'majority' is responsible for the inclusion of minorities and that this involves the ways in which inter-group dynamics can promote exclusion. This puts the onus on decision makers, institutions, and others to take a clear position and adopt clear policies in favour of inclusion.

The immigrant community in Gdansk has grown rapidly, from 2% in 2015 to 10% in 2018. This has created a dynamic situation, where communities are not yet established within institutional and organisational positions, even though they are well represented in the economy at different levels. The City's aim is to prevent discrimination while building the conditions for full participation and representation within the city space. Migrants are consulted, are involved in all the Model's working groups, and extensive research is done to understand and integrate the immigrant's perspective and situation into policy-making. There is recognition that the responsibility lies on the City Hall to create the legal basis and climate for immigrants to have equal rights and the conditions to freely associate, actively participate, and to become politically engaged.

Addressing health as a cross-cutting issue

All eleven thematic areas within the Model are seen as interconnected, in terms of both protection of immigrants' rights and well-being, as well as in ensuring comprehensive and coherent policies. One cannot focus, for instance, on employment, without also considering the issue of health insurance, which many migrants are refused due to inadequate, non-existent, or exploitative work contracts. One cannot discuss local community integration without considering migrants' well-being – including whether they are informed about how the local healthcare system works, how to register at the nearest clinic, how to claim access to services in the absence of a national identification number (which is not granted to foreigners in Poland), which services are available free of charge, and so on. The City recognises that a person's ability and willingness to participate in cultural and sports activities, for instance, requires an adequate level of physical and mental health; and that taking part in these activities are good prevention tools for stress and other health conditions. How can we speak of safety if migrants who work in sectors where they are exposed to a high risk of accidents do so without insurances or any contract at all?

Given the city's limited authority over health issues and an ambiguous national position on immigration, assuring immigrants' rights in the health area is very challenging. The Model aims to create a system to promote immigrants' access to health services based on competences of institutions. The City's responsibility lies mainly in prevention-oriented initiatives and, to some extent, in promoting mental health. Delivery of care through medical clinics is the responsibility of a national body, the National Health Fund (Narodowy Fundusz Zdrowia-NFZ)[51]. While the NFZ has officially refused to take part in developing the Gdansk Model, its representatives join the meetings and support addressing specific cases in an "unofficial"

[51] http://www.nfz.gov.pl/

way. In the absence of a national legislation on integration and accompanying funds, the Model's coordinators must therefore rely on the goodwill of national and regional institutions and their willingness to take initiative in supporting their staff in participating in key initiatives, such as informing all register offices of the ways in which immigrants without an ID number can obtain services in local clinics. The basic rationale spurring their engagement is the necessity of delivering services of equal quality to all eligible person, as a duty of public institutions. This is consistent with the guiding principle behind the Model: inclusion and equal services are not a matter of kindness but a legal duty.

To move forward with the health action plan, CWII, the City, and their partners decided to widen their team to include regional institutions. This required a great deal of advocacy because no one is interested in taking on more work if the official regulation does not require them to. The region was responsive; both politicians and experts working in the field of health, including those managing hospitals (general and specialist), understood the need to take up the new challenges related to immigration in a holistic and professional manner. Health was understood as a shared challenge and interest for regional and local institutions, which strengthened the basis on which to develop a realistic action plan. Formal cooperation with regional authorities began in April 2018[52].

The involvement of regional actors is essential, given that solutions to protecting health rights are often vast in scope, and intersectional. One example is the quality of employment, which is mostly not regulated (again, due to lack of a national act on integration). Employers and migrants find themselves dependent on temporary work agencies, whose monopoly is problematic and ultimately leads to violations of migrants' rights. Public intervention on the issue – possible on the regional

[52] A. Chalinska, "How to increase the potenail of immigrants in Pomerania? Special training and workshops for officials", *Pomorskie*, 12 March 2018 [Article in Polish].

level, which certifies agencies and can persuade employers to care more about the quality of employment – is a solution to this issue, which has important health-related consequences. Moreover, municipalities could buy a certain amount of services or medical benefits, which are then distributed to migrants, regardless of their status. Gradually, through political leadership and innovative approaches, Gdansk is moving closer to ensuring better access to healthcare for all immigrants.

The City has approached the issue of the cost of services by looking to structural forms of exclusion, rather than to scapegoating migrants. For instance, the cost of hospital services given to third-country nationals rose 273% between 2016 and 2017, about one-third of which is not paid by patients directly or covered by insurance. This provides a basis to press employers to act more responsibly in immigrants' employment. Employers care for their reputation and would rather not be called out by media and hospitals for violating rights and putting the cost of medical treatment on municipalities.

What is important too, is to build trust between immigrants and healthcare units, with a guaranteed firewall that ensures that a person can approach the health system without the risk of being notified to immigration authorities because of their status. CWII knows the case of an undocumented person who had an operation and, after receiving an invoice for the surgery, returned to the hospital to ask for payment in instalments. This is an example of how firewalls can foster trust: an undocumented man, who might otherwise have "disappeared" without paying had he faced prejudice or possible arrest for his status, instead felt safe to come back and pay his debts.

Lessons learned and the way forward

In Gdansk and in the Pomeranian Region, political leadership and courage are beginning to pay off. Local and regional authorities took the step of developing a comprehensive response to an issue where there is no national-level guidance. This

process has required making the case that the social inclusion of migrants of all backgrounds, regardless of status, is in the public interest and indeed a public duty; and a long-term effort to build trust between public institutions, NGOs, and a widening group of partners to ensure a shared vision and a holistic approach. NGOs have been viewed as constructive partners, who will not criticise the City for its shortcomings or play the exclusive role of "watchdogs", but rather will work hand in hand to develop sustainable solutions and ensure that the perspectives of migrants themselves are integrated into decision-making processes. An important lesson has been not to fear conflict: the work of integration and inclusion is about shaking up the system from the bottom up, to address entrenched forms of discrimination. This is an essential and productive, but not always pleasant, process. The policy represents an achievement because it paves the way to a more just, inclusive city.

7. Urban Planning: A Vienna Case Study

Elisabeth Gruber

Vienna: a growing city

For about one decade, Vienna has become once again an expanding city, with a population growth of about 190.000 inhabitants since the year 2000. Only a few other cities of this size in Europe have experienced a similar growth in a similar timeframe. In 2010, the city was expected to grow by 4.5% until the year 2025. In the same period, cities like Madrid or Barcelona were expected to grow by 2-3%, Munich by 1.4%[1]. The population increase was mainly triggered by immigration, although recently Vienna experienced also a positive natural balance. The city is growing not only in the outer skirts, but also in the already densely-settled parts of the inner city[2].

The inner city moving back from decline to growth can be described as reurbanisation, which is conceptualised mainly as the (re-)discovering of the inner city as an attractive place to live[3]. While until the 1990s in many European cities and also in Vienna, suburban growth has been the major factor of urban expanding, today core cities experience population gains as well. New lifestyle choices are often mentioned as the motivation for

[1] City of Vienna, WIEN WÄCHST.Bevölkerungsentwicklung in Wien und den 23 Gemeinde- und 250 Zählbezirken. MA 23 – Wirtschaft, Arbeit und Statistik, Wien, 2014a.

[2] P. Görgl, J. Eder, E. Gruber, and H. Fassmann, *Monitoring der Siedlungsentwicklung in der Stadtregion+. Strategien zur räumlichen Entwicklung der Ostregion*, Wien, Rerat XX, 2017.

[3] P. Rérat, "The New Demographic Growth of Cities:The Case of Reurbanisation in Switzerland", *Urban Studies*, vol. 49, no. 5, 2012, pp. 1107-1125.

this observation, such as the delay of childbirth, childlessness as well as the career-orientation of women prior to family development. The improvement of neighbourhoods has also made inner cities more attractive for families. City renewal projects and gentrification can therefore be further explanations for urban growth. Besides reurbanisation, the surroundings of Vienna do experience population growth as well: Suburbanisation and reurbanisation can be observed simultaneously[4]. Vienna is expected to reach two million inhabitants in the next ten years[5].

Historic overview

The last time Vienna has experienced a similar population growth was around the turn of the century, from the XIX to the XX century. Back then, **Vienna** was the capital of the Habsburgian Empire and had a large importance within Europe. With the industrial revolution, cities gained importance as places for production, thus triggering the inflow of people from surrounding regions. Before World War I, Vienna counted 2.1 million inhabitants – more than today, on a smaller area than today[6]. The large increase of the population started mainly in the late XIX century and has led to the decision to adapt the city. Since the 1850s, Vienna experienced several sequences of enlargement. The ideas of the city planners of the day made Vienna capable of steering the population growth it is experiencing today.

Recent developments

Vienna's growth has always been mainly due to immigration[7]. After an era of growth until the early XX century and one following the Second World War, Vienna lost relevance in the

[4] Ibid.

[5] City of Vienna (2014a).

[6] J. Suitner, A. Krisch, and F. Pühringer, *TRANS[form]DANUBIEN. Eine urbane Metamorphologie der wiener Stadtplanung anhand der Entwicklungsdynamik Wiens links der Donau, Abschlussbericht zum Forschungsprojekt*, Wien, 2018.

[7] Ibid.

global context and experienced a stagnating and even shrinking population over the time. The negative growth of the population in the city can be further explained with the increase of suburban living and inhabitants moving to the surrounding regions. Vienna did though experience international immigration, as the state of Austria agreed on hiring guest workers in order to have enough labour force to support its rising economy. Still, with a new situation in the periphery of Western Europe, Vienna lost its importance as a location for production and businesses. This changed when the iron curtain fell in the early 1989. In the same period, six years later, Austria joined the EU. After the EU enlargement towards the East in the year 2004, Vienna found itself in a new position, which triggered immigration and therefore population growth again.

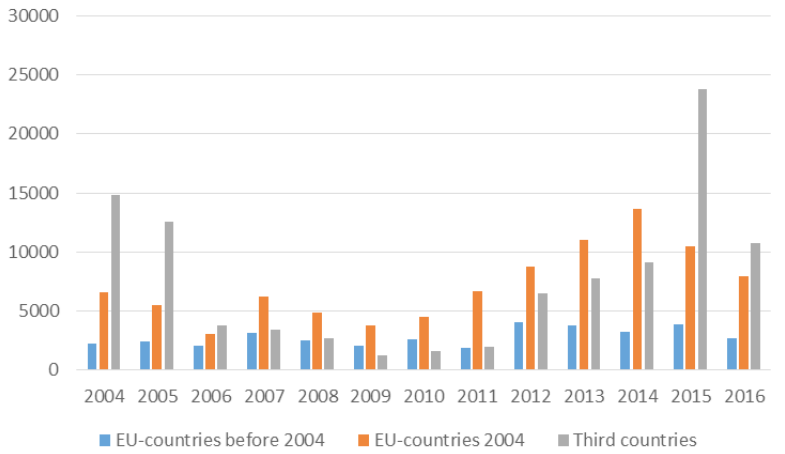
Today, most of the incoming migrants to Austria and Vienna arrive from other countries of the EU. Until the year 2012, most people that migrated to Vienna came from Germany. Since the year 2007, the number of incoming Romanians, Polish, and Hungarians has been rising, and in 2014, Romania was the most important sending country of migrants to Vienna[8].

The biggest stock of foreign population is still represented by the former guest worker population and their descendants. The biggest share of people with a migration background traces its origins back to countries of the former Yugoslavia, mostly from Serbia. A lot of them arrived to Austria as guest workers, but in some cases also as refugees during the war in Yugoslavia in the early 1990s. Besides guest workers, the high number of Yugoslavian descendants can be explained by family reunification, which has been introduced mainly in the 1970s. The second biggest group of people with a foreign migration background is the Turkish population – which also came during the 1950s as guest workers – followed by people from Germany.

[8] Statistik Austria, Schulen, Schulbesuche, 2018, http://www.statistik.at/web_de/statistiken/menschen_und_gesellschaft/bildung_und_kultur/formales_bildungswesen/schulen_schulbesuch/index.html

In the year 2015, Austria experienced a distinct immigration also due to the sudden inflow of refugees, in what was often referred to as a "refugee crisis". In Austria, a high number of people from Syria and Afghanistan applied for asylum. The international migration balance, compared to the years before, almost doubled, and third-country migration became the most important source of migration. Most of the asylum seekers (around 40%) were settling in Vienna (see figure 1). In the year 2017, the numbers were lowering again, since the inflow of third country nationals decreased. Even though refugees have been an important share of immigrants for Austria, the main sending countries of immigration are still other countries from the European Union. Besides immigrants from Germany, since the year 2007, Hungary, Romania, and Poland are the most important sending countries[9].

Fig. 1 - Migration balance from EU-countries (before and after 2004) and third countries to Vienna (2004-2016)



Data source: Statistik Austria 2018

[9] Ibid.; City of Vienna, Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien, 2017, https://www.wien.gv.at/statistik/pdf/menschen2017.pdf

Urban planning for an expanding city

The growth of the city has implications for urban planning: services and infrastructures, as well as housing, must be provided in a greater amount. Over the last years, the provision of affordable housing has become the biggest aim of the city policies. The provision of public transport and the planning of traffic infrastructure is another priority on the city's agenda. In both cases, Vienna can count on relatively good prerequisites for an adequate provision (see "*Historical advantages for urban growth*"). Still, the standards for affordable housing, as well as for public transport and for living have changed in the course of the centuries, and new challenges have arisen, which makes it more difficult to keep them up.

Historical advantages for urban growth

During the turn of the century, Vienna became the capital of a great empire. In the year 1805, Vienna was in fact chosen as the capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire of the Habsburgian dynasty. It took more than half a century before Vienna developed into a metropolis. When industrialisation started to take off by the end of the XIX century, the city started to grow rapidly. Back then, the population growth lead to the decision to demolish the former city wall and expand the city. In the year 1850, the city of Vienna was enlarged for the first time and the former suburbs, today's inner districts, were included. The rapid industrialisation and the immigration from other parts of the Habsburgian Monarchy created the need for widening up the city's borders. The famous Viennese Ring street dates back to that time: the city walls were torn down and the new space created was used for enlarging former functional buildings such as the parliament, the university, or ministerial-used buildings. At the same time, the enlargement of the traffic infrastructure took place, linking the urban core and its surroundings. Several train lines still in use date back to this period and created new possibilities for settlement areas. In 1892, the city was enlarged

a second time including today's outer districts into the city's borders. Shortly after the turn of the century, the districts on the other side of the Danube were included into the city of Vienna[10].

By enlarging the city, new concepts for architecture and infrastructure needed to be introduced. Many of these concepts lead back to the work of Otto Wagner. He introduced the first train lines within the city (city trains, today's metro lines), which formed the spine of today's public traffic infrastructure. The expansion of the city, and its expectation to grow even further, are also visible by looking at other projects that were started or completed in that era. On the one hand, just before the turn of the century, the Danube was regulated for the first time, which made the districts close to the waterfront usable for housing purposes and therefore planted the foundations for today's city development towards the north. While there was the need for a second regulation in the 1970s, the development in the late XIX century set the course. On the other hand, the development of infrastructures in the XIX century is still visible in the Viennese central cemetery, which after the time of growth was perceived as a way too overdesigned project from the perspective of a stagnating city.

The era of the Red Vienna

Vienna's urban growth policy proved to be future-oriented also in designing its strategy on social housing in the early XX century. When the city started to grow due to industrialisation at the end of the XIX century, the living standards were extremely low. The houses built in the founders' period, in the late XIX century, were to a high extent built as sub-standard flats, without water supplies or heating facilities. The flats were often used as an accommodation for workers, sharing flats or even beds with different labourers from different shifts.

[10] J. Suitner, et al. (2018).

Until today, a high share, namely 20% of all houses in Vienna, have been erected in the period before 1920 (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2015). During the founders' period a very high construction volume was reached, with around 10,000-14,000 flats built per year[11]. The volume, back then, can be mainly explained by the high demand for flats, which also led to an increase in building speculation. Privately built houses brought in capital, since flats could be rented out and the rent prices were driven by the market. During war times, the conditions for housing and living became worrisome due to the low living standards and especially rising unemployment, homelessness, and food insecurity. The call for a change became loud and the housing market changed substantially.

In 1919, the Viennese population decided to vote for a socialdemocratic government that lasted until 1934 and had the main goal to improve the workers' quality of life, mainly through a social housing policy. The need for better housing has always been the greatest challenge for the city. Since the turn of the century, people reacted by squatting and erecting buildings on empty spaces to elude the housing shortage that built up during wartime. While the "movement of the settlers" started as a bottom-up process, the ideas and some of the housing projects were placed under the responsibility of the city and its housing policy. Already during the Austro-Hungarian Empire, housing policies were implemented, such as regulations on the rent that can be asked for by the landlords. Still, the measures were not enough to guarantee an improvement in living standards and quality, which were only tackled when the city decided to build its own flats.

The reason why the city government was able to take over the provision of housing was that, since the 1920s, Vienna had become a federal state with the introduction of the new Constitution when Austria became a republic after World War I. The new status made it possible for the city to raise taxes for its

[11] P. Csendes and F. Opll (Eds.), *Wien : Geschichte einer Stadt. 3. Von 1790 bis zur Gegenwart*, Wien, Böhlau, 2006.

own use. A housing tax was introduced that is still applied to the erection of new buildings in the subsidised sector or house renovations. In the 1920s, the city started to build the prestigious "palaces of the proletariat", the so-called "Gemeindebauten". These large housing complexes, such as the "Reumannhof" or the "Karl-Marx-Hof", not only provided flats to a huge number of people, but also introduced new standards. All flats were in fact supplied with running water and heating, while during the founders' period most houses only offered a central spot for water supply (the so-called "Bassena") and very often no heating at all. These housing complexes were further equipped with infrastructures and services of general interest. In many buildings there still are a central laundry place, a kindergarten, and a library. In the ground floors, shops or workshops were rented out to private businesses or companies. Another typical characteristic is the availability of green spaces, mostly in the form of big inner yards in order to be able to attain "air, light, and sun" as it was proclaimed[12].

As of today, around 220,000 flats are provided via social housing to the Viennese population, representing around 30% of all flats in the city, housing 25% of the population (Magistrat der Stadt Wien 2015). In the last years, subsidised housing gained bigger importance as the city is funding non-profit housing companies in order to provide affordable housing.

New challenges for urban planning

Despite the historical advantages, Vienna is experiencing new challenges today. Even if the city size of the Vienna of 1900 will be reached in about 10-15 years, the requirements for infrastructure and services have changed, as well as people's behaviour and lifestyles. The amount of flats and buildings have experienced a continuous growth over the last century, even without population increase, since the average amount of used square meters

[12] H. Weihsman, *Das Rote Wien. Sozialdemokratische Architektur und Kommunalpolitik 1919-1934*, Wien, Pro Media, 2002.

per person has been rising over time. Furthermore, people tend to be more mobile and therefore more transport infrastructure is needed. Besides, also the requirements for leisure time, public and green spaces, as well as education and work have been changing remarkably, and also the required standards of buildings for all different uses are stricter. Therefore, for a city, a growing population is even more demanding than before.

The Urban Development Plan of the city of Vienna names the five most pressing challenges in urban development[13]:

- Building and housing
- Transport and mobility
- Social infrastructure and green spaces
- Global competition and economy
- Development within the urban region

The main focus of the last years has been the building of new housing areas, mainly by new development projects, but also by redensification and the renovation of the old building stock. For the city, providing housing does not only mean to dedicate zones for housing areas, but to build up attractive neighbourhoods and to provide affordable housing. Since the prices for building land are increasing and speculation and investment in the housing markets are constantly gaining importance, the city is trying to steer actively the provision of subsidised, and therefore reasonably priced, housing. In the urban development plan, the city has named 13 target areas of urban development, with four of them presenting major housing building projects[14]. One example is the development project "City by the lake/ Seestadt Aspern", a housing area for around 20,000 people that will be created by 2028. Around 6,000 inhabitants have already moved in after the first building stage. The development area is built on a former airport and therefore represents a completely

[13] City of Vienna, STEP 2025 – Urban Development Plan Vienna – True Urban Spirit, 2014b, https://www.wien.gv.at/stadtentwicklung/studien/pdf/b008379b.pdf

[14] Ivi, p. 28.

new building lot with modern architecture[15].

Projects like "City by the lake" have a high share of subsidised housing, paired with privately built projects. With this, the city tries to foster socially-mixed neighbourhoods. The latter has been a major goal of the socialdemocratic Vienna ever since the era of the Red Vienna. Subsidised housing represents a housing sector with growing demand, since good quality housing is available for relatively cheap rents. For newcomers, this sector is still not available. Not only are newcomers not eligible for subsidised flats; also, long waiting lists for subsidised housing create a situation in which flats are mostly not immediately available. Still, the urban target areas are helping the cities to develop attractive and affordable neighbourhoods and homes for the future. In the last years, Vienna also went back to the idea of building social housing. During the 1990s the city stopped building its own subsidised houses and instead subcontracted housing cooperatives to build them. Meanwhile, the pressure on the housing market increased so much that the city decided to pick up the task of constructing houses again.

Besides, also other urban planning projects show how the expansion of the city is tackled. In the last ten years, two metro lines have been prolonged (one of them towards the – back then not even existing – City by the lake). In the year 2014, it was further decided to build a completely new metro line. The "U5" is supposed to be opened within the next ten years. Further, the city has realised new bus lines and also the prolongation of a tram line has been discussed[16].

Organisation of urban planning in Vienna

The responsibility for spatial planning in Austria is a matter of the municipalities and the federal level. The city of Vienna has a relatively autonomous status in the matters of urban development, since it became a federal state in the 1920s, as already

[15] Seestadt Aspern, 2018, https://www.aspern-seestadt.at/en

[16] City of Vienna (2014b).

described earlier. The main instrument for planning is the building law, which regulates all legal matters concerning building. In the zoning and building plan, building lots are classified by their potential use. The main categories include "buildings", "green areas", and "traffic zones". In further detail, subcategories include "residential areas", "production areas", or "mixed zones". For the general strategy, the Urban Development Plan[17] is the main instrument decided by the city council for a time period of approximately ten years. It sets the general targets of the city's development and decides on the main development areas to be supported. The process of planning is still a cross-sectional matter, since plenty of policy fields are involved.

The city is structured into 57 municipal departments that hold functions in several policy fields. They are structured thematic-wise in seven over-arching administrative groups. For urban planning, two administrative groups are mainly responsible, namely the Administrative Group for Urban Development, Traffic and Transport, Climate Protection, Energy and Public Participation and the Administrative Group for Housing, Housing Construction and Urban Renewal[18]. The main instrument to link both fields of administration is the Urban Development Plan, where the future strategies of both groups are integrated and brought together.

While the planning within the city is highly organised by laws and instruments, the suburban growth leads to a certain challenge when it comes to its organisation. After the city border, the federal state of Vienna ends, and a high number of small municipalities with very different rationalities are in responsibility of planning. The mismatch between interests of the federal state of Vienna and its surrounding state, Lower Austria, as well as the suburban municipalities, is a further challenge to the city's development.

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[17] Ibid.

[18] City of Vienna Organisation of the City Administration, 2018, https://www.wien.gv.at/english/administration/organisation/authority/municipality/city-administration/departments.html

Migration and the welfare state: the challenge of providing housing for newcomers

Although the city of Vienna is renowned for its tradition and characteristic in the social housing sector, today's developments of population growth are putting this image under pressure. The social and subsidised housing market is a typical example of a service provided by the welfare state that have been developed in order to provide adequate living standards for everyone, despite class and income, market imperfections, or missing social priorities of private developments[19]. The development of the welfare system mainly took place in the European countries with different types and models[20], dating back to a time when national states have been established and societies were relatively closed and expanding wealth-wise. Even though the idea of welfare state has stayed the same, the conditions of welfare state provision have changed remarkably, which can be traced back to different lifestyles, a different economic development, and also to a changing demographic development and migration.

Migration in many societies is seen as a major threat for the welfare system[21]; not only when it comes to the provision of state-subsidised housing, but also when it comes to other forms of benefits such as social security, unemployment aid, child allowances, or similar. Populist parties all over Europe have gained votes by alerting the population of welfare freeloaders, which would make use of provided services and take advantage of the system built up in the past. Even though studies have shown that migrants bring more wealth to a society than they

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[19] D. Begg, S. Fischer, and R. Dornbusch, *Economics*, London, McGraw-Hill, 1987.
[20] A.M. Hicke and L. Kenworthy, "Varieties of Welfare Capitalism", *Socio-Economic Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 27-61, 2003; K. Aiginger and A. Guger, "The European socio-economic model", in A Gidden, R Liddle, and P. Diamond (Eds.), *Global Europe, Social Europe*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2006, pp. 124-150; V. Nadin and D. Stead, "European spatial planning systems, social models and learning", *DisP - ThePlanning Review*, vol. 172, no. 1, 2008, pp. 35-47.
[21] M. Bommes and A. Geddes (Eds.), *Immigration and Welfare: Challenging the Borders of the Welfare State*, London-New York, Routledge. 2003.

actually consume[22], the belief of a negative impact of immigration stays alive, often giving rise to xenophobia or even racism.

This has implications especially for the provision of housing. In Vienna, the access to the welfare state has always been limited through several eligibility barriers, such as citizenship or having paid taxes in previous years. The unemployment benefits, for example, is only available for people that have already worked in Austria before; and social housing has clear rules of access as well, such as a maximum income and the urgent need for a flat (e.g. due to a social emergency, over-coverage, etc.) but it also requires to have resided permanently in Vienna for a minimum of two years. Therefore, newcomers – and not only with a migration background – experience obstacles when applying for a social housing unit. In the current, overheated housing market, it is even more challenging for newcomers to apply.

Challenges and solutions for housing the newcomers

Especially in the last years, after investments into the private housing sector increased enormously in Vienna, the affordability of housing changed. Although the private market for all houses built before 1945 is highly regulated (in how much rent can be asked for), the high demand and the need for further investments make them increasingly expensive. While rent regulations exist officially, they are not always followed by landlords and newcomers often have no other chance than to accept illegal or inacceptable prices, and in many cases have no knowledge of the regulations themselves. Additionally, the investment boom that took place in the private market segment in the last decade has led to the disappearance and replacement of housing from the founders' period (despite a pronounced system of securing mechanism of old housing substance), where rents are still restricted. Newly erected building don't have to follow any regulation of the rental law and, therefore, in most cases offer

[22] C. Giulietti, M. Guzi, M. Kahanec, and K.F. Zimmermann, *Unemployment Benefits and Immigration: Evidence from the EU*, IZA Discussion Paper No. 6075, 2011.

flats that are more expensive than those in older buildings.

Especially during the refugee crisis in 2015 and 2016, the lack of "arrival spaces" in Vienna became increasingly visible. Having no access to cheap flats (not only due to financial constraints, but also given that discrimination of foreigners in the private renting sector is often a reality), a significant number of refugees that settled in the city after having fled from their home countries ended up in illegal renting arrangements.

Given that, in times of globalisation, the market competition is rough and, in most European countries, income is stagnating, the idea of welfare for everyone is getting more and more under pressure. Even though the solution of changing the access to the social housing market would find many arguments in favour, the continuity of the current legislation of the city can also be traced back to fulfilling the needs and voices of the potential voters. The interest in solidarity between different groups has been observed to be shrinking: therefore, the idea of serving the needs of the autochthonous population first is still the status quo. Last but not least, increasing liberalisation and austerity lead to a reduction in services provided by the state[23].

Still, new mechanisms are required to handle the definite mismatch between the ones in need and the ones profiting from welfare in order to guarantee the inclusion of newcomers despite the crisis of the housing market. Private initiatives are – as also already observed in the historic context of the settlers' movement – the forerunners for new ideas. In Vienna, "temporary use" has become a topic of interest for housing not only refugees, but homeless as well. In the last year, a private investor started an initiative to allocate buildings soon to be demolished to social welfare projects that offer housing to the poor, showing that also private companies in the real estate sector are able to take over responsibility[24].

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[23] J. Kadi, "Recommodifying Housing in Formerly 'Red' Vienna?" *Housing, Theory and Society*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2015.

[24] V.M. Berghofer, *Purple eat – Raumaneignung und Partizipation am Meidlinger Markt: Eine Möglichkeit zur Integration?*, Master thesis, University of Vienna, 2015.

Lately, the call for further legislation by the city has been followed, as a reaction to the growing investment and private renewal of housing stock and therefore the disappearance of "arrival spaces". In early 2018, the city has changed its regulations on the demolition of old buildings. Before, only buildings under a special status needed to be reported when torn down. From now on, the city has to be notified about all demolitions of buildings beforehand. This aims to save the old building stock and further the existence of old housing stock with an affordable rent.

Urban renewal – the Viennese way of maintaining "arrival spaces"

To have the old housing stock not only kept, but also secured and renovated, the city introduced in the 1970s the system of soft urban renewal. While before private owners were only able to use private financial resources to renovate buildings – which often meant an increase in rents – the city implemented a system of loans for private owners for the rehabilitation of building stock. In this case, the city also taps into the housing tax revenues, making them available to real estate owners. House owners can apply for this loan in certain parts of the city. The procurement conditions include the freeze of the rents for 15 years, at the same price level as subsidised housing. Moreover, a certain share of the flats that are rented out are contracted by the city to people applying for subsidised housing[25].

The system of soft urban renewal had, in the last years, a certain effect on the housing market, with rents developing on a relatively low level compared to other European cities. Recently, though, the loans of urban renewal became relatively unattractive to owners since the amount of paperwork is enormous and the private investment in the housing sector has been rising, thus lowering the necessity for state-led investment.

[25] W. Förster, "Stadterneuerung zwischen Markt und Staat: Der Wiener Weg im internationalen Vergleich", *Perspektiven*, 2005, nn. 7-8, pp. 22-28.

With the losing importance of keeping old housing stock under affordable living conditions, again especially newcomers to the city are affected, as they have no opportunity to enter the subsidised housing market. The idea to create new or maintain old arrival spaces in the city is therefore still a pressuring issue, especially since migration is the main growth factor of population development.

How the city of Vienna realises integration

Not only is the rising quantity of (new) population and their provisioning a challenge; the city has also to put a lot of effort into the integration of newcomers in order to support them becoming active citizens. Due to the rising diversity, the city has decided to take up a number of measures for integration. Today, around 39% of the citizens of Vienna have a so-called migration background, meaning that either the father or the mother has been born in another country than Austria. The percentage of people with a foreign passport is 28%, and 35% of the Austrian population was born in another country[26]. This is not a challenge per se, but it is an indicator of the existence of different languages and values that are represented in the city. 58% of the school children enrolled in primary school in the year 2015 had another mother tongue than German: in total, 51% of all pupils had a mother tongue other than German. In some schools, the concentration reached 85%[27]. Until today, enrolment rates in higher education are significantly lower for second-generation immigrants, which shows that measures for further integration are still under demand[28].

[26] City of Vienna, Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Wien, 2017.

[27] Statistik Austria (2018).

[28] Statistik Austria, Migration & Integration, Zahlen, Daten, Indikatoren, 2016.

Municipal department for integration and diversity

The reason why sometimes children with a migration background are lagging behind children from the host society is mainly connected to the lack of integration policies targeted to newcomers in the earlier periods of immigration. The former guest worker migration has never been perceived as a migration that would end up staying permanently in the country. Therefore, measures for their integration have never been thought of. Only after the 1990s, three decades after Austria evolved to be an immigration country, policies were developed to include population with different cultural backgrounds in the society by supporting language courses or information services. While at first most initiatives were started by NGOs or private entities, at some point the city decided to collect different initiatives under one municipal department in order to make the field more important and prominent in the city and to improve its quality through a permanent budget.

The municipal department number 17 for integration and diversity has, since then, developed into a department with several subdivisions and locations all over the city. Mainly, the department is there to support newcomers with their integration into the Viennese society. The department does this by offering a counselling service for every international migrant new to the city. The employees and contractors of the department are able to advise immigrants through so-called "start coaching" sessions, available in more than 20 languages[29], so that in many cases information is received in the mother tongues of the newcomers. The programme, named "Start Wien/Start Vienna", further offers the possibility to get detailed information in ten thematic fields such as housing, norms and values, education, labour market, law on residency, or health. By attending the courses, newcomers are not only able to get useful information for free. The attendance also qualifies them to receive a voucher for a language course. Since language is widely understood as

[29] Start Wien, 2018: http://www.startwien.at/en-eu/startcoaching

the key factor to integration, it is a clear measure to support the willingness to become part of the society[30].

Besides counselling, the municipal department is conducting other projects that try to lead to a better integration of population with a migration background, for example in the sector of education. The department is also frequently undertaking a monitoring of integration in Vienna by analysing different available quantitative data. The monitoring tries to find out how far different socio-economic statuses of different groups of origin exist (e.g. wage differentials, differentials in housing and living arrangements, differences in education of the second generation, etc.) or how people with a foreign background are exposed to discrimination. The monitoring further includes a report on the diversity of the city employees and tries to observe changes over time[31].

Besides, over the last decades, the city has implemented a number of small scale interventions to support the formation of diverse neighbourhoods and therefore foster a harmonic cohabitation. Especially between newcomers to the city and the autochthonous population several conflicts have made moderation and intervention schemes necessary. Therefore, in 2008, the city implemented a service point for "living assistance" (Wohnpartner) in the social housing complexes[32].

One of the reasons was that the social housing complexes traditionally housed a rather homogenous group of inhabitants in the post-war period in an often relatively old structure. The increasing share of population with a migration background in the course of the XX century lead to an increasing diverse population living in the traditional housing stock. Although social housing units were, for a long time, unavailable to foreigners in

[30] City of Vienna, Municipal Department 17 – Integration and Diversity 17, 2018.

[31] City of Vienna, Municipal Department 17 – Integration and Diversity 17 (2017), "Integration and Diversity". Wien, 2013-2016, 2017.

[32] Wohnpartner Wien, https://www.wohnpartner-wien.at/fileadmin/Downloads/Allgemein/Guiding_Principles.pdf

Vienna, due to the complexity of the naturalisation processes and the need to be a resident, people with a migration background have been guaranteed access to affordable homes by the city, which later changed its laws, making social housing available to people from other countries of the European Union.

Overall, the diversification of the population in the social housing plots was a challenge that needed to be managed. Not only the coming together of different cultures and languages led to conflicts in the buildings; more importantly, the moving in of newcomer families meant a change of demographics in many housing estates. The older population was not used to the noise of kids playing in the inner yards (most of the estates have big areas of outdoor space). Through the conflict management systems implemented by the city, the population could be helped to accustom to a changing population and age structure. The "housing partners" are also trying to help to maintain the social interactions in the estates, for example by establishing sites for urban gardening. The ongoing diversification increased the need for conflict management: that is why the number of offices and employees has been rising constantly over the years.

Also in the neighbourhoods where social housing is not strongly represented, the population structure depends a lot on the type of housing. In certain districts of the founders' period, with lower prices and lower living standards, the city experienced a higher share of foreign population. These districts were traditionally working class ones, with the potential to lead to conflicts as newcomers moved in. Even more problematic was the conflict between landlords and renters in the context of urban renewal. In a city with a very restrictive renting market it was crucial to enforce strict rules. The so-called "Urban renewal office" was founded mainly to provide basic information and juridical advice for renters, when it comes to renting prices or tenancy agreements[33].

[33] GB Stern, https://www.gbstern.at/

During the years, the activity grew and the Urban renewal office started to take care of development processes in the neighbourhoods, bringing together different actors and interests and actively developing public spaces, among other things. Since 2018, all districts in Vienna are assigned to a "Urban renewal office", which is evidence of the increasing importance of the topic for the city. While some years ago only some districts have been relatively "untouched" by increasing investment or changing building structure, today the investment in the housing market is visible all over the city.

Conclusion

Urban Planning and migration are two deeply interwoven topics. The increasing importance of migration as a demographic factor that determines a growth or decline in population has direct implications on the planning and building of a city or certain development areas. The city of Vienna has a big interest in creating and sustaining attractive neighbourhoods, through urban development projects and urban renewal. This is not an easy task since, in the last decade, the population has started to grow rapidly. Not only housing but also transport and infrastructure planning, as well as the development of public spaces led in the end to an attractive living place.

The fast growing population is not an easy thing to handle since, even when the fulfilment rate of housing projects is high, the population growth resulting from migration is even higher. The city is nevertheless trying to keep up its standards, as evidence by the implementation of more strict regulations on the treatment of the old housing stock as well as the realisation of new projects of social housing. In Vienna, the theme of affordable housing and the prevention of segregation traditionally play an important role. Until today, the share of subsidised housing is one of the highest in Europe. During current times, when building land and real estate became increasingly important for investment, the provision of affordable and high quality living spaces became difficult.

Vienna shows a big interest in creating a liveable city for all its inhabitants, by dedicating new development zones, supporting subsidised housing, and taking up the building of social housing again. Still, the housing market, as well as welfare policies in general, are under pressure, especially since newcomers are, at first, generally excluded from these policies. Affordable housing from the private sector is still necessary in order to provide an adequate housing situation for everyone. Under current conditions –increasing investments, speculation, and rising prices for building land – a continuous adaption of regulations first implemented in the 1970s and cooperation will be further necessary.

Furthermore, diversity and integration in the city need to be monitored and promoted. For this purpose, the city of Vienna has launched a department for integration and diversity that, in the last years, has been expanding its action field. Providing newcomers with information on housing, labour market, or education should lead to better chances and a greater potential for newcomers; the information transfer on values and traditions should also help to guarantee a harmonic cohabitation in all neighbourhoods. In the future, we should expect a further improvement of multiple policies with different foci in order to manage the growth of the city.

Policy Recommendations

In each European country, cities are at the forefront of the formulation, implementation, and interpretation of integration policies. As urban diversity and the complexity of public policy management processes increase, it is more and more important for city administrations to map the good practices of other European cities, selecting those that have produced the best results and adapting them to their specific cases.

In order to guide the activities of local administrations in more concrete terms, the authors of this Report have been asked to provide a series of policy recommendations, which have been collected in this concluding chapter.

Multi-level governance of integration

- Local administrations should work **to create or strengthen, the political-administrative figures that act as a link for integration policies**, which otherwise risk remaining subdivided in the respective areas of competence of the various city departments. In cooperation with the national government, it is necessary to expand all the **initiatives of connection and dialogue between different territorial levels**, systematising the occasions of meeting and exchange and guaranteeing continuity to maintain the coherence of national policies, while respecting their different application in the local realities. Local administrations must work to ensure that the central government acknowledges them not as mere implementers of national policies, but as

innovative laboratories, useful for experimenting with new solutions, which can also be adopted in the future at the national level.

- Local administrations and central governments should work together to systematise the collection of data and information and develop common protocols and practices for **a more in-depth evaluation of the effectiveness of integration policies at the local level** – comparing the costs and benefits of different interventions. In times of financial constraint, this is the only possible way to understand where and how to use the available resources more efficiently (for example, avoiding duplication), and in which areas more should be invested.
- By taking part in **transnational city networks**, local administrations must strive to use them as **places for real exchange of policies and best practices**, and not (or not only) as showcases in which to expose their vision of the world and their own policies and practices. Each city should then create **institutional moments of evaluation** of the most interesting practices, sharing them with public and private actors of the city, in order to evaluate their feasibility and the actual interest of the community.

Urban citizenship

- Cities should adopt **approaches such as "urban citizenship" and "municipalism"**, which underline the responsibility and important role of cities in defending the rights of all their citizens, regardless of whether they hold a residence permit or not. Their starting point is to recognise that cities are not simply part of a state, but have their own logic of belonging, principles, and demographic dynamics. Cities should use the advantages of their position in relation to states to emphasise – in their policies and campaigns towards residents – that

belonging to a city is not a matter of origin or ethnicity, but of a set of commonly accepted rights and duties.

- The universal vision underlying the concept of urban citizenship also indicates the need to **offer services to immigrants in the context of policies aimed at the entire population** (school, housing, education, health care: mainstreaming approach), rather than using special policies that only address the particular situation of immigrants – while not neglecting active policies towards certain vulnerable groups. Cities have a wide margin of manoeuvre to make a difference in terms of immigrants' rights and opportunities, for example by providing residence-based services or by making it easier to access services controlled by other territorial levels of government (province, region, central state).
- **Cities need to work together** at the national, European, and international level to increase the likelihood that their proposals and needs will be heard. They must use their technical expertise, their proximity to the citizens, and their specific ambitions in order to gain a place alongside the States and supranational institutions and contribute to the definition of integration policies. The most ambitious cities must act as examples, showing others that it is possible and beneficial for everyone to build a community in which no one is excluded because of their origin or nationality.

First reception

- Central governments and local administrations should work harder to ensure the full implementation of European Directives on the reception of asylum seekers and refugees and the provision of a **first structural reception system with the adoption of predefined and shared standards.** The adoption of predefined standards is even more crucial where structural and

extraordinary reception circuits are present in the same context (national and local).

- The cities, in cooperation with the higher levels of government, should commit themselves to develop ways of connecting the different contexts/reception centres in the same area, also establishing **a real direction and territorial working groups**. These opportunities would allow the exchange of good practices at the local level, the discussion of emerging critical issues, the design of common strategies, and collaboration with local protection agencies and the third sector. In a similar way, local authorities should develop an **integrated approach to reception**, aimed at connecting measures and services provided by different local actors, public and private, to better organise the resources available on the ground, avoiding excessive overlaps or gaps.
- Local governments should design and invest in **solutions to make the whole reception environment receptive and inclusive**. In other words, **communication strategies** must be developed in synergy with public and private actors in the area, aimed at local communities, who must be informed, made aware, and accompanied. One possibility is to organise meetings in which long-term citizens can express any hostility or perplexity, in order to initiate paths of negotiation and conflict reduction that require time not compatible with the management of emergencies.

Education

- Central governments and local administrations should strive **to ensure the right to education for all, especially for the newly arrived and the most disadvantaged** (unaccompanied minors, asylum seekers, etc.). Some of the most important policies in this area are: facilitating access to pre-school education; helping

parents and children to learn the language of the destination country from a very early age; de-segregating and qualifying the educational offer of schools with a high percentage of immigrant pupils; guidance and accompaniment measures to support school choices and encourage the participation of foreign pupils in quality secondary education; support for studies, prevention measures, and measures to combat early school leaving, including the resumption of learning at school and outside school (after school or in other contexts attractive to young people); support for the continuity of pathways in non-compulsory secondary education and in access to tertiary education.

- Public education policies should **recognise that the linguistic and cultural resources of pupils with an immigrant background (and their families) are an opportunity for all students.** In this sense, the following good practices should be noted: the recognition of linguistic, cultural, and religious diversity (with the transformation, for example, of school buildings with multilingual signs, objects, and decorative elements from different cultural backgrounds, through school menus that respect the different cultural/religious traditions, etc.); the enhancement of skills in the language of origin of minors and parents, and the maintenance of the mother tongue as a resource for learning L2; the interventions of linguistic-cultural mediation, also for the facilitation of school-family relations; the heterogeneity of the teaching staff, with the recruitment, training, and lifelong learning of teachers with immigrant backgrounds.
- Central governments and local administrations should **contribute to the transformation of the training offer and to the training of staff in an intercultural sense**. The following good practices should be mentioned: intercultural training of the teaching staff; interventions

aimed at improving the learning climate in a cooperative and participatory way; actions for the mediation of conflicts and the improvement of inter-ethnic relations in the educational and out-of-school contexts; opening of schools to the territory and collaboration with extracurricular organisations; protagonism of immigrant students and parents as leaders and initiators of projects, as well as their presence in representative school bodies.

Labour market

- Local administrations should strive to **ensure that their officials have the skills to provide the services necessary to foreign citizenship**. They should invest in developing the capacity of local officials to deal with integration issues. Municipal staff should constantly be updated on changes in legislation and should receive specific training if innovative measures need to be implemented.
- Cities should **strive to involve a wider range of actors** (public and private employment services, chambers of commerce, trade unions, associations, professional institutions, and civil society organisations) **and improve their coordination**. Outsourcing some measures to these actors and their incentive to participate in the labour market integration process can ensure positive results, as they are able to reach migrants more easily and map their needs.
- Local governments should commit to **strengthen cooperation with employers and encourage the private sector to become more proactive**. The city should cooperate closely with local companies and encourage them to take an active role in the process of integrating their employees. Incentives for potential employers may include support to address complex immigration issues,

such as recognition of qualifications and work permits, or wage subsidies, or tax incentives.

- Local authorities should launch or support **programmes for migrant entrepreneurship**. Local migrant entrepreneurship is a promising alternative option for employment. Cities should encourage migrants to set up businesses by offering them free mentoring, allowing them access to loans and connecting them with a network of ethnic entrepreneurs.
- In order to achieve their integration objectives more efficiently, cities should **create a locally accessible database of skills and job offers of migrants.** This database can be used to match migrants' skills to the needs of the local labour market. Again, cooperation between actors at different levels and good coordination are crucial to ensure that the specific migration profiles identified at the local level can be combined with job offers.

Access to health services

- Cities should join forces to ask national governments or competent local authorities to **reform legislation and practices that deny or restrict access to health services on the basis of residence status**. Healthcare should be provided on the basis of a person's need, and should not be linked to or conditional on his or her regular or irregular presence on the territory. Proactive measures are also needed to **remove administrative obstacles to access to services**, including discriminatory denial of care and the obligation to present documents before being able to use a health service.
- There is a strong need to **remove access to healthcare from the range of measures used to discourage immigration**. Governments and health service providers should clearly de-couple the provision of health services from immigration control mechanisms. It is also

appropriate to adopt rules to protect the confidentiality of patients and to ensure that data collected in the context of medical treatment is used only for medical purposes and not for use by others without the consent of the patient.

- Local governments should **implement proactive measures, in cooperation with civil society, to improve access to health services**. They should also continue to monitor the many existing examples of good practices and, whenever possible, apply them or adapt them to the local context, or devise new models to meet the specific needs of their community.

Urban planning

- Cities must become aware of their evolution and **commit themselves to implement great ideas and long-term projects**. Many cities in Europe have found themselves facing a moment of rapid urban development, having to create entire neighbourhoods from scratch or redevelop existing spaces. In particular, it is essential to invest in local transport infrastructure and the creation of green spaces.
- Local authorities must commit to **create and maintain "reception areas"**. In times of high investment in the real estate market, the private sector is under severe pressure and often cannot afford to provide affordable housing. As social housing is not accessible to newcomers, this results in dangerous discrimination in a rapidly changing environment. Therefore, cities must find ways to support and integrate newcomers as well, in order to make them future residents. Interesting in this regard are public policies that incentivise private individuals to renovate their own buildings or build new ones, with the specific aim of ensuring the sustainability of the housing market and the existence of affordable housing.

- Local authorities should **re-evaluate the role of neighbourhoods** in urban planning. Apparently simple and "microlocal" policies, such as the regeneration of some neighbourhoods, can be very useful – even more so than those that focus on large projects to create new areas in the city or rebuild entire neighbourhoods from scratch. Especially in terms of the integration of foreigners, the size of the neighbourhood is of great importance, since it is the place where people meet and interact. Cities are composed of different parts, which must be treated differently: no policy can function in the same way in all parts of a city.

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Percorsi d'integrazione di immigrati romeni (2013); "Titolari e riservisti. L'inclusione differenziale di lavoratori immigrati nella viticultura del Sud Piemonte" (with V. Moiso, *Meridiana*, 2017); "Intercultural policy in times of crisis: theory and practice in the case of Turin, Italy" (with T. Caponio, *Comparative Migration Studies*, 2017).

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Cristoph Krieger is a sociologist who deals mainly with migration and social research. Since 2015, he has operated a facility for asylum seekers in Kiel. He is a member of the Green Party and advocates for migrants' rights. He collaborates with the project "Medibueros e Medinetze", which helps undocumented migrants to have access to health care. For this, he has been

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Marta Siciarek is an intercultural sinologist and psychologist based in Gdansk. She is founder and president of the Immigrants Assistance Centre offering legal and professional advice and language courses. The Centre also manages a Safe Reporting Point, carries out social assistance activities for excluded communities, and manages support apartments for refugees and immigrants in crisis. She coordinates Gdansk's integration policies, covering five thematic areas: health, safety, employment, culture, and higher education. Currently she also collaborates with the Marshall Regional Office of Pomerania, in northern Poland, within the project "Three steps for integration in Pomerania", with the aim of developing action plans for the inclusion and integration of municipalities.

Alyna C. Smith is Advocacy Officer for PICUM, a network of 160 organisations across Europe and other regions, defending

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