Building intercultural bridges in European cities

Lessons for local migrant integration policy

Contents

Introduction

This report briefly summarises the policy relevant experiences of the CLIP network (cities for local integration policy) of more than 35 European cities in 22 countries over a period of five years from 2006 to 2010.[1] CLIP was founded with the objective of improving local integration policy for migrants in European cities through an innovative exchange of experience and new ways of learning between the participating cities in order to deliver a more effective integration policy. The four research modules over the five-year period covered issues such as housing, diversity, intercultural policies and ethnic entrepreneurship. The lessons learnt and the conclusions drawn from the results of each research module have also contributed to the national and the European debate on integration. The unique character of the CLIP network is that it organised a shared learning process between the participating cities, between the cities and a group of expert European research centres as well as between policymakers at the local and European level.

CLIP approach

Based on previous experiences, the learning from each other and the transfer of relevant experiences between cities was seen as a major challenge by all participants in the network. Important barriers had to be considered. One barrier for a successful learning process is the variety of participating countries with different legal, political, economic, social and cultural conditions, in which the participating cities are operating. Another barrier is the lack of time which high-level city officials have at their disposal for additional learning. The level of individual commitment also plays a role in how actively involved a city administration can be in the CLIP network. The commitment of the top political level of the city is also a crucial leverage of the engagement of various departments dealing with integration policies. The degree of independence (from the national level) in policymaking in specific areas by local authorities has proved to be an influencing factor. Moreover, the CLIP network had to cope with the lack of established European arenas and policy processes for a continuous and organised exchange between cities on integration issues. Added to this, the time frame of existing European support programmes for cities was usually too short, which was not conducive to effective learning, with the usual time frame given to implement specific projects often being not longer than 12 to 18 months.

In order to overcome these challenges, the network agreed to use an innovative way to organise an effective and efficient learning process based on the following principles: using the expertise from the cities, integrating this expertise into an action research approach, combining practical experience of cities with the scientific rigour of a high-powered research network of excellence[2], involving relevant European Union and other European organisations and institutions[3], creating mutual trust in the network between the cities and between cities and researchers and finally providing a medium-term time frame of operation of at least four years. These conditions are discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

The cities were represented by high-level practitioners with relevant conceptual, planning and practical day-to-day experience on integration issues. In some cities they held positions inside the city administration enabling them to mobilise necessary additional support and experience within and outside the administration. These 'experts in their own right' provided a wealth of extremely relevant information and experience for the network. Any case study work could be based on their authentic experience and their network of contacts. There are, however, limitations of this expertise. In many cases, practitioners have a lack of time for conceptual and strategic reflections. Due to their 'generalists' career path most of our city experts lacked necessary research analytical and methodological skills to prepare a consistent input for a comparative European action research programme. This may have been also linked to the fact that there are

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[1] http://www.eurofound.europa.eu/areas/populationandsociety/clip.htm

[2] This is the IMISCOE network, which was financed by DG Research between 2004 and 2009.

[3] For example, the Committee of the Regions and the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities in the Council of Europe.

different departments within the city administration that are responsible for integration policies and it seems that often single departments do not work in a coordinated way which results in a fragmented approach and often delays the provision of information. Before they started to cooperate with the CLIP programme many of the local authorities presented their local experience in the public debate mainly with a 'marketing and public relations' perspective of portraying their city in the best possible way.

In order to overcome these difficulties, CLIP attracted and financed a group of leading and high-powered European research centres in the field. This group of research centres was part of the wider EU-funded Network of Excellence on International Migration, Integration and Social Cohesion (IMISCOE) created by the European Commission's Directorate General for Research. The tasks of the researchers were wide-ranging:

- identifying relevant issues together with cities and the programme manager;

- developing a conceptual framework around these issues based on a literature analysis of existing experience;

- conducting in-depth case studies with the support of the cities and other relevant local organisations;

- providing an overview report summarising the relevant results from the case studies;

- drawing short policy recommendations from the reports in cooperation with the project manager;

- supporting the learning and exchange process between the cities by participating actively in the dialogue during many CLIP conferences and workshops;

- presenting CLIP results to other cities, policymakers and researchers;

- using the findings of the CLIP modules in other academic activities.

Role of Eurofound and other organisations

Eurofound not only sponsored the activity to a large extent, it was also responsible for the management of the network and the cooperation between its various parts. Eurofound has extensive experience providing a European and comparative perspective regarding relevant policy issues. In one of its roles as an arena of policy exchange between the European institutions, Member States, the European social partners and civil society it was able to organise the sometimes difficult cooperation between local practitioners/policymakers and researchers and to provide a direct access to the European discussion and policymaking process on the integration of migrants. The development of trust among the various participants of the network on the horizontal (overcoming competition between cities), vertical (reducing misunderstandings between local, national and European policymakers) and functional level (better understanding between policymakers and researchers) has been achieved by a careful management process by Eurofound.

Another element that distinguished CLIP from other city networks and an element that certainly enriched the process of sharing of experiences and the improvement of the integration policies was the active engagement of migrant organisations throughout the process. Migrant organisations were approached to participate actively in the third and fourth modules of the CLIP project. The reason for that was to allow sufficient time for the cities and local authorities to get to know each other and for the network to consolidate and find its identity. The inclusion of migrant organisations was not an easy exercise for both sides but ultimately all parties agreed that they have learned from it and valued all the inputs.

This resulted in more detail in the following contributions of Eurofound: strategic orientation of the network together with other parties; overall management of research; organisation of nine network meetings; organisation of the Steering

Committee; internal contacts within the European institutions; external contacts and presentation of relevant research and policy recommendations.

In addition, CLIP involved other international organisations: the Congress of Local and Regional Authorities of the Council of Europe, Committee of the Regions of the European Union, the Council of European Municipalities and Regions (CEMR) and the European migrant organisation European Network Against Racism (ENAR). These organisations gave the network a European policy orientation, supported the transfer of ideas into the policymaking process of their organisations and supported the organisational set-up of CLIP.

Outcomes for the network

The cooperation between these various levels of actors was not always easy. However, one can already conclude that the cooperation and the organisation of synergy between them have supported a relative effective learning and exchange process between the cities. This resulted in an important change of practice in local integration policy in several of the participating cities. For instance, the action research approach delivered tangible results, which were confirmed by both an independent and internal evaluation of CLIP activities (Eurofound, 2010b). The success of CLIP is also indirectly confirmed by the decision of the CLIP cities in their 9th network meeting in Zagreb (winter 2010) to continue with its activities without the financial and organisational support of Eurofound. Two further CLIP meetings took place (in the second half of 2011 in Istanbul and first half of 2012 in Wrocław). Meetings were organised by the City of Stuttgart in cooperation with the cities in which the meetings took place with the main objective to discuss in greater detail the results of mainly the last module on ethnic entrepreneurship.

Outputs of the research

Over the five-year period CLIP has produced a significant number of outputs on four research modules (housing, diversity, intercultural policies, ethnic entrepreneurship), which can be found on Eurofound's website. These outputs are the basis of this report. Chapter 1 looks at the impact of the increasing diversity of European cities. Chapter 2 emphasises the need for more careful wording and labelling in the public discourse on intercultural relations. Chapter 3 argues in favour of an integration policy for migrants aiming for efficient mainstreaming within local government and administration and the need for a 'new governance' approach based on effective partnership, power sharing and participation. Chapter 4 discusses the need for innovation of local integration policy within three specific policy areas: a) intercultural relations, b) diversity and c) ethnic entrepreneurship. Chapter 5 looks at the need for innovation in cities through an appropriate mix of generic and specific policies geared towards migrants. Chapter 6 highlights the intercultural opening up of the city administration as a key condition for a long-term sustainable and effective integration policy. Chapter 7 discusses the need for more direct funding for local integration activities for migrants and city networks within the European Integration Fund. The final chapter presents some lessons learnt from the research.

Increased diversity in European cities *1*

Increasing diversity in European cities is inevitable and needs policies, programmes and activities as a roadmap towards a new integration policy providing new ways and forms of economic, social and societal integration of migrants.

First some basics, which are often forgotten in the sensitive and partly politicised debate about immigration and integration of migrants in European cities. Migration of individuals and larger ethnic groups driven by political and ethnic conflicts, economics, lifestyle and family reasons is a basic part of the history of mankind. New and developing relationships between natives and newcomers have been historically a serious challenge for receiving societies and the new arrivals. Due to its relative political stability, its economic wealth and its developed welfare state, Europe is nowadays an attractive destination for migrants from all over the world. Hence, in historical terms there is nothing new about the so-called migration challenge for European politicians and European citizens.

Increasing diversity

Mass migration is the human face of a pervasive trend of increasing globalisation. Worldwide mass migration is one systemic effect of global turbo capitalism. This is a secular trend, which will not change in the near and medium-term. European societies will face and have to cope with a serious influx of legal and undocumented migrants from all over the world. At the same time, Europe is facing a significant long-term reduction of its indigenous population due to its changing demographic structure. Therefore, as a combination of both trends, European societies will become increasingly diverse regarding the nationality, ethnicity, race and religious beliefs of citizens. This will be accompanied by increasing cultural diversity.

Culture becomes relevant for local integration conditions and policies of migrants in their relation to the indigenous population as it generates specific categories, norms, values, practices, rituals, symbols, worldviews, ideas, discourses and ideologies. These are relevant for human behaviour in all major spheres of life (private, public, work). In this way, the contribution of cultural differences to diversity and its effect on the relationship of larger groups and their organisations within the city are in reality nearly as significant as diversity caused on grounds of socioeconomic (income, class) and demographic (gender, age and generation) differences.[4]

European cities are at the forefront of increasing diversity and centres and laboratories of the accompanying societal change. Cities have been and will be attracting a higher proportion of new migrants than rural areas. At the same time, they are facing higher fertility rates of second and third-generation migrants. As a consequence, in some European cities already 40% or more of the population have a migration background.[5] Predictions see an increase of this rate in several cities in the next 20 years clearly beyond 55%, if not higher.[6]

This challenge is enhanced as there is not only increased diversity between natives and migrants but also increased diversity between different migrant communities along ethnic, religious, racial, cultural, demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. This leads in cities like London, Amsterdam and Frankfurt to something that has been

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[4] Therefore, 'culture' and its effects on the 'agency' of individual human behaviour and on social, ethnic and religious organisations of migrants are often undervalued by local integration policy with its prevailing focus on structural integration conditions such as employment, education and housing.

[5] See, for example, Zurich with around 45%, Amsterdam with 49% and Luxembourg with 63%. Vienna, Malmö, Stuttgart and Frankfurt are in a bracket between 30% and 40%.

[6] In Stuttgart, for example, in 2008 the proportion of children from families with a migration background within the group of children between three and five years of age was already 59.2%.

labelled by Vertovec (2007) as super-diversity. This can be shown in the case of Frankfurt by highlighting some of the key characteristics of super-diversity (Stadt Frankfurt, 2009):

- migrants from more than 170 different countries;

- large variety of ethnic, religious, racial and cultural traditions;

- increasing variety of different migration trajectories;

- different legal statuses of migrants;

- larger variations in the demographic and socioeconomic conditions of migrations;

- sustainability of super-diversity over a longer period of time as this super-diversity existed in Frankfurt already at the end of the 1990s.

Parallel to the process of increased multifaceted diversity, the development of new cultural and social synergies can be observed based on increased interaction and exchange of significant parts of the different native and migrant communities. This is happening in arenas such as the workplace in indigenous but also in multinational companies, leisure activities such as sports and other cultural events, joint learning and upbringing in crèches, schools and universities as well as day-to-day contacts in mixed neighbourhoods. This is particularly relevant for greater parts of second and third-generation migrants and for younger, more European and more multicultural natives. Here, the development of a new hybrid culture and of layered identities can be seen. Some even observe a vice-versa 'contamination' and 'cross-over fertilisation' and the creation of a hybrid culture across traditional boundaries (Wood and Landry, 2008). Natives may have a local, national and European identity whereas an increasing number of mainly younger migrants have a combined identity of country of origin with their local community or the receiving country. In the long run, a hybrid culture based on layered or multiple identities may substitute existing national and ethnic identities.

More exchange and increased interaction are also supported by several policy interventions of local authorities in education, employment, housing, provision of access to social services for migrants and non-discrimination in order to reduce social exclusion of migrants and increase the social cohesion in the city.

Conclusion

Local governments have to recognise the changing structure of European cities. They are changing in the long run towards a more multifaceted and in some instances even 'super' diversity. In parallel, one observes more potential for social cohesion in diverse cities based on the development and diffusion of new cross-cutting multiple and layered social and cultural identities. City policies of equal opportunities, civic participation and anti-discrimination of migrants accompany those processes.

In this context, an important result arising from CLIP activities should be considered: there can be positive and negative aspects to diversity in moving towards a cohesive city. One should resist the impulse to emphasise only the positive potential of more diversity or to demonise diversity. Diversity seems inevitable and bears risks and opportunities. Only an appropriate policy response will capitalise on it. To fail to live up to this challenge will have and has already had serious negative consequences for many European cities.[7]

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[7] A similar point of view is expressed by the Group of Eminent Persons of the Council of Europe in its report 'Living Together' (Council of Europe, 2011).

Reference to migrant status in *2* the public discourse

The sometimes casual transfer of analytical and statistical concepts of migrant status into the public and political discourse may lead to the stigmatisation and negative labelling of migrants. It is suggested to reconsider those practices and to stress in the public debate more the citizen status of the new arriving migrants in the receiving country ('the newcomers') or combine country of origin with the receiving country ('Turkish Germans') than only their transitory migrant status. As a consequence, it is recommended to seriously change the used terminology and classifications in the public discourse.

Need for more careful approach

During CLIP operations, a number of situations occurred where definitions and terms used in the discourse on migrants were discussed and where different views were often apparent on the most appropriate way forward.

The most pronounced discussions took place with the start of the third research module on intercultural relations. Originally, it was planned to focus this module exclusively on intergroup relations between Muslims and the majority society in European cities. At the time, this was not an unusual direction of research and debate as several larger European research projects were focusing on the integration of Muslim migrants and on how local policies in the European cities were facing those challenges. Several of the research centres supporting CLIP were actively involved in some of those projects.

Despite these activities, some researchers as well as several city representatives were apprehensive about adopting this approach. The main argument in the internal discussion against an exclusive specific Muslim perspective was that such a targeted approach would a) support the 'negative and stigmatising labelling' of the Muslim community, b) confirm the stereotypes of Muslims being a difficult community to integrate, c) ignore the cultural and socioeconomic differences between various Muslim communities living in Europe, and d) be therefore counterproductive to any positive intercultural policy towards Muslims in European cities. The concern was that the heated public discourse in 2008/2009 after several terrorist attacks in Europe would see its concerns and anxieties confirmed by such a research activity regardless of the results.

The counter argument against this concern was that being Muslim and having a specific religious affiliation is an important sociocultural dimension for the analysis of social, cultural, societal and political behaviour of migrant Muslims in comparison to other groups in society. The use of the category 'Muslim' should only be seen as an analytical category within social research in order to explain and predict behaviour of this subgroup. Consequently, results of this research could then inform local or national policies to improve the integration of Muslim migrants.

Changes in the political landscape in Europe sometimes interfere in these already complicated processes. The status of entrepreneurs from Poland or Bulgaria, for example, operating in western European countries suddenly changed when these two countries joined the EU. For instance, Polish and Bulgarian nationals who lived and worked abroad were no longer regarded as international migrants but as individuals who were enjoying Europe's internal mobility.

A similar issue arose, but in a less pronounced way in relation to the term 'migrant background', which classifies second and third-generation citizens with a family history of migration as 'migrants'. Within such an approach, even people born in the country where they currently live with migrant parents get no chance to move away from the cultural and social status of being to some 'extent' regarded of being of migrant origin. In this way, 'migrant status' has the potential to become a negative signal and label, an exclusive stereotype and an obstacle to positive intercultural relations. Research

results confirm that such external stereotypes are also internalised by parts of the migrant community, which defines itself differently from majority society.

Again the counter argument highlights the analytical importance of the category 'migration background' and its explanatory power. Based on existing sociostructural research there is no doubt in scientific circles of the importance of this indicator in order to explain attitudes and behaviour in important life domains of migrants. Using it exclusively in academic circles would avoid possible negative effects in the wider public discourse. If transposed into the public debate, researchers have to educate politicians and the general public in order to avoid a 'misuse' of the scientific terminology.

How immigrants or indeed ethnic minorities are defined and feature in the statistics also depends on the specific national discourse and policies and this differs from country to country. Immigrants may have the same backgrounds but once settled in different countries they can end up as very different statistical categories. For example, in the UK the term 'immigrant' has become tainted with all sorts of negative connotations and is therefore no longer current among British academics or in policy circles. Instead, people of Asian, Mediterranean or Caribbean descent are now referred to as 'ethnic minorities'. Immigrants in France, notably second-generation immigrants, are largely (statistically) invisible since many have acquired French citizenship. Nonetheless, immigrants from Turkey in Germany (including the second and third generations) are still considered foreigners (Ausländer) and registered as such, while immigrants from central and eastern Europe who are of German ancestry (Aussiedler) can get citizenship more easily.

Furthermore, ongoing changes in the political landscape in Europe shape and change processes. Most notable are the consequences of the European Union enlargement which affect the migration status of certain groups. For example, after the 2004 enlargement (10 new Member States) or 2007 enlargement (Bulgaria and Romania) or the imminent accession of Croatia certain groups of people are suddenly no longer regarded as international migrants but as individuals exercising rights of internal mobility, though in some cases within restrictions imposed by some Member States.

Cities and local authorities in their design, management and implementation of their policies towards migrants/ethnic minorities operate within these sometimes challenging national legislative boundaries.

Experience in CLIP cities and in the Member States demonstrates that the misuse of the social and cultural classifications 'Muslim' and 'migrant background' is fairly widespread. Not only the citizens but also media and politicians can be careless in the use of this terminology. Due to this misuse, the public debate and perception risk being influenced by these discriminatory and stigmatising labels. This leads to negative signalling effects in all parts of day-to-day life and to self-perception of many migrants that supports 'self-exclusion' from the receiving society.

A more fundamental argument emerges from the French debate on the relationship between ethnic statistics and discrimination. The director of the Institute of the School of High Studies on Social Science (EHESS) Herve Le Bras argues in an article in *Le Monde* from July 2009 against ethnic statistics to reduce discrimination. He regards them firstly as ineffective in the short term and secondly stresses their adverse effects in the long run. He argues that naming and labelling certain ethnic and religious groups mainly of migrant background by the state in official statistics legitimises existing differences and introduces these ethnic and religious classifications in the thinking and habits of politicians and the general public. It stabilises in this way a latent thinking and perception, which already exists for some time in the societal discourse. Thus it has the opposite effect as it contributes to increased discrimination legitimised by the state.

As far as the term migrant is concerned, there is another issue at stake, which was highlighted several times by one of the experts in the CLIP network. Migration in itself describes a transitory situation in which a person, a family or a larger group moves from A to B. Arriving in B the migration process is finished. However, in analytical terms and in the public

discourse the person/group is still classified and perceived as a migrant. It may be more appropriate to talk about newcomer and new arrivals instead of migrants or people with a migrant background.

As a consequence of those concerns, European integration policy may consider going back to basic principles of US integration policies to perceive and treat any legal migrant on arrival as a 'new citizen' with the same citizen rights and status as any other citizen. If statistical classifications are used they usually combine the US status with the country/region of origin – for example, Hispanic-American or Italo-American. In this way, the emphasis is on the fact that this group is first of all American and secondly comes from a specific background. European cities may consider changing their perspective: for instance, someone who has legally arrived has to be regarded first of all as a citizen of the receiving country with equal rights and obligations and secondly as a newcomer from another country.

Several lessons can be drawn from the third module of CLIP research on intercultural policies, where more effort was made to:

- facilitate an open and equal-ended discussion and decision-making process between all parties concerned (cities, researchers, project manager);

- integrate a specific research focus (here a Muslim focus) into a wider approach looking at all relevant religious groups with a migration background;

- analyse not only policies of cities towards Muslim communities but at the same time look at general intercultural policies.

Conclusion

Media, politicians and mainstream organisations in the receiving country, which are involved in the intense public discourse on integration of migrants and improved intercultural relations, should seriously consider their communication strategies and the way they use concepts, terminology and labels.

Cooperation, mainstreaming and governance of integration policy *3*

The CLIP research shows that there is a need for policies and practices of 'good governance' of integration policy in the various cities. This should be based internally within the city administration and focus on good and early provision of relevant information and analysis, effective mainstreaming and good coordination. The administration has to create awareness and encourage the mayor and other high-level political decision-makers in the city council to give high priority to a holistic integration policy. Externally it requires the city administration, the mayor and the city council to engage in an open partnership, power sharing and opportunities of participation on all scalar levels of government and with all relevant local parties concerned including migrant organisations and non-governmental organisations (NGOs).

Challenges for city authorities

Not only CLIP experience but the results of several research reports confirm that the integration of migrants is an overarching challenge for local authorities, which covers all major life domains of migrants. It touches on the responsibility of many departments within the city administration and many committees within the city council. It is a classical horizontal issue, which asks for effective mainstreaming within different city departments and between various committees of the city council.

Experience in all four modules of the CLIP research shows some deficiencies in developing appropriate policies and practices in city administrations. Several challenges have been identified: lack of an overarching programme for the integration of migrants; inadequate organisational structures and practices; lack of information and cooperation; lack of top-level political support; and lack of leadership and commitment.

The following requirements can be identified: a) a strategy to define the medium-term integration policy of the city in a holistic way; b) organisational change and a new organisational culture within the city administration; c) political support from key decision-makers in administration, city council and from the mayor towards the work of the integration department; d) a professional, credible and diligent head of the integration department; e) a consistent and credible approach of moving from government to governance and the need to involve all relevant external parties concerned.

Many research results have shown that city administrations in Europe are large and complex organisations with formal bureaucratic rules of engagement. They are organisations with decentralised power in the different departments. As in other private and public organisations, any approach to introduce a matrix organisation with horizontal and overarching responsibilities faces serious problems. This can also be experienced in nearly all CLIP cities in the field of integration of migrants.

The responsibility for integration policy is often part of one department of the city administration. Under these conditions, integration issues are mostly located within the 'Social Department' of the city. This organisational arrangement confines the integration issues to one department and fails to provide any direct information and communication links with other relevant departments or allow any direct influence on the work of other departments.

Often the most basic information is either insufficient or in an extreme case is completely lacking in the integration department, even though it has been collected by other departments or by the statistical office of the city. This includes information on basic demographic and socioeconomic statistics but even more important information on relevant programmes and activities. If information is provided it often comes only after decisions are taken, which again bypasses the integration department. There were also examples of where necessary information was completely lacking. In such circumstances, the integration department often had no opportunity to advise the statistical office – for example, to collect the necessary information and to close the information gap.

In many cities, not only the information capacity but also the analytical capacity of the integration department was insufficient. Due to the lack of personnel and/or due to the lack of funding, many integration departments lacked the capacity to transform relevant information into relevant intelligence, which would be necessary to evaluate past activities or assess the feasibility and effectiveness of future programmes.

In the CLIP experience, cities in their internal proceedings often lack any platforms, committees or meetings in which the relevant inside and outside parties meet and discuss integration issues. During the CLIP research and consultation process, the relevant parties in the city administration in several cities met for the first time to discuss jointly their contribution for the CLIP research.

In many cities, a successful integration policy calls for a change in the organisational structure and culture of the city administration. In addition, more funding and human resources have to be provided. This defines the seriousness of the challenge.

The need and will for political support is an important ingredient for a successful integration policy. Considering the complex nature of the integration issue and the complex organisational and power structures within the local authority, symbolic, credible and sustained high-level political support are necessary to tackle the various challenges. This can be provided, for example, by the mayor, bigger political parties in the Local Council and/or by the top players of the city administration.

CLIP research demonstrates high-level support is a necessary but not a sufficient condition to succeed. In organisational and symbolic terms, such support can be organised by allocating the responsibility for integration issues to the mayor's advisory department. In addition, it is important that top-level actors support the efforts of the integration department to ensure effective mainstreaming, which has to go through several phases, is time-consuming and needs to be an ongoing activity. Effective monitoring and clarification of the main messages among key actors in the different departments are important to guarantee success.

The day-to-day business of the integration department and its cooperation with other parts of the city administration require the implementation of an overarching strategy. As the integration issue is a serious structural and agency issue, a medium to long-term approach is required. Important changes can only be achieved over the long term. Successful policies have to reflect the interrelationship and dependency of the different parts of the city policy in order to achieve better integration of migrants. In this respect, it is also important to achieve a basic consensus for a long-term strategy within the major political parties in the Local Council. Integration policies cannot be changed after council elections every four or five years. This holds true for other policies that have to fit into the short-term nature of the political process; however, the integration policies demand a mid-term perspective for the long-term effects of those policies to fully emerge.

Personality and leadership skills are important for the organisation of a successful integration policy within and outside the city administration. CLIP research shows that the success of such policies hinges on the credibility, ability, motivation and professionalism of the head of the integration department and their staff. A personal migrant background and/or high degrees of intercultural competences are important traits for this job. It also needs leadership and the willingness to engage in some risk-taking in a difficult political and societal terrain.

Many observers agree, as does the experience of the CLIP network, that city administrations and city councils have to engage with other actors in order to achieve successful and sustainable integration of migrants based on good intercultural relations.

As a first step, the involvement of migrants and their organisation is necessary to understand their situation, to give them a voice, to use their network capacity and to cooperate with them in the provision of support services. Secondly, city administrations should cooperate with civil society, NGOs and their networks, organisations and companies. Thirdly, cities should involve in the debate important social, economic, religious and cultural organisations from the majority society. They should use their experience and organisational potential to ensure better integration of migrants. Finally, the general public and the ordinary citizen have to be involved in the process.

Conclusion

A mixture of factors associated with local government and city administration are required to create conditions for a successful 'balanced intercultural integration policy'. These include innovative organisational structures, high intercultural awareness of key decision-makers, strong intercultural competence, professionalism and commitment in the integration department, and visible and sustained political leadership.

Innovation within specific domains *4*
of integration policy

Additions, revisions and different priorities are necessary within specific areas of integration policy to enhance their effectiveness. It is suggested to add comprehensive intercultural policies to all integration policies, to be more specific as regards diversity policy (both within the public administration and local authorities as well as diversity in the provision of the services) and to give higher priority to the support for ethnic entrepreneurship in local integration policy.

In its operations, CLIP analysed and discussed four specific domains of integration policy relevant for the integration of migrants. During this process, it became obvious that there would be a need to further develop the different policy areas. This section focuses on three future challenges based on this experience:

■ the need to develop new policies in the domain of intercultural policy to overcome the limitations of confining intercultural policies to those that present and support the culture of the sending country in the receiving society;

■ the necessity to develop more specific programmes and activities in the domain of diversity policy, bolstered by more effective diversity management;

■ the need to put more emphasis on policies regarding ethnic entrepreneurship, which is often undervalued in its importance for integrating migrants into employment in comparison to strategies promoting integration into paid employment.

Developing more comprehensive intercultural policies

Many cities experience a lack of substantial and holistic intercultural policy which goes beyond the organisation of cultural events. Comprehensive intercultural policies are an important part of local integration policy.

In its report *Intercultural policies in European cities* (Eurofound, 2010a), the CLIP network has provided a systematic overview of the relevant intercultural programmes and activities of cities in Europe.

As a starting point, CLIP recommends cities should organise a joint consultation of the responsible departments and political bodies of the city together with all relevant local stakeholders – natives and migrants – to discuss their understanding of culture, intercultural relations and the scope of local intercultural policies. In particular, cities should try to reach agreement on a concrete definition of culture and intercultural relations including the importance of specific categories, norms, values, practices, rituals, symbols, worldviews, ideas, discourses and ideologies. Cities should avoid defining cultural differences and identities only by proxy using ethnicity, religion, country of birth, nationality or language as indicators. Based on this agreed conceptualisation and operationalisation, a broad mapping of relevant cultural structures and identities should be commissioned.

City councils should embrace a broad view of intercultural policy – one that goes beyond the organisation of music, folkloristic and culinary exchanges between minority groups. As suggested in the CLIP report on intercultural policies, it may be useful to structure local intercultural policies along the following subdimensions: improving relations with and between ethnic and migrant organisations; improving attitudes and intergroup relations on the individual level; improving relationships between the police and ethnic and migrant groups; meeting religious needs of migrants and supporting interreligious dialogue; promoting a policy of de-radicalisation.

Given the strategic importance of intercultural policies for a successful local integration policy, it is suggested that a visible, high-profile political leadership is adopted by the mayor or lord mayor of the city, the city council and the heads

of the relevant minority groups, and representatives of key organisations of the majority society (such as the social partners, churches and sports associations).

Cities should reflect on the role and importance of intercultural policies within the strategic context of a local integration and social inclusion policy for migrants. In this context, it will be necessary to consider how important intercultural relations are for the overall social cohesion of the city and of certain neighbourhoods, against a background of increasing cultural, ethnic and religious diversity. Thus, each city should examine the various strategic elements of its intercultural policy.

Official recognition of migrant organisations and their heritage is one of the most crucial issues affecting intergroup relations in many European cities. Policies of recognition may include establishing a consultative body of migrant representatives to advise the city council and its committees in all matters of local politics relevant for the integration of migrants; respect for ethnic, cultural and religious customs, symbols and holidays; mutual invitations to municipal, religious or cultural events; and continuous informal contacts between the city and migrant organisations. However, one of the most important and crucial issues that should be resolved first is the question of the right to political participation, especially at the local level. While it is true that in some cases, the local authorities are bound by the national legislation in this regard, it is important that efforts are made to allow all citizens of the city to participate in the democratic process of being able to shape the local policies by participating actively in the voting processes. The provision of voting rights for migrants with long-term residence may also be considered.

CLIP identified four different kinds of activities that potentially contribute to the empowerment and sense of belonging of migrant organisations: organising capacity-building programmes; involving representatives of migrant organisations as 'multipliers' in the implementation of specific programmes for their ethnic and religious communities; establishing ethnic, religious or migrant umbrella organisations to strengthen cooperation between member associations; involving community leaders from different migrant groups in intercultural policies.

The efforts of local authorities should be matched by proactive behaviour of migrant organisations themselves to enhance their effectiveness (own finances) and efficiency (better internal organisation).

To avoid or resolve conflicts between migrants and majority society but also between various ethnic and religious groups of migrants, cities may strive for a shared vision or an overarching goal that can be reached only through a common effort of all citizens and all relevant groups in the city. To reach this goal, cities should develop strategies and measures that aim to ensure that everyone has a sense of belonging in the city. Within this context, cities may consider propagating an inclusive identity strategy with the aim of creating a 'we' feeling among local residents irrespective of nationality. This collective local identity (for example, 'We Amsterdammers', 'Yours Istanbul' or 'Belonging to Dewsbury') is meant to exist in parallel with ethnic identities (for example, being a Muslim or of Turkish origin).

Cities could consider institutionalising intercultural dialogue between the representatives of migrant communities and autochthonous groups. This should be based on an open and respectful exchange of views between individuals and groups with different ethnic, cultural, religious and linguistic backgrounds and heritage. In organising consultative bodies based on those principles, local authorities can choose different forms of representation:

- group representation versus individual representation of migrants;

- only foreigners versus mixed committees of foreigners and natives;

- elected versus appointed members.

All forms of representation can be found in one or the other CLIP city.

A successful intercultural policy involves creating informal contact between members of various groups, reducing stereotypes and prejudice between groups, as well as increasing contact among and knowledge about other groups. Cities should therefore establish initiatives to create opportunities for different groups to meet and build relationships.

To accommodate various religious needs is one important part but not necessarily the dominating part of intercultural policies. Since some migrant religions (for example, Muslims) have specific burial rites, it is recommended that cities should respect these and adapt their burial rules accordingly within the remits of the 'law of the land'. Given the different beliefs of some migrant groups, food served in public institutions could include food that meets the requirements of migrant religions. It is also suggested that religious festivals and holidays of significant migrant religions could play a role in public life of the city and may be formally recognised.

In religiously diverse populations, cities should either initiate or support interreligious dialogue dealing with faith and/or secular topics. Tense international relations between Israel and Islamic states in the Middle East continuously threaten to affect relations between Jewish and Muslim groups at the local level in several European cities. Therefore, it is recommended cities may establish local Jewish-Muslim networks to manage tensions and improve relations. Effective interreligious dialogue could also be supported by educating and training imams within the receiving countries. Such activities could highlight specific socioeconomic and sociocultural conditions of the receiving society and their importance for good intercultural relations and a fruitful interreligious dialogue.

Conclusion

Cities that are becoming increasingly diverse need a good understanding of intercultural structures and relations. They should put in place a comprehensive and substantial intercultural policy regardless if they follow a more traditional or more forward-looking 'balanced intercultural integration strategy' for migrants. Important 'soft' issues of intercultural relations like recognition, respect, feeling of belonging, tolerance, openness, listening have to be put into practice by all relevant political and administrative departments and representatives of the city. At the same time, local policymakers should remember that their migrant population is equally or even more preoccupied with the same socioeconomic issues as the rest of the population such as employment, education and access to healthcare. This is especially valid in the current economic climate where certain parts of the migrant population are more affected by the economic downturn and appropriate policies should be put in place to mitigate those negative consequences.

More effective diversity management

Findings from the second CLIP module on equality and diversity in jobs and services suggest to use diversity management not only as a public relations instrument but also to move local diversity management in areas that matter such as jobs and career provision for migrants in local authorities as well as appropriate access to service provision. It is recommended that cities be aware of the relations between diversity, non-discrimination, equal opportunity and integration.

In its report *Equality and diversity in jobs and services: City policies for migrants in Europe* (Eurofound, 2008), the CLIP network looks at equality and diversity policies in relation to employment and service provision for migrants in city administrations. It documents a range of positive initiatives taken to remove barriers to employment.

Diversity management of cities is the response to three major challenges:

- the changing ethnic, racial and religious structure of the population;

- the reform debate in the public services of the Member States (new public management);

- changing legal requirements based on European anti-discrimination legislation.

Firstly, diversity management in local administration is a natural response to the increasing ethnic, racial, religious and cultural diversity of the population living in the city. Secondly, many diversity activities of cities are influenced by the reform debate in public services. An important part of this debate is what the public sector can learn from successful new business and organisational strategies of the private sector in having a higher customer orientation and working more cost-effectively. In this context, diversity strategies are presented as a business case. Thirdly, since 2000 the European Union has a comprehensive framework of anti-discrimination legislation, which has been implemented in all Member States.[8] This legislation provides an important framework for local diversity management towards migrants which should provide equal access to employment in local authorities and equal access to local social, housing and employment services.

What is missing in some cities is an awareness of the need for effective diversity management, the political will to develop such an approach and the rigor of a systematic implementation and monitoring of the diversity management.[9] In most of the CLIP cities a sufficient political awareness of the need for some kind of diversity management can be found. When it comes to concrete activities regarding migrants they mainly include specific services for migrants, such as welcome and starter services for newly arriving migrants, or they include more symbolic and one off activities of service provision and political gestures of local authorities.

In order to move towards a more strategic and systematic diversity policy of local authorities, recommendations based on the second CLIP research module concentrate on two key areas of local authority activities. Access to jobs and progress in employment is recognised as a key dimension of the integration process, as is the provision of services that migrants can access fully and effectively, without discrimination. Municipal authorities are major employers and service providers. Surprisingly, however, their role in this context, particularly as employers, is rarely analysed.

In many cities, local government is the largest or second largest employer, mainly through employment in public administration but also due to ownership or control of public utilities and agencies. High attention to equal employment opportunities for migrants would therefore have a serious effect on the overall performance of the local labour market. In addition, public employers should become a role model for the private sector of an equal opportunities and non-discriminatory employer in order to support necessary change towards higher and better employment opportunities for migrants. As a result, sharing practice in employment and service provision for migrants have been a particular priority for the CLIP cities.

In many cases, what is missing in cities is a clear conceptual framework. Without such a framework, diversity management and policy in the context of a successful integration policy often becomes an 'empty box' providing only a public relations spin for the city administration. In this context, it is important to build a link between the concept of diversity management and the two other relevant concepts in the political debate of non-discrimination and equality. CLIP demonstrated in its report on equality and diversity in jobs and services the challenge related to data collection. Almost half of the cities that took part in the module reported the lack of data on employees with a migrant background. The unavailability of data makes it difficult to identify problems and barriers relating to the recruitment of a diverse workforce. This in turn makes it harder to put in place effective policies to increase the number of migrants employed by local authorities. Lack of data makes monitoring of the progress a challenging exercise to record whether any progress has been made. The report recommends that cities implement effective monitoring and accountability measures.

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[8] See **http://ec.europa.eu/justice/fundamental-rights/index_en.htm** and the Employment Equality Directive 2000/78/EC at **http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:32000L0078:en:HTML**.

[9] Out of the 25 CLIP cities, two-thirds had a written equality and diversity policy.

In general, an advantage of the diversity approach is its reportedly positive and inclusive effects, contrasting with the negative focus on discriminatory practices. The concept of diversity management policy is particularly associated with the private sector (European Commission, 2005). Diversity management, according to the European Commission, means 'understanding how people's differences and similarities can be mobilised for the benefit of the individual, organisations and society as a whole'. Diversity management is a term that has been increasingly used in Europe since the mid-1990s and, as one expert has explained (Wrench, 2007):

> *Its rationale is primarily one of improving organisational competitiveness and efficiency, driven by business purpose and market advantage. In relation to this, it emphasises the necessity of recognising cultural differences between groups of employees and making practical allowances for such differences in organisational policies. The idea is that encouraging an environment of cultural diversity where people's differences are valued enables people to work to their full potential in a richer, more creative and more productive work environment.*

Despite the strong private sector focus, diversity management has also been developed to some extent in public administration at the municipal level to generate added value from cultural difference: more specifically, by reaping the benefits of the differing experiences and language skills that diverse employees bring to the job, thus ensuring that the organisation recruits from the widest pool of talent, while enhancing the organisation's image with external stakeholders and contributing to the city's creativity and innovation. A diverse city administration is better able to understand the needs of its customers and clients and is thus better equipped to provide an adequate service than an administration that has a more limited range of employees with a relevant migrant background.[10]

While diversity management focuses on the benefits, as well as costs, of a culturally diverse workforce and population, maintaining such an exclusive policy focus can also lose sight of the fundamental right to freedom from discrimination that employees and service users have – regardless of whether or not their diversity is considered a benefit. If diversity management were the only policy framework, managers could argue, for instance, that they prefer the convenience and solidarity of having a workforce with a common culture and language over the benefits and challenges that diversity can bring; or they could insist that they already have good diversity management policies in place and need go no further.

Experts argue, however, that the diversity and equality approaches are complementary, highlighting that the co-existence of a diversity management approach alongside measures to tackle discrimination is both possible and desirable (Wrench, 2007, p. 127). In practice, it can be difficult to identify which approach or combination of approaches a city is adopting, as organisations that adopt a 'diversity policy' or 'anti-discrimination and equality policy' are not necessarily consistent in their interpretation of these terms.

Nevertheless, it was apparent in the analysis of the practice that the 25 CLIP cities under consideration in the research on diversity place a differing emphasis on 'managing diversity' or 'equality' in their policy statements and, to an extent, in the initiatives they have taken.

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[10] These conditions are also reflected in the reported drivers by CLIP cities for migrant employment and service provision even though the drivers are different. Notably, legal, labour market and demographic pressures drive employment policies towards migrants, whereas reforms in public service provisions are responses to pressure from service users, perceived community tensions and general processes of policy change. Overarching for both issues as a reform driver was the increasing perceived importance of human rights and equality principles.

Discrimination is defined as treating a person or group less favourably than another on grounds covered by discrimination law. These include gender, age and disability; however, in the CLIP report on diversity, race, religion and belief are the relevant grounds. Indirect discrimination can also, under EU law, occur when an apparently neutral requirement is liable to prove a disadvantage for a particular group or person because they are disproportionately less likely to be able to meet that requirement. It is not discrimination if the requirement is necessary and reasonable, that is, 'objectively justified'.

Where the aim is to ensure equality of opportunity, the policy goes beyond procedures to avoid discrimination. Individuals may face barriers to equality, such as a lack of awareness that job vacancies exist for which they are eligible; an equality policy seeks to identify and address these barriers. While an anti-discrimination policy may treat everyone in the same way – regardless of the inequality in outcomes that may result – an equality policy recognises that people have diverse needs and may sometimes need to be treated differently in order to ensure genuine equality of opportunity leading to greater parity in outcomes; for example, people may need to have information on a particular service translated into their mother tongue.

The steps that an organisation takes to overcome barriers and boost the participation of underrepresented individuals and groups are known as 'positive action' measures. These measures were explicitly supported in the recommendations of the CLIP report on diversity. Such measures could include, for instance, targeted advertising to attract job applicants from underrepresented groups. Positive action of this kind is lawful under EU law. It is distinct from 'positive discrimination', whereby individuals from an underrepresented group are given preference at the point of selection over applicants who are equally qualified. Positive discrimination is unlawful in most circumstances in the EU (McCrudden, 2007).

In addition it was suggested by CLIP to build diversity and equality standards into contracts with external providers. Many cities procure services from private and voluntary organisations. In a minority of cases, cities have stipulated in the contract with their service provider that it observes best practice in relation to discrimination and equality of opportunity among its employees and in the services it provides. This enables a city authority to ensure that its own objectives and obligations are met, even though it may not provide the service directly. Public procurement guidelines show how this approach can be followed while adhering to EU procurement rules. Cities should consider how best to include such stipulations in their contracts with service providers and organisations to which they award contracts.

Another important issue that is key to the debate on diversity is the role of the social partners. The role is even more pertinent in the public sector, where the level of unionisation is usually higher compared to the private sector. The discussion about the role of trade unions specifically in the field of migration and integration takes place within an environment of drastic national, international, economic, social and societal changes. Those trends have to be taken into account when looking at the role of trade unions in this field. Looking at the context in which social partners operate we can observe several important issues.

- **Changing nature of migration in Europe**. Europe continues to be an attractive destination for migrants. In addition to increased numbers of migrants, Europe is faced with increased diversity of migrants in terms of cultural and social heterogeneity. Moreover there are ongoing challenges between the economic profiles of migrants and those of the demands of the labour markets.

- **National political discourse**. Over time, many Member States have developed fairly restrictive and defensive policies in relation to asylum and immigration. In addition, measures to regulate access to the labour market (and to other domains such as welfare, health or education services) have followed.

- **Development of integration policies**. In many Member States there is a perceived failing of integration policies and integration programmes over the last three to four years. One of the consequences of this is increased concern against additional immigration. The integration debate has also become a political issue.

- **Civil society movement**. Civil society has always been active in the area of migration and has increasingly been involved in the social and employment fields also.

- **Human rights discourse**. In parallel with the EU and national policies we see stronger international regulation related to human rights and discrimination legislation.

Against this broad background trade unions face a number of challenges.

- **Labour market and economic migration**. Trade unions are key actors in the national labour market. This is important from an external perspective on how to organise access to the labour market and also the management of migrant workers after legal or illegal entry into the labour market (issues related to working conditions for example).

- **Integration of migrants**. Wider integration issues may also be of concern for trade unions. In many Member States trade unions define themselves as organisations which not only deal with direct labour market issues but also indirectly with housing, public transport, quality of public services, education or professional training. To what extent should trade unions take up these questions in relation to migrants?

- **Membership of trade unions**. The integration of migrant workers into trade unions is a major part of relations with migrants and there are a number of specific questions arising from this. Firstly, there is a political interest to improve unionisation of migrant workers. Secondly is the question of how to deal with the relationship between migrant workers and core union members.

- **Treatment of interest groups**. Trade unions have a general inclination towards equal treatment. However in some cases the interest or need of migrant workers may be quite specific, depending on their language, religion, legal status or structural conditions of the labour market. Trade unions will have to reflect on how to deal with a more diverse workforce and their specific needs.

More detail regarding concrete activities to improve employment and service provision for migrants can be found in Eurofound's report on diversity (2008).

Conclusion

Local authorities should give high priority to the issues of diversity management, non-discrimination and equal opportunities within the remit of their local integration strategies for migrants. In this context, they should put a significant emphasis on the provision of access to employment and to adequate employment careers of migrants in the city administration as well as in public utilities and other companies owned or controlled by the city. Adequate service provision through equal access and a good balance between general provision and targeted measures should be provided.[11]

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[11] More on this point in the following chapter.

Greater support for ethnic entrepreneurship

Cities should in their local economic, labour market and integration policy focus more attention on increasing the numbers of ethnic entrepreneurs. This should complement policies supporting integration into paid employment. Creating better framework conditions for increased ethnic entrepreneurship enhances not only the city's economic and labour market performance, but contributes also to a better long-term integration of migrants. In the long run, it may also support the profile of the city as a global player and a transnational bridge using the potential of ethnic entrepreneurs to create sustainable export and import links to foreign markets.

In its report *Promoting ethnic entrepreneurship in European cities* (Eurofound, 2011), CLIP examines what city authorities are doing to attract ethnic entrepreneurs into their established business communities, and to facilitate the business environment – from the purely financial support to providing training and advice.

The contribution of ethnic entrepreneurial activities in Europe has been increasing over the last decade. Ethnic entrepreneurs contribute to the economic growth of their local area, often rejuvenate neglected crafts and trades, and participate not only in the provision of low value-added services but increasingly in the provision of higher value-added services. They offer additional services and products to immigrants and the host population, and create in many cities an important bridge to global markets. In addition, ethnic entrepreneurs are also important for the integration of migrants into employment. They create employment for themselves but also increasingly for others: immigrants and the native population.

Despite their increasing quantitative importance on the local market and their significant contribution to the local economy, ethnic entrepreneurship is an undervalued and neglected issue in many cities and in particular in local economic, employment and integration policy. It is also given a lower importance in relevant European Union[12] and national government policies in most Member States. Therefore, CLIP decided to pick up this issue within its action research in its fourth research module.

One important outcome of the CLIP report is that promoting ethnic entrepreneurship is not self-evident. In many cities of the CLIP network, ethnic entrepreneurship has not played a role in the strategy of cities to support the employment and societal integration of immigrants into local communities. The study produces also the surprising result of a lack of basic data on ethnic entrepreneurship in the integration department of city authorities. However, on a more positive note, CLIP cities have a large variety of programmes and concrete measures to improve the personal capability of migrants and their opportunity structure. The report offers a great number of innovative measures adopted by local authorities to promote ethnic entrepreneurship, support its uptake and improve the long-term economic survival of ethnic businesses.

The existing and increasing importance of ethnic enterprises is demonstrated by some national statistics. A recent Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) report (Mestres, 2010) highlights the increasing national importance of ethnic enterprises. They demonstrate immigrants have on average as high or even slightly higher propensity than natives to become entrepreneurs: 12.8% of immigrants of working age compared to 12.1% of natives are involved in non-agricultural entrepreneurship activities.[13] However, the OECD also shows significant differences between EU Member States regarding the share of ethnic entrepreneurs ranging from 26.5% in Greece or 23.4% in Italy to 7% in Denmark.

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[12] See, for example, the low importance of ethnic entrepreneurship in the Common Basic Principles from 2005 and within the new integration strategy from 2011.

[13] Note that this applies to first-generation immigrants only.

Looking at the share and the evolution of the self-employment of foreign-born in non-agricultural sectors over a decade (1998–2008), there is overall a small increase in all OECD countries from 12.5 (1998) to 12.8 (2008). However, there is almost no straightforward trend over all Member States.

Future dynamics are reflected in the development of the number of ethnic entrepreneurs in business start-ups in some EU countries. In the period between 1998 and 2008, the number of ethnic start-ups has almost doubled in Germany and in the UK.

Those national trends are confirmed by observations in the CLIP cities. Looking at the diffusion of ethnic businesses among all business ventures, strong variations can be observed between the CLIP cities. In Strasbourg, Amsterdam and Vienna, ethnic entrepreneurs represent nearly a third of all local businesses, which is a serious chunk of all local businesses, which cannot be neglected by political decision-making and programming on entrepreneurship. On the other side of the spectrum, cities like Turku and Athens have a nearly negligible share of around 2%.

Another important indicator for the dynamic of ethnic entrepreneurship in cities is the percentage of ethnic entrepreneurs in all business start-ups. The city of Frankfurt reports that more than 50% of all recent start-ups are ethnic entrepreneurs. This figure is also remarkable in the overall German context where around 15% of all business start-ups are represented by ethnic entrepreneurs. Also the cities of Stuttgart (37%) and Malmö (25%) have a relatively high figure.

The importance of entrepreneur activities among ethnic minorities can be highlighted again here. The share of self-employment among immigrants in all CLIP cities where information is available is below 10%. Highest shares can be found in Athens, Vienna and Bologna. A somewhat lower share of below 5% is reported in Malmö.

The CLIP report not only highlights the existing quantitative importance of ethnic enterprises to local policymakers but demonstrates also their importance and opportunities for local policies towards a successful global city. The contribution of ethnic entrepreneurship has both economic and social aspects.

Migrant entrepreneurs are becoming increasingly important in the labour market creating jobs not only for themselves or other migrants but increasingly for the native population. Migrant entrepreneurship is responsible for introducing new or better products and services into the local area and in some cases giving certain credibility to particular segments of businesses by demonstrating their originality. Migrant entrepreneurship undoubtedly fills the gaps that are not covered by indigenous sectors and give new life to neglected crafts. Beyond the local dimension, migrant entrepreneurship improves local import and exports links by for instance providing new supply and export chains. Several cities have recognised that and have started to use migrant entrepreneurship in their wider trade agenda.

In a wider social dimension, there is scope for migrant entrepreneurship to play a bigger role in integration policies. Ethnic entrepreneurship is often closely related to the revitalisation of run-down streets and neighbourhoods. It has the potential to increase the social cohesion of ethnic communities as ethnic entrepreneurs may serve their communities and help to improve ethnic solidarity and trust.

To put more emphasis on ethnic entrepreneurship, local policymakers should also be aware of possible pitfalls. The potential economic contribution of ethnic enterprises may be impeded by their strong embeddedness in ethnic niches. Most economists agree that the long-term economic survival of many ethnic companies depends on their capacity to break out of ethnic niche markets and to open up to the general public as possible customers. An alternative could be to stay in the ethnic niche but to extend the range of ethnic customers to a wider area. Another area of potential concern is the employment conditions of workers in ethnic companies. Some studies indicate the potential for above-average exploitation and increased dependency. Most of the time, this may have an economic reason behind it such as being

placed in the low value-added part of the market or having moved into vacancies left by national entrepreneurs. The results are often low profits, long working hours and poor employment conditions.

But potential non-economic pitfalls are also important. More social cohesion in ethnic communities can lead under certain conditions to increased segregation of ethnic communities, which may lead to stronger spatial and social segregation and thus support and strengthen parallel societies.

Another aspect that may impede not only the setting-up phase but more so the expansion of the business is the lack of business networks. This can and should be remedied by improving the links between the ethnic entrepreneurs and various organisations. First, more can be done to encourage establishment of ethnically specific business associations that would cater to specific needs of entrepreneurs and would provide practical support and a platform for exchange of experiences. However, one has to recognise that these types of organisations are rather vulnerable in a sense that they lack necessary resources, they may have difficulties to connect to mainstream organisations and ultimately they lack the political weight to campaign for major changes that would improve the general conditions for migrant entrepreneurs to flourish. Therefore, it is vital that the links between migrant entrepreneurs and mainstream organisations are improved. This can be achieved by encouraging migrant entrepreneurs to more actively become members of existing associations. By doing so they would contribute in a more effective way to local policymaking that does affect the business environment. It would also give these entrepreneurs an opportunity to operate and participate within the remit of the existing business structures. At the same time, mainstream business associations should be encouraged to be more open and inclusive towards migrant entrepreneurs.

However, despite these challenges a forward-looking integration policy should include activities to improve ethnic entrepreneurship.

Conclusion

Local integration and economic policies to support ethnic entrepreneurship have so far been a neglected policy area in many cities. Due to its growing importance, cities are advised to put more emphasis on this policy area and to combine it systematically with its overall integration policy for migrants. In particular, they should aim to close existing information gaps, recognise ethnic entrepreneurship as a part of the overall economic strategy, facilitate links with education and training, support access to finance and provide an effective regulatory framework.

Innovation in policy and service provision 5

Cities should aim for a balanced mix of services for migrants. The guiding principle could be to provide as much generic/universal support as possible and as much targeted support as necessary.

Policy approach

Throughout all four modules of the CLIP programme, the co-existence and the relationship between generic/universal and targeted policies for migrants has been a major issue for local government (administration and city council) regarding effectiveness (availability, adequacy and access), quality, cost efficiency, political acceptance of majority society and expectations of the migrant community. Local politicians are aware that any kind of specific and privileged access to central and scarce provisions like social housing, social and employment benefits and employment opportunities for migrants can raise serious tensions particularly among the more disadvantaged groups of the autochthonous community.

Generally, there are different forms and effects of both policies. Specific policies for migrants can range from activities of anti-discrimination policy to eliminate open or hidden discrimination of migrants, positive action to improve equal opportunities and positive discrimination of members of the majority society, for example through a quota system. All three forms of specific policy approaches can be observed within the CLIP cities. Relevant generic or universal policies of local authorities in the social, employment and housing sector target mainly socially disadvantaged risk groups with low incomes and higher risks of social and economic deprivation. They range from direct income support, the provision of specific support services provided or financed by the local authority to advice centres providing individual help in disadvantaged conditions.

Effects of those policies can differ and be even counterproductive. Generic/universal policies of formal openness to everyone and formal non-discrimination can result in exclusion and hidden discrimination of migrant minority groups. Certain examples can be highlighted:

- the definition of certain access criteria, which cannot be met by migrants or certain groups of migrants;

- access to social housing organised through a waiting list, which will exclude all more recent arrivals.

Specific policies have to consider the special conditions of the arriving migrants. Any 'one fits all' policy for new arrivals may prove to be rather ineffective in the short run to organise the induction phase and in the long run to support a successful integration.

Service provision

Without doubt, there is a need for specific programmes and interventions for migrants during the arrival and welcome phase. The structure, programme and extent of such measures depend on the legal and family status, profile and background of the migrant and their family, and on the relative condition of migrants in the receiving society in comparison to the sending society. It seems obvious that a migrant from rural Somalia arriving in Germany will need different support on arrival than a qualified medical doctor from Albania.

Language support, investment in the development of intercultural competences, any activities supporting the recognition of specific social and cultural conditions of the receiving society and of other migrant communities, good practical support and the provision of a one-stop service are part of good practice in local authorities. However, there is an issue around avoiding the impression of going far beyond the necessary for initial settlement of migrants after their arrival. Any 'overshoot' can cause negative reactions in parts of the receiving society and can hamper the self-driven efforts for a successful integration by the migrants themselves.

What are the needs and reasons for long-term generic/universal policies after the arrival and welcome phase? The following main recommendations can be made:

- provide equal opportunities and avoid discrimination of the native population as a result of positive action or quotas;

- consider the additional costs of targeted measures and make the provision of programmes and activities more cost-effective;

- use the lower organisational effort in comparison to specific policies;

- consider the possible negative perception of the native population and its possible effect on their voting behaviour in local elections.

The next question focuses on how to argue reasons for targeted and specific policies for migrants. In the CLIP cities, the following have been recommended:

- consider the specific 'objective' needs and conditions of migrants;

- recognise specific demands and expectations from migrants;

- reduce barriers of information and access for migrants;

- overcome the hidden exclusion of migrants from generic measures in organisations of majority society;

- consider the non-acceptance of generic measures by migrants.

The brief analysis of the conditions under which programmes and activities are organised and provided to support the integration of migrants shows the complexity of the issue. For instance, any one-sided and schematic approach is not useful and should be avoided. The city administration should consider for each activity the specific circumstances and the concrete objectives. On the basis of this assessment the right mix of generic and target measures should be identified. As a general rule, the research findings suggest to: provide as much generic support as possible and as much targeted support as necessary; maintain the right proportion in spending between generic and specific measures; support the intercultural opening up of the city administration in order to manage generic/universal or targeted measures in an appropriate way.

During the four CLIP modules, information and access to generic programmes was an important issue. In this respect, the following useful specific measures have been identified:

- overcome barriers of access by providing language support;

- provide information/promotion through the right channels by using, for example, migrant organisations or migrant media;

- employ staff in the city administration with a migration background;

- improve the intercultural competence of all staff and in particular the frontline service staff;

- invest in the development of trust relations between the city administration, migrants and their organisations as well as other relevant organisations (churches, social NGOs) in the field.

However, there are also limits to some of those targeted measures. This is particularly relevant for the extent of language support. Language knowledge is key for successful integration and the pre-conditions to learn a new language are very different between various groups of migrants. The city administration has to reflect on what point in time and for which groups of migrants language support becomes counter-productive hampering the active take-up of the language of the receiving country. As an extreme position, some CLIP cities have decided not to provide any language support at all.

Apart from the specific needs of migrants regarding information and access to services, there may be a need to provide targeted support through advice and training for special needs of migrants and other disadvantaged groups. This can result in the development of targeted programmes for specific skills, specific sectors or for specific ethnic and national groups. The city administration should consider always the limit of such activities to provide support only as necessary to deal with special needs and conditions of migrants. In several circumstances it may be useful to organise inclusive activities for all disadvantaged groups instead of targeting only migrants. In general, the city administration should be more upfront by communicating clearly the message that migrants will have to accept the basic legal and financial rules of the majority society, which may be an insurmountable barrier.

Conclusion

An intelligent mix and good timing of generic and targeted policies for the integration of migrants calls for substantial political, organisational and technical skill in the city council and in the city administration. Good communication skills and a strong involvement of relevant intermediate organisations of the receiving country and the migrant community are important.

Intercultural development of the city administration 6

An important part of an effective intercultural integration strategy is a diversity policy and programmes which focus on the intercultural opening up of the city administration.

All four CLIP modules came across the issue of the need for a wider intercultural opening up of the city administration in order to support better intercultural relations. This is a specific and integrated part of an overarching diversity strategy of the city. It consists of several parts: employing more staff with a migrant background; creating equal career opportunities; developing intercultural competences of all staff in public administration; intercultural awareness regarding service provision. Some of these issues have already been touched upon earlier in this report.

Effective monitoring and accountability

As previously argued, cities should firstly monitor and evaluate the status of intercultural openness. In this context, they should implement effective monitoring and evaluation. Many city administrations are expected to be able to report on their progress in minimising or preventing discrimination. However, some have gone further and have instituted measures of accountability for their performance in implementing equality and diversity policies.

Managers may be held accountable internally for building a diverse team and/or successfully providing services to a diverse community. External evaluators – appointed by the city or national bodies – may hold the city administration to account for aspects of its performance on these issues. Without the data to enable both staff and the municipality to monitor progress, it is difficult to put such measures in place.

Cities should first find out if they have enough data to be able to monitor their progress in employing migrants and delivering services. If they do not, they should look at implementing cost-effective methods for collecting data; putting these in place across the administration would avoid each service having to develop its own approach.

In addition, cities should look at what criteria they will use to gauge the extent of implementation and evaluate the impact of measures already taken. A number of questions should be asked. What are the needs of the migrants? Do the activities of the local authority correspond to its policy goals? Are the policies – and the progress made towards reaching the policy goals – adequate, effective and sustainable? Finally, cities could consider adopting additional forms of accountability – both internal and external – in order to ensure feedback on performance and the opportunity to learn from experience.

Employment, recruitment and work environment

Increasing the number of staff with a migrant background as part of an intercultural opening up of city authorities should involve a review of recruitment procedures and procedural barriers to employment. CLIP results show strong differences in the practice of local authorities in this field, which clearly indicate its political sensitivity. There are 40% of cities without any activities to increase the employment of migrants and the same percentage of cities with proactive policies; the remaining cities intend to carry out some activities or have taken very limited actions.

Migrants encounter many procedural barriers when seeking employment in municipal administrations. Some of these are necessary: staff must have both demonstrable language skills and professional qualifications adequate for the post. However, in some cases, migrants encounter requirements that go beyond those necessary to ensure that the individual is equipped for the job – a requirement to speak two official languages, for instance, or a requirement for language fluency for a manual job, where in practice this is not necessary. The recognition of qualifications is another barrier: at

the national level, procedural complexities and long delays mean that migrants are often overqualified for the jobs they currently hold.

Cities should review the eligibility of migrants for jobs across their administration; furthermore, they should consider whether general criteria that disproportionately disadvantage migrants – such as requirements for language proficiency – are necessary in all cases.

Cities could highlight to the appropriate national authority any difficulties that have been encountered in relation to the recognition of qualifications, the aim being to put in place a system capable of officially recognising migrants' qualifications within a reasonable timeframe. Finally, municipalities could review proactive approaches that have been taken by other cities in the network to attract migrants and, where appropriate, pilot such approaches within their own recruitment strategy.

An intercultural opening up should also ensure the work environment is welcoming for migrant employees. Municipalities that want to recruit migrants can take steps to ensure that the working environment is welcoming and meets migrants' particular needs, without either unduly affecting the rest of the workforce or incurring excessive costs. Such steps can include:

■ ensuring that the staff canteen caters for different dietary needs;

■ setting aside a prayer room for those who want to pray at rest times during the day;

■ offering flexibility in taking leave for religious holidays;

■ setting up an informal support group for minority staff;

■ translating relevant health and safety information.

Not all CLIP cities have felt such steps to be appropriate, often because employees had not requested them. However, even in the absence of direct demands from staff, adapting the workplace in such a way can send a signal to potential employees that the administration is a welcoming, inclusive working environment. Cities should assess whether the working environment in all their departments is appropriate and welcoming for migrants and – if not – consider adapting it to encourage migrants to apply for jobs and to remain in municipal employment.

Intercultural and diversity training

There is more to diversity management than providing equality of opportunity for migrants in employment. Cities need to ensure that they gain the maximum benefit from a culturally diverse workforce and that they effectively manage the challenges that such diversity poses. Some cities are developing their diversity management strategy within a broader recognition of the need to serve a population that is diverse in terms of gender, age, ethnicity, disability and sexual orientation, while simultaneously ensuring that their employees are trained to comply with the law and ensure equality of opportunity.

Access to a wide variety of jobs and career opportunities for migrants is also an important part of an intercultural opening up of a city authority. Migrant staff should not be restricted to specialist posts working with migrants; rather, they should be allowed to contribute to raising standards across the mainstream services delivered to the diverse local population. Managers should ensure that all employees have sufficient training on intercultural awareness to allow them to feel confident working with, and providing services to, people of different cultures and faiths; furthermore, in the recruitment

process, managers should – where relevant – recognise intercultural competence as a job skill. They should also foster an environment in which employees are not afraid to admit their lack of knowledge of the needs of, or cultural sensitivities in relation to, a particular group.

The development of intercultural competences of all staff in public administration can be supported by introducing and extending training on diversity management and equality practice in all sections and for all grades in local administration. The support of a normal career progression of migrants should also be in integral part of an equal opportunities employer. However, CLIP experience shows that only very few cities are engaged in any proactive policies in this field.

Intercultural training should ensure for the city administration that its frontline staff and its managers are knowledgeable about the particular needs, cultural and religious practices that may be characteristic of migrant communities, and/or that they are aware of the importance of ensuring equality of opportunity for migrants and minorities. While some cities ensure that all of their senior managers have this training, elsewhere it is offered at the discretion of departmental managers on a more informal basis.

Conclusion

It is recommended to support and to build up maintenance and development of intercultural competences in European cities as part of an intercultural opening up of the city administration. Those activities should take place at all levels of the city administration and should not be restricted to frontline staff and to staff on higher administrative levels.

European funding for local integration *7* activities for migrants

One of the experiences of CLIP is the lack of direct European funding for local integration policy within the context of the European Integration Fund (EIF). Most of its means (93%) are dedicated to national programmes, whereas up to 7% may be used to finance 'Community actions'. Within the remit of the EIF, no direct funding is provided to cities for local integration programmes and practices. All funding for local activities have to be channelled through programmes and allocation decisions of the Member States. Considering the CLIP experience that many of the most innovative and progressive cities in the field of integration policy for migrants have serious differences of opinion on strategy and practice with their respective national government, many of those cities are either completely excluded from EU funding or are seriously disadvantaged in the provision of funds. Besides this, the evaluation of the EIF by the Centre for European Policy Studies (CEPS) shows that substantial funds are used at the central level without reaching the local level at all. Here a change of direction and practice may be recommended by creating a third budget line for allocation of funding. Such a budget line should provide European funds directly to local actors including not only local authorities but also local NGOs, migrant organisations, churches and social partners organisations.

As far as city networks are concerned, the EIF already provides the opportunity to fund those activities, but funds are very limited. It could be recommended to increase funding for those city networks, but limit funding to those city networks with assurances of an effective transfer of experience.

Conclusion

Instead of providing funding to cities for innovative integration policies via national governments, it is recommended to provide a new line of finance, which is directly accessible by local authorities within the context of the EIF for migrants. With regard to the finance and support of community actions, the European Commission should provide funding for successful city networks.

Conclusions and lessons learnt *8*

Five years of learning within the CLIP network of cities has shown that many European cities are important policy arenas to build intercultural bridges in order to move to a reinvented and redefined form of social cohesion in European cities. In many countries, innovative cities are well ahead of established national integration policy. In several instances, those cities are also well ahead of European policies. Therefore, it has proven worthwhile to observe and analyse existing experience on one hand and to report about those practices to national and European policymakers on the other hand.

Existing and further increasing cultural, ethnic, racial and religious diversity seriously questions the established perception in many parts of Europe of an established autochthonous majority and clearly defined and homogenous minority of migrants. In some of its good practice cases, CLIP developed a vision for the medium and long-term future and practical roadmaps of how to move from a traditional to a more future-oriented integration policy. During several meetings of the CLIP network, both kinds of contributions have been appreciated by cities, national governments, NGOs and researchers.

In order to improve the practice of local integration policy for migrants, CLIP suggests a radical change of perception and policy. It suggests moving from traditional 'asymmetric' integration policy to 'balanced intercultural integration' policies. The emphasis on the multicultural structure of city societies is no longer sufficient to deal with the emerging challenge. The long-settled population as well the newcomers have to be prepared to challenge their traditional identities and develop new forms of identities in order to develop new intercultural relations in their neighbourhoods, at work, in existing social organisations and in their everyday life.

If this process is successful it could provide the basis for a new concept of European identity that would not be regarded as top-down. This new identity would be anchored in practical day-to-day experiences of citizens; it would be supported by well accepted NGOs and relevant organisations of majority society such as religious and social partner organisations.

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