# SUMMARY

## The World in a City
Migration-Related Diversity and Urban Policy in Europe

**All across Europe, municipal governments are drawing up strategies for assimilating various groups of migrants in the local community. In so doing, they must take into account the enormous degree of diversity among migrants. Migrants no longer come from a small number of countries, as they used to, but rather from many countries all over the world. In addition, they all have different reasons to leave their own countries, and represent different ages, socio-economic backgrounds, levels of education, lengths of stay and legal statuses. Their needs are also different, and some are better prepared for the Western European job market than others. Furthermore, some migrants have difficulty connecting with other communities. This exploratory Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) study report, entitled *The World in a City: Migration-Related Diversity and Urban Policy in Europe* (in Dutch: *De wereld in een stad: migratiediversiteit en stedelijk beleid in Europa*), provides an insight into how European cities of various sizes are dealing with migrants from a multitude of ethnic backgrounds.**

### INCREASING DIVERSITY IN EUROPEAN CITIES

International migration to Western Europe is becoming increasingly diverse. Until quite recently, large groups of migrants came to Western Europe from a small number of countries. These days, we are seeing small groups of migrants from a large number of countries. In 2017, migrants living in the Netherlands hailed from 223 different countries of origin.

This increase in diversity can not only be seen in the increasing number of countries of origin, but also in increased diversity with regard to reasons for emigration, level of education, visa status and duration of stay. Migrants come to the Netherlands to find jobs, request political asylum, be reunited with their families or get a degree. Their level of education ranges from high to low. The migrants have different legal statuses as well – some have all the papers they need, while others hardly have any. Some migrants wish to settle permanently in the Netherlands, while others are only in the Netherlands on a temporary basis. This diversity is referred to as migration-related diversity.

Big cities play a central part in the different stages of our interaction with migrants. Migrants enter the country in these cities and first meet the society of which they will become part, be it permanently or temporarily. Cities provide them with opportunities to find a job, be educated and get in touch with people already living there. This forms the basis for their assimilation and connectedness with others. Migrants also seem to identify more strongly with the city in which they live than with the country in which they live, and this connection grows faster as well.

However, big cities are not just points of entry for migrants. They are also increasingly points of departure. After a brief or medium-length stay in a big city, migrants will either return to their country of origin, move to another country or leave for another Dutch municipality. As a result, city populations are increasingly fluid. This mobility is somewhat problematic, in that municipal governments can no longer draw up strategies aimed purely at the assimilation of migrants who plan to stay in the Netherlands for a longer period of time. They must also come up with policies geared towards migrants who will only stay (very) briefly.

WRR's exploratory study report *The World in a City* discusses examples of how various European cities, including Amsterdam and Rotterdam, deal with increased migration-related diversity. The chapters are based on international research projects supervised by Dutch researchers (see below). This summary provides a few examples of projects analysed in the exploratory study, as well as their findings. The publication of this study report coincided with the publication of another exploratory study report by WRR entitled *The New Diversity: Increasing Diversity in the Netherlands,* in which we map out migration-related diversity in the Netherlands. Definitive policy recommendations will be made in a report still to be published.

## THE INTERNATIONAL RESEARCH PROJECTS

**DIVERCITIES:** a research project focusing on diversity governance in thirteen European cities as well as Toronto (www.urbandivercities.eu). This study was coordinated by Prof. Ronald van Kempen and Prof. Gideon Bolt from Utrecht University. The cities included in the research are: Antwerp, Athens, Budapest, Copenhagen, Istanbul, Leipzig, London, Milan, Paris, Rotterdam, Tallinn, Toronto, Warsaw and Zurich.

**IMAGINATION:** a research project focusing on urban policy on how to deal with migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (www.project-imagination.net). This study was coordinated by Prof. Godfried Engbersen and Prof. Peter Scholten from Erasmus University Rotterdam. The cities included in the research are: Rotterdam and The Hague, Vienna and Linz, Stockholm and Göteborg, Istanbul and Edirne.

**UPSTREAM:** a research project focusing on effective strategies for mainstreaming in integration governance in Europe (www.project-upstream.eu). This study was coordinated by Prof. Peter Scholten from Erasmus University Rotterdam. The cities included in the research are: Rotterdam and Amsterdam, London-Southwark and Bristol, Lyon and Saint-Denis, Madrid and Barcelona, Warsaw and Poznan.

**ICEC:** a research project focusing on neighbourhood development plans featuring interethnic coexistence (www.icecproject.com). This study was coordinated by Prof. Sako Musterd from the University of Amsterdam. The cities included in the research are: Vienna, Stockholm and Amsterdam. In addition to these international comparative studies, Prof. Sako Musterd made a contribution based on ongoing research on asylum seekers' first settling in Sweden.

## THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN EUROPEAN CITIES

There are significant differences in the ways migration manifests in different cities. Global cities such as New York and London are economic powerhouses that were and continue to be shaped by migration. They hold a top-tier position in global economic networks. Such cities offer both highly and poorly educated migrants many opportunities to improve their station in life. Migration provides a significant boost to the economy in these cities, and diversity is generally considered a good thing. Cities that do not rank quite so high in such global networks do not provide highly educated migrants with as many opportunities. They mostly attract poorly educated migrants who compete with locals for poorly paid jobs that are few and far between. In such cities, migration-related diversity is far less likely to be considered an economic or cultural boon to the city. In this exploratory study report, we analyse all sorts of examples gleaned from European cities, including metropolises like London, Paris, Athens, Warsaw and Vienna, medium-sized cities such as Amsterdam, Antwerp, Copenhagen and Rotterdam and smaller cities like Saint-Denis, Malmö, Zurich and Tallinn. We also focus on the city of Toronto, one of the most ethnically diverse cities in the world, with a long history of dealing with ethnic diversity.

## TWO MAJOR POLICY ISSUES

Cities with many immigrants face two major challenges in terms of policy and governance. First, they must decide whether to draw up separate policies for issues relating to diversity and integration, or whether to embed these themes into regular policy areas. If they choose to do the latter, this is called 'mainstreaming'. Secondly, municipal governments have to take policies made at other levels into account, e.g. national policy or EU policy. The process of coordinating these various administrative levels is referred to as 'multi-level governance'.

### THE RISE OF GENERIC POLICIES: A FEW NOTES ON MAINSTREAMING

This exploratory study shows that urban policymakers increasingly opt for a generic approach that is not geared towards specific groups of migrants, but rather towards the entire urban community (see Van Breugel and Scholten 2018; Bolt and Van Liempt 2018). They choose to embed issues relating to diversity and integration in more general policy, e.g. education, housing and job market policy.

Mainstreaming is considered a necessary policy strategy because it is very hard to juggle the interests of different groups with different backgrounds. Policymakers also opt for mainstreaming because distinguishing between persons with or without a migrant background is often irrelevant or undesirable. However, we would like to express some reservations with regard to mainstreaming.

First, it may result in a dilution of diversity policy. When this happens, themes such as integration and diversity are not embedded in general policy, which will result in an incoherent integration policy and an underdeveloped realisation that there is a problem. Secondly, mainstreaming insufficiently takes urgent problems encountered by certain groups of migrants, such as asylum seekers, into consideration. These people often need personalised guidance during the first few years in their new country, since they do not have a social network that can support them. This calls for a targeted policy for the integration of asylum seekers (see Van Breugel and Scholten 2018; Bolt and Van Liempt 2018).

## CONFLICT BETWEEN ADMINISTRATIVE LEVELS: THE CHALLENGES OF MULTI-LEVEL GOVERNANCE

Urban policymakers must take into account the powers of various administrative levels. Migration policy is drawn up at the national and European levels, but the consequences of migration are felt most clearly in cities, which means that effective integration policies are very important at this level. This may result in friction – for instance, EU legislators might not consider what consequences their laws will have at the local level, or a national government might cut its integration budget.

Municipal governments can bring some influence to bear on these higher administrative levels, however. We got an example of that when The Hague and Rotterdam expressed their concerns about how they were going to accommodate all the immigrants from EU member states who had come to the Netherlands to find jobs. The municipal authorities made sure that their wishes were passed on to the EU by the national government – for instance, through the Ministers for Social Affairs and for Migration. Also, municipal authorities have sought to bring about greater harmonisation of policies from the bottom up, with higher-ranking policymakers paying heed to how migration affects cities and regions (Van Ostaijen; Scholten and Snel 2018).

In addition to local initiatives to bring about greater harmonisation, we have also seen Dutch cities collaborate. Take, for example, the 'Poland Summit', which was hosted in December 2007 by the municipal governments of Rotterdam and The Hague to discuss the local consequences of the influx of economic migrants from EU member states. Forty-two other municipal governments attended this Poland Summit, with more conferences following later. These conferences had a significant impact on national policy and formed the basis for the 'Lessons Drawn from Recent Economic Migration' Temporary Parliamentary Committee (LURA) (see Van Ostaijen et al. 2018).

## ASPECTS OF MIGRATION-RELATED DIVERSITY POLICY

In addition to the aforementioned policy issues, the case studies provide various insights into the six different stages of dealing with migration-related diversity. These stages may take place simultaneously in some cases, and not every migrant will experience all stages. The following stages are distinguished: *entry, reception, stay, settling in, connection* and *departure*. We will now provide a few examples of each of these stages, which are described in more detail in the various EU research projects.

### 1. ENTRY

If the migrants are asylum seekers, policy decisions need to be made as to where these people are taken. Asylum seekers have a better chance of economic integration if they end up in places with a strong job market. Distributing asylum seekers evenly across a country is not likely to improve their chances of economic integration. Policymakers should take this fact into account when drawing up policies for the geographic distribution of refugees (Musterd 2018).

### 2. RECEPTION

Once they have entered the country, it is crucial that newcomers join in with society as soon as possible. Dedicated support centres for asylum residence permit holder (the refugee equivalent of expat centres) could help new asylum seekers find a job and a place to live. Such support centres could serve as job brokers, bringing together supply and demand (Musterd 2018). They could also engage in more far-reaching projects. In Vienna, for instance, the Start Coaching Vienna project offers migrants from EU member states personalised consultancy sessions in their mother tongue. The newcomers are then put through a programme featuring several modules, including a language course. Special events are hosted where information on the job market, coexistence, health, education, childcare, housing and starting up one's own business is provided in 20 to 25 languages (Van Ostaijen et al. 2018).

### 3. STAY

In addition to being given the tools to join in with their new country or city, newcomers need housing, health care and education, where relevant. However, not all migrants remain at their point of entry long enough to receive help from regular organisations arranging such matters. Therefore, measures must be implemented for temporary EU citizens. Several European cities are currently working on this. For instance, Sweden has established a hotline where citizens can lodge complaints and concerns about migrants from EU member states, and special sexual health information projects have been established for vulnerable Roma people from EU member states. Rotterdam is experimenting with providing short-stay apartments in the housing market, offering Dutch language courses (attendance optional) and establishing special school classes for children who do not speak Dutch. The city also seeks to improve its registration of migrants from EU member states (Van Ostaijen et al. 2018).

### 4. SETTLING IN

A substantial number of migrants plan to stay in their new countries permanently. They require a good socio-economic position in order to be integrated into their new society. Most European countries, including the Netherlands, seek to give newcomers equal opportunities in the job market, mostly by entering into arrangements with private and public parties. It has been demonstrated that the success of such arrangements largely depends on the extent to which these organisations are aware of the problems (Bolt and Van Liempt 2018). Equal opportunities in the job market can be promoted in other ways as well. Take, for instance, the French Emplois d'Avenir policy programme, which focuses on reducing youth unemployment among adolescents and young adults from so-called 'priority neighbourhoods'. This programme receives a substantial budget of €3.5 billion. As part of the programme, youths are offered one-year contracts, which may be extended for up to three years. In 2013, 100,000 French youths signed such contracts. The programme does not distinguish between youths with and without a migrant background. Emplois d'Avenir employment contracts typically come with a mandatory training clause, which means that youths receive coaching for the duration of their contract, so as to increase their chances of finding a regular job afterwards (Bolt and Van Liempt 2018).

### 5. CONNECTION

It is vital to both migrants themselves and to society in general that newcomers connect with their environment. Top-down projects allow newcomers to get in touch with organisations such as schools and housing associations relatively easily. An example of this is the Viennese Miteinander Lernen project, which offers language courses, mainly to Turkish women. Attendees say they value not just the language lessons, but also the contact they have with their teachers. These teachers provide help with minor everyday activities, thus helping attendees learn more about the country they now live in (Hoekstra 2018).
Newcomers are enabled to get in touch with fellow newcomers by means of bottom-up projects. In many cases, such contacts will be limited to people from the same country of origin, but neighbourhood projects can encourage brief interethnic contacts. Such projects are not necessarily designed to help newcomers forge friendships, but rather to ensure that people see more familiar faces in their neighbourhood. For instance, Amsterdam's De Handreiking community centre has a communal space where activities take place. Locals primarily take part in activities hosted by their own social circle (which may or may not be held in their own language), but they do get to know others as well, albeit only on the level of a general acquaintance. Such projects do require professional supervision, to prevent some locals from feeling less welcome because, for example, one group is dominant (Hoekstra 2018).

## 6. DEPARTURE

Some cities have local policies designed to return certain migrants to their country of origin. For instance, Rotterdam forces foreign criminals and habitual offenders to return to their country of origin, and also encourages migrants from EU member states who do not have the right to stay and who do not have the means to live in Rotterdam or have severe medical issues to return to their home countries. Like several other cities, Rotterdam collaborates with a Polish Christian foundation called Barka, which organises proper health care and shelter for unsuccessful migrants in their home country. Since the collaborative partnership between Barka and the Rotterdam municipal authorities was so successful, it has now been rolled out nationwide (Van Ostaijen et al. 2018).

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