

Local Government Capacities for the Integration of Migrants: Good European Experiences and Practices

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This paper attempts to explain the role of local governments (cities, regions) in the implementation of immigration policy in Europe, focusing on various waves and types of immigration, state policies, and the capacities of local government to help with immigrant integration since the 1960s. Several case studies of cities with good integration practices will be presented, with particular emphasis on four main aspects: national regulation, policy regimes, role of local institutions, and results achieved. The paper focuses on experiences and good practices which could inspire other societies to develop successful policies and facilitate better use of diverse policy instruments in procuring various services for migrants, including shelters, language learning, job training, education for children, employment, inclusion

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in decision-making processes, and the like. The main research methods that have been used are description and analysis of national conditions, problems, challenges, various integration experiences, good practices, and results, as well as comparison and case studies for in-depth analysis.

Keywords: strategy and policy of migrant integration, local integration policy, policy instruments, European experiences, good practices

1. Migrations as Part of a Globalising World

Numerous authors have, with the fall of socialism and the disappearance of a two-bloc world, analysed the possible development of a globalised world. Considering the huge discrepancy in global wealth distribution, they have pointed out two options: either the rich democratic countries will help the development of poor undeveloped countries or they ought to be prepared to open their borders to citizens from the developing world (Dahl, 1990, pp. 224–228). So far the international community (economic and political institutions) has not adopted a clear, acceptable, and sustainable strategy. In light of this, recent migrations may be seen as a spontaneous implementation of the second option, for which neither Europe nor the USA are sufficiently prepared. Because the population in the developing world is far more numerous than the population of the developed world, this option has a limited capacity (Fauser, 2012).

Migrations are mostly caused by the biggest problems of the globalised world and stem from the need of people to: a) escape from poverty and poor living conditions (economic and ecology migrations) and b) escape from authoritarian regimes, political conflicts, and wars (war migrations and asylum-seekers). Better resolution of world problems (in a peaceful way, without wars, or by means of better environmental protection of the planet), together with improved chances for the economic and democratic development of poor countries, would reduce the need for people to leave their countries in this way (Held et al, 2000).

This policy field has turned out to be exceedingly complex because a high influx of migrants, especially in times of economic crises, creates a fear of foreigners among the domestic population. In European countries, which are preferable destinations for migrants, one may observe the rise of right-wing populism, authoritarian culture, racism, as well as crises of democratic principles and standards.

Protection and affirmation of democratic principles and social relations must be rooted in the local community and are of primary importance for European society, especially in this policy field (Schibel, 2003, pp. 99–106). This democratic model should also upgrade the quality of international policies and improve the solution of urgent global problems.

1.1. Three Policy Regimes and Respective Policy Measures

Migrations are highly connected with the course of global economic and political development, the distribution of wealth, and labour and capital mobility. Strategies and policies on migration differ across countries as well as periods, highly influenced as they are by ideology and value standards. In the first place, they are influenced by the economic situation in the country, the type of migrants (highly educated workers, medium or poorly skilled workers, or their dependent family members) and the ideology of political leadership (left, moderate, or right). Therefore, the type of national state regulations and policy measures (of both state and individual local governments) vary across European countries or across periods within a single country or city.

In practice, both in the national and the international arena serious ideological value conflicts may be seen regarding the course of world development (economic and democratic), and in accordance with these concepts various kinds of migrant policies are suggested, with specific measures and instruments. The right-wing ideology approach can be identified, which, after 11 September 2001, strongly advocates security and closing borders to migrants, with the permanent development of negative narratives towards foreigners (primarily a radical Islamic group, but also spreading fear and intolerance towards all foreigners).

Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, and Engberg-Pedersen (2016) identify three policy regimes in the migration development discourse:

- a) The policy of closure and containment means that developed countries *are closed* to new immigration. This policy is created in order to stop or control migrants and refugees (Phillimore, 2016; Frum, 2015). It is characterised by the following measures: establishment of a strict visa regime towards migrant-exporting countries; development of a buffer zone in countries (“safe third countries”) on the periphery that will absorb asylum-seekers and keep them there; strict border control to protect against smugglers and trafficking; restrictions on work permits for the migrant population within the country; withdrawal or

restrictions of social support, education, health, or housing for new migrants; return of unwanted arrivals to their home countries; strict and discretionary procedures for permanent residence, naturalisation and citizenship; and aid policies towards undeveloped countries which are conditional in that the recipients are required to take back asylum-seekers and unwanted migrants. This policy develops minimal (if any) dialogue between the global North and South.

- b) The policy of selectivity towards immigration and development support (aid) is a more liberal policy in comparison to the previous one. Advocates and representatives of this policy understand that migrations are caused by global inequalities, poverty, and conflicts and are aware of and empathise more with the troublesome position of this population. They share responsibility for refugees and try to help them to attain security and better life. This policy implements various measures such as creating positions for skilled workers and including a number of educational and training programmes for migrants; establishing resettlement quotas; offering secure residence or even citizenship on the basis of qualifications and assets; and the like (Hoskins, Kerr & Liu, 2016). Aid policies towards countries migrants originate from are conditional in that they are required to take back asylum-seekers and unwanted migrants, but this requirement is negotiated (not imposed). Humanitarian aid is distributed through the UNHCR and NGOs. Developmental aid is procured for good performers and strategically important countries, encouraging the return of migrants or their settlement in the border countries of this region and helping their integration. This policy develops cooperation in order to reduce irregular migration. Its main weakness is that it is palliative and does not solve the problems that have originally caused migrations.
- c) The third is the policy of liberalisation and trans-nationalism, covering all fields of activity: labour mobility, diaspora activities, and refugee protection (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear & Engberg-Pedersen, 2016, pp. 59–66). In a developed country a number of measures are implemented such as issuing temporary work permits to migrants, increasing settlement quotas, providing dual citizenship, and the like. This policy develops cooperation and partnership with the country of origin, helping and contributing to the mitigation of existing problems (war, conflicts, ecology and economic troubles, authoritarian regimes, and similar issues). This policy offers immigrants the opportunity to participate in these processes as partners in numerous ways: with remittances, which they send to their home country (to their families); in the crea-

tion of the best possible negotiating platform with their home country; and, finally, if they should want this, by returning to their country of origin if the situation improves. A number of measures could be taken to help these processes for migrants: tailored education, training for skills and jobs important for the economy of the migrants' home countries, creation of mutual investment projects, and so on. At an international level, this kind of policy develops a partnership dialogue between developed and developing countries, focusing on solving the main problems and troubles (political, economic, environmental, social, and the like). This policy focuses on poverty reduction, stimulation of economic development, conflict prevention, democratisation, and the development of human rights, which may have a beneficial impact on both these countries and the world as a whole. In practice, however, it is a complex task because of the weaknesses of international institutions and regulations. The first challenge stems from the necessity to limit multinational corporations' (MNCs) ambitions to make a profit at any cost, especially in the developing world.

This policy must by necessity confront the main challenges of the globalised world that need to be addressed. Therefore, it is necessary to stop wars inspired by oil, politically covered by narratives of the protection of democracy; to reduce and even end pollution, which jeopardises life on our planet and is especially present in the developing world (causing global warming, destroying atmosphere layers, and jeopardising poorly developed countries thus resulting in ecology migrations)¹ (Standlea, 2006); to change international regulations regarding business standards for MNCs in order to stop exploitation, which can be seen in the practice of child labour² and the labour of adults in poor conditions. In that sense, it is necessary to limit working hours to eight hours per day, obtain decent wages, and so on. In this field, serious measures should be prepared and implemented: taxation of MNCs could contribute to the funding of various developmental programmes in developing and moderately developed countries. With better living conditions in their own countries (education, infrastructure, housing,

¹ Cases of destruction of the Amazon rainforest or tropical forests in Indonesia, in which numerous species of plants and animals were destroyed so that palm trees could be grown for the production of cheap palm oil, and the like.

² For more detail see, for example, the use of child labour in dangerous cobalt mines. These children are 4–14 years of age and work 12 hours a day in terrible conditions, without protection measures, jeopardising their lives inhaling cobalt and drinking polluted water. Their daily wage is ¥1. MNCs have made huge profits because cobalt is an essential element for IT equipment. See: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JcJ8me22NVs> (visited 15. 03. 2017).

health, jobs, and a green and clean environment), people would not need to leave their countries of origin except to travel, to work for a while in other countries, to meet other people, or for similar reasons.

The international community is highly divided regarding their understanding of these values and the course of global development. This paper advocates the last policy model, because it has the best developmental and sustainability potential.

2. Experiences and Good Practices in Migrant Integration: The Role of Local Governments

Most European societies have the policy and philosophy of accepting migrants as a functional and integrative part of their societies. It turns out that it is of a great importance to understand cultural, social, and political differences (values) and help migrants to adapt to the host country and integrate into its economic, political, and social life. An important principle is to avoid forced integration. The main actors of such policy are state institutions such as ministries of foreign affairs, ministries of the interior, ministries of education, social care, health care, economy, and employment, ministries of finance, and similar bodies. Furthermore, there are specific state institutions created specifically for this reason, like directorates for migrations.

In the process of creation and especially in the implementation of migration policies and programmes, local governments (municipalities, cities, counties, and regions) are of huge importance. A number of local institutions are engaged in implementation programmes and the quality of migrant integration depends to a considerable extent on their organisational and management capacities and skills, their attitudes, values, dedication to the ultimate goal, as well as the methods and the toolbox of instruments which are used in their work.

State regulations on immigration establish key standards and represent a framework for local government activities in the implementation of migrant integration programmes. It may be observed that Scandinavian countries have traditionally more liberal regulations than, for example, Italy does. Therefore, the migrant population in Italy faces numerous problems on a daily basis because of unclear and restrictive state regulations. In such conditions, local governments can do little to help in these aspects.

Several waves of integration from 1960 to the present have been caused by various factors (economic, political, and conflicts and wars), resulting in

countries offering different immigration regulations, policies, and regimes and implementing them together with local governments. These activities have had varying results (i.e., varying success with regard to integration) and local institutions used to play an important role in procuring good results. Differences may be seen in the results achieved in different cities or regions, even within the same country. Italy is a good example: the city of Bologna and the Italian regions of Emilia Romagna and Veneto, as leaders in this policy field, have had much better results in terms of migrant integration in comparison with other Italian cities or regions. Local leadership has had a primary and considerable influence on these processes.

All the cities in the sample analysed in this paper have had a long history of hosting migrant populations, which represent an important and integral part of their urban population. The analysis will start with the case study of Antwerp in Belgium, as a good representative of both favourable and unfavourable results of immigration policy and practice. The Scandinavian cities in the sample are important to show the kind of results that can be achieved in the ambience of highly democratic and liberal national regulation toward migrants. Malmö (Sweden) has a significant share of migrant population and its positive and negative experiences are excellent lessons on the basis of which better and more efficient policy and programmes may be tailored, especially regarding employment and more effective integration. The practice of an anonymous midsized Norwegian city (figuratively named “Midtown”) is shown as an excellent example of a successful policy of training and migrant integration. The final part of the paper contains experiences from Italy, i.e., the city of Bologna and two regions: Emilia Romagna and Veneto. Italy represents an example opposite to that of Scandinavian countries because of its restrictive and controversial regulation towards the migrant population. It is of great importance to show how, even in this unfavourable environment, some cities like Bologna and some regions like the two in the example have developed the good practice of hosting immigrants as an important developmental resource for their economy and as human capital which enriches their society. The Veneto region with its developed practice of training for migrants is a very good example of great devotion to the successful and effective integration of this population into economic life.

2.1. Antwerp

The Belgian city of Antwerp is a great European port, which has attracted immigrants for centuries. Since the 15th century the city has been exposed to a constant influx of foreigners, but since the 19th century these pro-

cesses have intensified. In the 20th century, especially since the 1960s, new waves of migrants have been attracted by jobs in Wallonian mines and Ghent textile factories, as well as possible employment in the construction and service fields in Brussels and Antwerp. Large numbers of migrants of Turkish and Moroccan descent came to Antwerp and today they represent around 14% of the city's population. They are situated in neighbourhoods in southwestern and northeastern parts of the city.

They found niches in the market and began to offer new goods and services, which have profoundly developed existing economic activities. In Antwerp they are primarily active in the fields of wholesale trading, the food industry (bakeries, fast food shops, small groceries, and restaurants), as well as in the construction industry and manufacturing services (Eraydin et al, 2010, p. 533). Three types of worker profiles can be identified in this population: the poorly educated, the skilled workers, and the very successful entrepreneurs who contribute to and enrich the city's economy with their knowledge, creativity, and innovations. This migrant population is closely connected to their families, relatives, and friends. They tend to be very sociable (in coffee shops, shopping centers, and mosques) but often stay relatively self-sufficient and isolated from the indigenous city community.³

The city has numerous public institutions which offer social assistance to the migrant population (€1,000 per month). Besides public employment programmes, this population is mostly self-employed. Both on starting and further developing their businesses, the migrants primarily rely on financial and advisory support from family members, cousins, and friends. Research indicates that the majority of business decisions are made in this circle. They rarely decide to take loans from banks (loans to start or develop their business or strengthen their entrepreneurship skills) because of complex procedures and language barriers (Eraydin et al, 2010:528, 536, 537).⁴

At first their shops were located in the neighbourhoods where they lived but in time they moved to other parts of the city, which evidently improved their social integration. Their main reasons for moving were less competition, better sales, and consequently higher profits. For example, they opened their new stores in elite shopping zones, in Deurne and Wilrijk, whose residents are members of the middle and upper-middle classes. These shop-

³ Researchers have pointed out that knowing the host country's language represents an important factor with regard to coping better in society and integrating more easily. Individuals who do not speak the local language experience serious hardships in finding employment and integrating into society; therefore, they tend to be socially isolated.

⁴ In one research paper, 72% of the respondents never used financial support from banks and 61% always used financial support from family and friends.

ping areas traditionally offer only high quality and expensive goods. The migrants offered their customers footwear and clothing of excellent quality at reasonable prices, which turned out to be a great commercial success, with stores becoming very popular (Eraydin et al, 2010, p. 534).

In spite of the successfully integrated migrants, a part of this population could not manage to find jobs and still belong to a socially vulnerable group. The data show that 59% of Turkish and 56% of Moroccan migrants in Antwerp live in poor conditions and below the poverty line.⁵ Women and a segment of the young immigrant population are particularly vulnerable groups. In the case of the latter, research has noted that abundant social aid demotivates young people from seeking employment. Thus, they became dependent on social aid and remained passive and socially isolated (Eraydin et al, 2010, p. 539). In the light of these data, the local public have started debates on the reform of the system of donations and aid, in order to stimulate employment.

In Antwerp it is possible to identify a lack of projects which foster inter-ethnic communication and focus on greater familiarity with respective cultures, values, ways of life, and social habits. It is, however, of huge importance to develop various kinds of projects and policies focused on connecting the migrant population with the majority of Belgian citizens, so that they may get to know each other better and socialise. This can range from kindergartens, schools, and neighborhoods to different city performances, carnivals, and festivals (of film, books, cuisine, drinks, music, architecture, tourist destinations, and the like). Throughout this process all these ethnic groups (the majority as well as the migrant minority) are given the chance to understand each other's cultures better and to realise that they may gain numerous benefits from their new culturally enriched society.

2.2. "Midtown"⁶

The community of Midtown in Norway received, by chance, a great number of migrants and was dedicated to procuring better results with regard to their social and economic integration into the local community. In this

⁵ The poverty line is at 60% of the average local population wage. See: Eraydin et al, 2010, p. 541.

⁶ This chapter is based on the analysis conducted by Hagelund (2005), who examined the introduction of a compulsory two-year introduction programme for newly arrived refugees in Norway. In her research, Hagelund examined the implementation of the programme in a medium-sized Norwegian city. However, in order to protect the anonymity of the interviewees, its real name is not given but the more general term "Midtown" is used instead.

process they completely transformed traditional policy implementation and upgraded the quality of the integration process.

They changed the organisation and management process. First, they merged two institutions, the *Social Centre* (which procured social aid to migrants) and the *Training Centre* (which trained them for particular jobs), into a single new institution (the *Introduction Centre*), which specialises in working with migrants. Prior to the merger, both institutions dealt with the migrant population only as part of their other regular activities with other citizens. In the traditional setup, the Social Centre was of primary importance and the Training Centre was an additional institution. The integration of these institutions enabled them to focus solely on migrants and to establish an ambitious and attractive entrepreneurial programme for their professional training as the most important activity. This change of priorities brought about a huge difference in results and this manner of work turned out to be more effective.

This reform made a considerable difference to the work methods employed by social workers who are coordinators and supporters. This method requires migrants to be more active and use their knowledge, skills, and resources (to complete the training programme and) to find a job. In this way, people integrate into the community by means of employment.

The two-year training programme is intended to be compulsory. It is considered a workplace and each person gets a monthly salary for attending, which is sufficient to cover all living costs and allow for a comfortable life. The training covers language learning and professional training as important skills for employment and a financially and socially independent life. Participation in the programme is obligatory and absence results in a “salary cut” and finally in expulsion from the programme. The migrant population is encouraged to be active, creative, and innovative and to participate in society. They are not discouraged from taking up another job, if they wish to (if they did get an additional job their salary would not change), but their regular attendance and active participation on the training programme is required. There is zero tolerance of absenteeism.

There have been lively debates over how sensible this policy is and what the best way to implement it may be, but regardless of certain dilemmas (understanding the problems of individuals, and even their possible poor understanding of the system and the nature of the programme) this programme has achieved far better results than earlier ones (Hagelund, A. 2005, pg 682).⁷

⁷ The welfare rights of migrants are now considered to be a useful instrument to require that migrants adhere to a certain style of behavior and produce certain results in their

Migrants are placed in a more active position and quite soon they become independent as they find employment. They are also asked to take on the personal responsibility of solving everyday problems and doing practical tasks. Previously, helping migrants with such problems was within the remit of social workers, while now the participation of the social service in the lives of migrants is constrained to reasonable level (and is more of an exception).

All analyses on the topic of the successful integration of the migrant population in this country have pointed out that the previous system was not efficient. For example, a huge number of migrants were long-term recipients of social welfare (which is very generous),⁸ although this was established as a short-term measure. They were unemployed (52% of this population was unemployed, while the unemployment rate of the population as a whole was 30%), poorly or inadequately educated and trained, and also poorly socialised (isolated and even stigmatised and the like) (Hagelund, 2005, p. 682).

It turns out that the poor results were to a significant extent caused by the design of the institutions which were in charge of integration policy. This job was previously assigned to the Centre for Social Work as the most important institution, while the institution second in importance was the Training Centre, whose programme was quite often unsuccessful. Therefore, the ultimate goal of this policy (to employ migrants and to help them integrate as independent and active members of society) was poorly implemented.

The primary position of the Centre for Social Work in the implementation of this policy (which is the traditional practice in most European countries) turned out to be inefficient and ineffective. The Centre primarily focused on helping migrants by placing them in the position of passive clients⁹ (Hagelund, 2005, p. 675). The Midtown experiment of establishing a single institution (the Introduction Centre), predominantly created for

work, which is important for both the country and the city in order to procure good quality of integration (Hagelund, 2005, p. 680).

⁸ These grants were planned as short-term measures in the programme, but in a number of cases they turned out to be long-term donations, which represents a programme failure and social problem. Data from a report prepared in Norway show that out of 176 trainees only 16% became employed and only 5.7% entered the regular educational system (s. Lund, 2013 in Hagelund, 2005, p. 682).

⁹ In that sense, the term *kindism* was included in public debate as a symbol of the classical way of work, which was seen as the main cause of this policy failure and discouraged the small proportion of the migrant population which grew integrated into society. This way of work resulted in a high level of dependency on social aid, a high level of unemployment, and the social isolation and stigmatisation of this social group.

the integration of migrants into society, with the main aim of having them use their training for employment (as the main integration instrument), resulted in far greater success.

This programme started with the idea that every individual has the basic capacity, skills, and knowledge which they can upgrade in the professional sense, which can be used in society as an instrument of their integration (Hagelund, 2005, pp. 670, 675, 676). Through employment migrants have better chances of integrating, improving their understanding of values in society and the rules of the game, and preparing to be useful members of the host country's society.

In the new model, public officials engaged in this programme are required to be efficient coordinators. They need to be more disciplined, to respect work standards, to require the regular attendance of each person at training sessions, and to improve their skills in each of the required aspects (language learning; professional training; and accepting rules, values, and inclusion in various aspects of life in society).

The traditional way of work whereby social workers showed indulgence and kindness and provided excessive help to migrants placed the latter in a passive position and created many problems for this group and for society. In such a regime, social workers did numerous practical jobs for migrants, ranging from paying their bills, to purchasing things for the home, procuring babysitters and child care, and even doing maintenance jobs in their homes, and the like. In this way, the social workers took on a huge amount of work for no serious reason, while the migrants remained passive: not only in small everyday jobs, but also in training and seeking employment.

With the change of the system, the new position of the social worker is more demanding than it used to be. As the primary contact for a migrant, the social worker has to work with this person, to follow his or her development in all aspects of the programme (language, professional skills), to encourage the migrant to be independent, to assume his (her) responsibilities and do their best to prepare for employment and life. The Introduction Centre has to facilitate the preparation of migrants for life and work and not to protect them from the challenges of life.

2.3. Malmö

Malmö is a city in the south of Sweden, with 300,000 inhabitants. As an industrial centre, the city used to attract migrants with its opportunities for work but the state ended this process in the 1970s. Since then, migra-

tion has been on the decrease and has mostly appeared in the form of asylum-seekers, refugees, and the reunification of migrant families. Today, 40% of the population of Malmö are migrants by origin (with one or both migrant parents).

Part of the poorly integrated population has predominantly settled in the southeastern part of the city. This population lives in worse conditions than the majority of the Swedish population, especially following the crisis of 2008. The level of unemployment is double that of the unemployment level of the Swedish population (28% compared to 14%), there are considerable numbers of young migrants dropping out of school, which damages their future employment prospects; i.e., the possibility of getting a good job and procuring economic independence and achieving regular integration into society (Scuzzarello, 2015, pp. 59, 63).

The Swedish integration policy is very liberal and affirms democratic standards, freedom of cultural choice for migrants, cooperation, and multiculturalism. In this sense, as early as 1975 the Law on Migrants stipulated high social, economic, and political rights for this population (voting rights at local elections and participation in the work of political institutions) and it also established a liberal naturalisation regime (Scuzzarello, 2015, p. 60). In practice, however, migrants as an organised group are poorly integrated in decision-making processes, or not as well as some other groups and organisations (unions, for example).

Since the mid-1990s, this policy field has also changed with the change in management style and corrections to the welfare state regime, with the affirmation of efficiency, effectiveness, rationality, and entrepreneurship. The corrections to this policy field started with the identification of poor results. Therefore, an emphasis was placed on the professional training of migrants in order to procure economic integration (employment), which in turn facilitates their social integration to a considerable extent (Scuzzarello, 2015, p. 64). In this context, unemployed migrants who are able to work are considered a burden to society and a numerous debates have been initiated in public.

Nowadays, it is stressed that migrants are an important developmental resource in Swedish society because they have knowledge, resources, cultural diversity, and speak various languages, which ought to be seen as important social capital for Malmö, too. In that sense, in the implementation of migrant policy, an emphasis is placed on the active attitude of this population in the integration process (Scuzzarello, 2015, p. 64). In this context, the city government creates the education policy for migrants as

a priority task, offering special training for attractive jobs, with the active role of the private sector as an employer.¹⁰

In Malmö's spatial planning policy, just as in that of a number of other Scandinavian cities with a foreign and migrant population, great efforts are made to procure pleasant and attractive public spaces for migrants to meet and socialise with the local inhabitants of the city. They have also developed a number of programmes of mutual understanding, delivered through education institutions for children and young people (kindergartens, schools, universities) and partly through the city's cultural activities. Still, it was identified that good results were not achieved in terms of the political integration of this population, considering the necessity of including better programmes for the affirmation of their higher political participation.

Special attention was devoted to all the aspects of inclusion and integration of the impoverished population into the system and especially with regard to solving problems of social isolation, marginalisation, and stigmatisation. An analysis has shown that in life numerous problems affect primarily women, who are the most vulnerable category (especially among the Muslim population). Often their families (fathers, husbands, and sons) deny women the right to participate in language learning or occupational training programmes. In this way, not only are they personally being marginalised, they also cannot support their children in the process of integration, which causes damage on two levels. In host countries, various forms of violence against women have been identified, ranging from arranged marriages for girls to physical violence in cases of breaking the rules imposed by the family¹¹ (Hagelund, 2005, p. 670).

In this context, analysts conclude that the state shares the responsibility for such tragic consequences because of its passivity. They have stressed that tolerance towards cultural idiosyncracies should not bring into question the obligation of the host state to protect human rights in this social group, too. Cases like this initiate change in some aspects of immigrant policies and foster the tailoring of policy programmes and measures to the needs of the migrant population. Analysts point out that women and young people, as vulnerable groups, are potentially the greatest beneficiaries of a better quality of life in the host country.

¹⁰ Policies for Metropolitan Cities as a kind of National Regeneration Strategy represent an initiative which encourages the way that the local government works in this respect.

¹¹ A dramatic case of murder was recorded where a girl was killed by her father and brothers because she had a Swedish boyfriend. Cases like this stress the importance of the state in protecting the human rights of each citizen, including members of this group.

2.4. Bologna

Bologna is a city in Italy, in the Emilia Romagna region. As an old industrial-service (university) centre with 380,000 inhabitants, this city accepted labour migrants until the beginning of the 1980s when the state put an end to this practice. This process continues through the integration of migrant families, refugees, and asylum-seekers. Today, the migrant population represents 14% of all the city's residents. The main problems this group faces are the poor quality of living conditions and complicated and controversial state regulation, which left unclear rules how they can legally stay in Italy. This regulation resulted in the illegal status of 10,000 migrants (who have no stay or work permits). This stressful condition often causes them to engage in conflict with the police, officials, and other inhabitants in the city (Scuzzarello, 2015, p. 60).

Italy introduced the Law on Immigrants in 1998 and provided this population with the right to education, health, and social protection, but did not give them political rights (the right to vote, for example) nor the right to naturalisation. This would be a model known as the policy of selection (Nyberg-Sørensen, Van Hear, Engberg-Pedersen, 2016), with limitations to political rights and naturalisation. In time, this regulation placed immigrants in an even worse position. In 2002 amendments to this law revoked the financial means which the state used to transfer to regions in order to support the activities of this vulnerable social group.

Bologna and the Emilia Romagna region, in which this city is situated, have traditionally had social democratic and liberal political leadership and management philosophy. Since 1945 left-leaning political leaders have made a great effort to support the migrant population, in spite of state regulation.

The prevailing attitude of the leaders is that migrants substantially enrich their communities and contribute significantly with their knowledge, culture, habits, and economic activities to the local economy and the development of the cities and the whole region. Especially since the 1990s, understanding that migrants carry important developmental strength, stimulate entrepreneurship, and upgrade the welfare of regional and urban society has been strengthened in migrant policy (Scuzzarello, 2015, pp. 69. 70).

The Bologna city government often stresses that migrants are very important for a number of jobs which the Italian population cannot or does not know or wish to do, such as establishing groceries all over the city. Groceries are of traditional importance for Bologna (as well as for other Italian cities) but have been destroyed by mega-market chains. The

migrant population, however, have started up grocery stores again and survived despite strong competition. These groceries offer in fresh fruits, vegetables, and other food supplies in almost all parts of the city, as well as make deliveries to elderly people or other households which need this kind of service.

Migrants are also inevitably important in jobs that involve looking after elderly people and persons with special needs. When the traditional role of women in this field (taking care of children, ageing family members, or other persons in need) changed with the active employment of women in order to upgrade the economy and welfare of the family, this type of service was left unaddressed and it is in this important field that migrants have found their employment opportunities (Scuzzarello, 2015, pp. 65, 68, 70).

Additionally, city and regional governments have established cooperation with the agricultural sector to simplify procedures for the employment of migrants in seasonal jobs. Various types of programmes have been established for this population to start their own businesses and establish their own firms.

The Bologna city government has devoted additional attention to improving the civil and political participation of migrants. Towards that end, in 1995 the Bologna Council supported the establishment of the Metropolitan Forum as an institution which ought to strengthen the political participation of this social group. The Forum was intended to devote particular attention to migrant needs, as well as to find solutions for the problems they experienced in society (in order to foster their successful integration). It turned out that in practice the Bologna Council very rarely consulted this institution, and even when it did, the Metropolitan Forum only had a consultative role and moderate impact. The civil sector (NGOs) facilitates the influence of this population on the decision-making process but the political participation of immigrants remains a weak point of Italian society in general.

2.5. Training of Migrants in Northeast Italy

The Veneto region in Italy has a strong and vital economy (small family firms, developed industrial districts, and the implementation of innovative development models), which attracts migrants from numerous countries. They come from neighbouring countries in southeast Europe (Romania, Bulgaria, and Albania), from Maghreb countries like Tunisia (Africa), and from Bangladesh (Asia) (Magnani, 2015, p. 153).

At 118,000 Veneto is the second region in terms of migrant population growth in Italy (after Lombardy at 209,000) and is followed by Emilia Romagna at 111,000 foreigners. At 23% Veneto is also second in terms of the share of migrants in the population of the region as a whole (after the Trentino Alto Adige region, in which a small number of foreigners – 73,000 – still represents as much as 36% of this border region's population). Lombardy and Emilia Romagna have similar share of immigrants in the population as a whole (around 22%) (Magnani, 2015, p. 153.)

Veneto's economy needs additional well-trained labor. This region has developed a relatively liberal policy toward migrants (a serious shift was made from the idea that migrants were a burden to the host society towards the attitude that they could be an important developmental resource for society) (Magnani, 2015, p. 150). In this context, the Veneto region has developed a training network for migrants in order to allow each migrant to participate in a training programme, upgrade their skills and knowledge in order to get better jobs, achieve a higher salary, and procure financial and economic independence and sustainability as well as achieve better integration into society.

There are three types of training programmes: traditional training, supported and financed by EU funds (the European Social Fund, ESF); innovative training, created in cooperation between local governments and the private sector, which needs this workforce (having analysed which occupations were necessary and having pinpointed the required skills and knowledge); and training which is implemented in the immigrants' home countries, established to prepare future immigrants in advance for future jobs in Italy.

The first type of training programme has strict rules: training is carried out in the form of regular working hours. It consists of 600–800 hours of training (over a period of 4–5 months) and 100–160 hours of working experience in a firm (Magnani, 2015, p. 157).¹² Participation is obligatory and at the end of the training participants receive financial compensation of sorts (€3 per hour). This training design requires participants to have the financial means to support themselves throughout this period (paying bills, rent, food, transportation, and so on). This is a highly limiting factor for numerous migrants who must work to survive, often live in rural and small settlements, cannot afford to pay for transportation on daily basis to participate in training which takes place in a bigger city, and have similar issues.

¹² Data show that 80% of trainees secure a job within a year, mostly in the firms where they were trained.

Considering all these limitations to traditional training, local governments and the Veneto regional government made an effort to establish, in cooperation with the private sector as a potential employer, a more flexible type of training programme. They procure the exact type of training, which opens up a chance for trainees to secure jobs in private firms when they have completed the course. This type of training takes place in neighbourhoods where migrants/potential participants live, during their free hours (in the afternoon and at the weekend) in order to facilitate their inclusion in training courses.

This type of training has had especially good results with female migrants who work in smaller towns and villages caring for elderly people and persons with special needs. For this vulnerable migrant group, this was the first opportunity to participate in a training programme (Magnani, 2015, pp. 159–160).

3. Conclusion

The strategy on migration and policies on migrant integration should be seen as highly connected with the question of the course of the development of the globalised world. In that sense it is crucial to create developmental strategies with a primary focus on the economic development of the undeveloped world. Strengthened international political and economic institutions could support these activities.

In a global economy, there should be affirmation of labour standards like inclusion and protection of the minimum wage, the eight-hour working day, protection at work, and elimination of exploitation. It is of great importance to include effective developmental programmes for developing countries, because people migrate from societies in which they cannot procure jobs sufficient for a decent life.

The international community can no longer delay attempts to deal effectively with pollution and global warming because this jeopardises the quality of life on Earth, causing numerous problems for all societies.

The international community has an obligation to strengthen international economic and political institutions, to democratise them, and to create strategies and policies which exclude wars, especially wars led by developed countries in order to procure energy (oil, gas) resources. Additionally, the entire international community should be dedicated to a permanent and persistent democratisation of the developing world. In

this time-consuming process the use of force should be an exception, well regulated and controlled, in order to prevent its misuse.

This approach would help the whole world become a better place to live. In absence of this approach, which would substantially resolve the main problems that cause the citizens of the undeveloped world to migrate, policies and measures will remain only palliative and the greatest world problems will remain unresolved.

The experiences of European local governments show that a liberal policy of effective migrant integration is the best option because it accepts migrants as developmental and useful social capital for the host country and includes them adequately in all aspects of life. The experiences of Antwerp and Malmö, as well as a number of other European cities, have shown that employment is of high importance for procuring an independent position and better integration of migrants into society. Therefore, the integration process should accord professional education, training, and employment a high level of importance. Local governments should prepare useful training programmes for existing and practical economic needs, and should provide the immigrant population with the opportunity to participate regarding the place, working hours and price. In that sense it is justified to require that migrants shoulder their part of responsibility for their integration into society. Midtown in Norway, the Veneto region in Italy, as well as Bologna are excellent examples of good and successful practice.

For the successful integration of migrants into local society, it is very important that the host country and local government develop activities to establish a friendly relationship of the majority population towards migrants. For this vulnerable social group this is as important as attaining economic prosperity and independence.

It is an obligation of leaders to continuously convey the message to the public that migrants represent great social capital. It is important to explain to the public that in the contemporary globalised world society should be open to capital and labour migrations. More importantly, in this way our communities are given the opportunity to be multicultural, open, tolerant, and richer in every aspect. In such societies all citizens, including the migrant population, have an obligation to protect democratic values and to contribute to social development.

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LOCAL GOVERNMENT CAPACITIES FOR THE INTEGRATION OF MIGRANTS: GOOD EUROPEAN EXPERIENCES AND PRACTICES

Summary

This paper explains the role of local governments (cities, regions) in the implementation of immigration policy in Europe. It covers the period since the 1960s and explains various waves and types of immigration, state policies, and the capacities of local government to help with immigrant integration. Several case studies are presented: Antwerp (Belgium), Malmö (Sweden), and Bologna and the Veneto region (Italy). The policy of migrant integration is exceedingly complex, requiring persistent dedication on part of all countries to mitigate the biggest problems of the contemporary globalised world (wealth distribution; poverty reduction; prevention of economic and political conflicts, especially wars; development of human rights; ecology), and to upgrade democratic capacities in each society. The contribution of this paper is to show that liberal policy in this field is the best option for the effective integration of migrants. Host state and local governments should be more sensitive to the nature and needs of the migrant population, and to foster a better understanding of the values, customs, and culture of both migrants and the domestic population. Useful measures which can help migrants in the process of integration are: tailored education, training for skills and jobs, participation in decision-making processes in the host country, and cooperation between the migrants' home and host countries. It is important that political leaders continuously convey the message to the public that migrants represent great social capital and potential for the economic development of their society. The public should understand that in the contemporary globalised world society should be open to capital and labour migration, and that in this process our communities are given the chance to be multicultural, open, tolerant, and richer in every aspect. At the same time, all citizens, including the migrant population, have an obligation to protect democratic values and to contribute to the social development of both their home and host societies.

Keywords: strategy and policy of migrant integration; local integration policy; policy instruments; European experiences; good practices.

KAPACITETI LOKALNE UPRAVE U PODRUČJU INTEGRACIJE MIGRANATA: POZITIVNA ISKUSTVA I DOBRE PRAKSE U EUROPI

Sažetak

U radu se pojašnjava uloga lokalne samouprave (gradova i regija) u provedbi imigracijske politike u Europi. Rad se bavi razdobljem od 1960-ih nadalje, opisujući različite useljeničke valove i vrste imigracije, državne politike te kapacitete lokalne uprave u području integracije useljenika u društvo. Predstavljeno je nekoliko studija slučaja: Antwerpen (Belgija), Malmö (Švedska) te Bologna i regija Veneto (Italija). Politika integracije migranata iznimno je složena i zahtijeva potpunu predanost svih zemalja u naporima da se ublaže najveći problemi suvremenoga globaliziranog svijeta. Treba nastojati postići pravednu raspodjelu bogatstva, smanjiti siromaštvo, spriječiti ekonomske i političke sukobe (posebice ratove), postići razvoj ljudskih prava i rješavati ekološka pitanja te unaprijediti demokratske kapacitete u svim društvima. Liberalna politika stvara najbolje prilike za učinkovitu integraciju useljenika. I zemlja domaćina i lokalne jedinice trebale bi biti svjesnije potreba migrantske populacije i poticati bolje razumijevanje vrijednosti, običaja i kulture kako migranata tako i domaćeg stanovništva. Korisne mjere koje mogu doprinijeti integraciji useljenika uključuju obrazovanje krojeno prema njihovim potrebama, obuku useljenika za određene vještine i poslove, njihovo sudjelovanje u procesima donošenja odluka u zemlji domaćina te suradnju između zemlje iz koje potječu i zemlje domaćina. Bitno je da političari na vodećim položajima neprestano šalju poruku javnosti da migranti predstavljaju važan društveni kapital i potencijal za ekonomski razvoj njihova društva. Javnost treba shvatiti da u suvremenome globaliziranom svijetu društvo mora omogućiti slobodan protok kapitala i ljudi te da će zauzvrat zajednice u kojima živimo dobiti priliku biti multikulturalne, otvorene, tolerantne i bogatije u svakom pogledu. Istovremeno svi građani, uključujući i migrantsku populaciju, obvezni su štititi demokratske vrijednosti i doprinijeti društvenom razvoju, kako u zemlji iz koje potječu tako i u zemlji domaćina.

Ključne riječi: strategija i politika integracije migranata; lokalna integracijska politika; instrumenti politike; europska iskustva; dobre prakse