Report on the Baseline Studies

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August 2013

1. Introduction

This report, written within the frame of the Labour Plus project, has been drafted on the basis of the information, interview data, and various other documents provided by the project partners. It is worth noting that this document does not aim at repeating the reports written by each partner – though it sometimes reproduces information included in them – but to highlight their main characteristics in a comparative perspective. It has several objectives:

1) The first is to provide an overview of situations on the ground with regards to the inclusion of various minorities and more specifically of Roma populations in the local authorities involved in the project. It aims at identifying commonalities, differences, etc., across cases, and in this respect it provides an overview of the main issues faced by migrant groups and/or Roma across Europe.

2) Its second objective is to identify the main challenges faced by migrant groups and/or Roma in the path to integration. These challenges vary across levels, from the individual (e.g. literacy, gender…), to the group level (e.g. culture, endogamy…), to the environmental/societal level (e.g. discrimination, racism, economic crisis…). Challenges impeding the smooth implementation of integration policies will also be reviewed (e.g. organizational, financial, legal…). The report argues that in order to be effective, integration policies need to be part of an integrated strategy, fostering a global approach to integration instead of tackling challenges pertaining to just one aspect of integration.

3) The third objective of this report is conduct, thanks to an innovative methodology, an assessment of local policies for the inclusion of minorities. It uses Radar Charts to better picture where the cities/local authorities lie on different topics relative to the inclusion of migrants (health, employment, participation, services, etc.). The report thus provides two Radar Charts for each municipality/region, one assessing the situation of one specific community of migrants (that has been determined in each case) on various dimensions relevant to their inclusion, and one assessing the policies implemented in order to favor their inclusion. Within this frame, it also provides an inventory of local policies for the inclusion of minorities, especially targeting Roma populations, with a specific focus on policies in favor of employment, education, language, social participation, mobility and housing of migrants/Roma populations. It identifies good practices among this wealth of policies.

4) The fourth objective is to come up with a limited number of policy recommendations highlighting potential discrepancies between the migrants' needs and perceptions, and the policies that are implemented. In order to do so, this report expands on existing practices, and proposes options based on "lessons learned".

2. Overview of situation & main challenges

The aim of this section is to provide an overview of the current situation in the various local authorities involved in the Labour Plus project. It presents common characteristics across cases in terms both of the general climate, and for the concerned migrant/Roma communities; it also highlights common policy challenges, and thus demonstrates that the project partners clearly face a number of similar issues when trying to foster integration and employment of Roma and migrant populations – even if, as will become clear in section 3 of this report, there are also quite striking discrepancies between cases, in terms of target groups as well as of needed and implemented policies.

2.1. A general context characterized by the impact of the economic crisis

The ten cases covered by this report, though admittedly displaying very different characteristics with regards to migration history, and/or integration policies, have to face comparable challenges. The first of these is the deep impact of the economic crisis that weights heavily on the ability of local authorities to sustain and/or fund major initiatives in the field of integration, and that also provokes a worsening of the situation of migrants, as well as that of the rest of the population. This constitutes a major constraint and explains that some integration policies are not as ambitious as expected. It also feeds a negative and pessimistic climate, in turn reinforcing negative opinions vis-à-vis migrants or communities, like the Roma, which do not seem well integrated, and are often accused of not struggling enough to better their own situation.

One of the other consequences of the economic crisis is an increase in overall levels of unemployment, which further impede migrants' integration. Considering the fact that their educational attainment and training is generally lower than that of the rest of the population, in such a context it becomes even more complicated for them to find and keep a job, even a low-skilled one. Not having a job in turn makes it more complicated to find decent housing, thus feeding a vicious circle of pauperization and/or dependency on public subsidies.

One can also notice than in all cases, recent waves of migration seem to be more difficult to manage than previous ones, at least at the cultural / societal level. Even if discrimination and racism are not widespread, feelings of mistrust or even of hostility indeed seem to be on the rise, and are accompanied by negative myths, for instance about migrants stealing jobs, or about migrants prospering on state subsidies. In all cases, such negative stereotypes exist, and are sometimes further reinforced by media who rather put the stress on the problems induced by migration than on its positive aspects.

2.2. Common challenges faced by migrant/Roma communities

Within this general context, migrant and Roma groups across cases represented in this sample face remarkably similar issues and challenges. The first of these is made up by linguistic, educational and literacy-related issues. Except in cases where, like in Nagykálló and in Sofia, Roma groups have inhabited the area for centuries, migrants and Roma populations' integration is seriously impeded by their lack of proficiency in the local language. Their low educational attainment is another matter of concern, together with difficulties associated to the recognition of diplomas acquired in the country of origin. This reinforces issues migrants/Roma groups face when trying to access information and knowledge. Finding a job or a place to live is obviously even more complicated when one isn't fluent in the local language, even if relevant information is made available by municipal authorities or local social services. Admittedly, local authorities often provide language courses, but these prove insufficient by themselves if those following them do not practice outside of the classroom, which is often the case.

Most of the baseline studies collected in the frame of this project also underscore what can be called "intercultural challenges", namely the fact that migrants/Roma communities do not necessarily have the same cultural habits or references, and this often creates difficulties, especially at work, where they have often accused of lacking a "proper" work culture. But these intercultural challenges also pertain to gender issues, in the sense that many of these groups tightly associate the fact of "being a man", and that of being the "breadwinner" for the household. This often constitutes a major obstacle to women's employment, and also clashes with Western conceptions of women's rights and gender equality, for instance by inducing a school drop-out of girls at a relatively young age, sometimes because they are getting married, well below the legal age of consent for marriage set in European countries. Intercultural challenges are further reinforced by a generally high level of endogamy among migrant groups, and even more specifically among Roma populations, which further alienates them from the rest of the population, and prevents them from learning the local language, as already noted above.

What is more, migrant and Roma groups often have to face other problems, such as physical and mental health issues which might be caused by the stress associated to their situation, and their poor conditions of living. Their limited physical mobility (either caused by legal limitations in the case for instance of asylum seekers, or by the

costs associated to mobility) makes up another practical obstacle standing in the way of their integration. These further hamper their capacity to find and keep a job.

These difficulties are also often fed by legal issues which, by preventing migrants from getting an official job and/or to move around in order to find one, further hamper their integration in the society. In a kind of Kafkaesque situation, migrants are often asked to have a job to be granted a residence permit, but a residence permit is often necessary to find a job… In addition to difficulties associated to the recognition of diplomas and qualifications obtained in their countries of origin, migrants often struggle to valorize their previous work experience, which sometimes doesn't have any equivalent in the countries where they have settled, or were too informal to be taken seriously by potential employers.

However what also comes out of the various reports provided by Labour Plus partners is that there is a great variation across communities and groups, for instance between Roma from Macedonia and Roma from Kosovo, or between migrants from central and eastern Europe and migrants from the north of Africa, etc. As a consequence, it is sometimes difficult and even risky to generalize and this is why section 3 will provide information on the situation of specific communities in each local authority involved in the project. We will thus highlight the numerous discrepancies existing between local situations, suggesting that a "one-fits-all" type of solution is unlikely to work.

2.3. Main policy challenges

Local authorities, in their wish to further the integration of migrant and Roma communities, also face numerous challenges, some of which look strikingly similar across the ten cases covered in this report. Deriving from the general degraded economic context that we have already described, local authorities have first and foremost to face sociological and economic challenges: they have to deal with long term unemployment in all sections of their populations, not just among migrants or Roma groups. They also face a general lack of low-skilled jobs, which would have favored the insertion of migrants without diplomas or significant training or work experience.

Another major challenge local authorities have to face relates to the fact that even if they are the first to feel the consequences of a lack of integration of migrant and/or Roma groups, they most of the time do not have the competences to design and implement relevant policies in this field, which often lie within the portfolio of regional or national authorities. As will also be apparent in the next section, local authorities have very limited leeway when it comes to devising and implementing integration policies, because even if they have, in some cases, the right to design their own programs, they are still constrained by national frames, which determine the general direction and philosophy of integration policies. For instance, in many cases covered by this report, local authorities do not have the right to target specific groups, and can only implement general policies that apply to the whole population, without tackling the specific needs of migrants or Roma populations. This often puts them at odds with their citizens, as well as with migrant/Roma communities, which often hold them responsible for decisions (or lack thereof) they are not entitled to take. What seems obvious to all those working in the field – that integration happens first and foremost *locally* – is thus not yet fully reflected in integration policies, thus often putting local authorities in an awkward position.

In addition, local authorities have to deal with significant organizational challenges, which stand in the way of a smooth design and implementation of integration policies. Some of these challenges pertain to what we could call the limited acceptance of change in administrative services, and to an excess of bureaucracy, but others to a blatant lack of human and financial resources. Tackling migrant and Roma groups' need would indeed require a coordination between services in charge of employment, housing, transport, education, etc. and this is often made difficult by the strict separation existing between them, and that is often solidified by deeply rooted working habits. The great variations existing between each Roma or migrant family's situation would require an almost case-by-case approach, and an individualized monitoring, but this is almost impossible because people working for local authorities have a specific expertise and portfolio and are often not allowed to tackle matters beyond their mandate. The result is that each migrant or Roma family sometimes is in contact with one or two dozens institutions or municipal services, which seriously impedes coordination. Some municipalities like Nieuwegein have launched innovative approaches in this field, for instance by focusing on "complex families", that is families with interrelated problems like unemployment, debts, stress, threatening behavior towards children, etc., and promote a global approach of these problems, instead of a segmented one. Such innovative policies represent a first positive step, provided of course that local authorities have the competences to take action on the relevant issues.

Some other policy challenges originate from the target groups themselves. Because migrant and Roma groups are so diverse, both across and within, favoring their integration and access to the labor market often requires the services of "experts" who are able to understand their specific expectations and cultural constraints. In the absence of such experts, finding interlocutors in the targeted communities often sounds like a good alternative, but they might be extremely difficult to identify. The lack of trust and even the hostility that often characterize the opinions of migrants and Roma vis-à-vis local authorities (and vice versa) doesn't help either, because it stands in

contradiction with what integration policies should be aiming at. As a result, implementing a targeted approach is often not possible, and local authorities often have the feeling that all their initiatives are met with suspicion and a lack of good will.

As we will also see in the next section, there is a significant difference between challenges that can be identified at a general level, and individual expectations of the target groups. Such a discrepancy also explains why integration or employment-related policies might not exactly be rated positively by their target groups.

3. Case studies

3.1. Presentation of the methodology

Before going over data corresponding to each local authority involved in the project, we will briefly present the methodology that was developed for preparing this report. The idea of using such a methodology first came up in February 2013 during a project meeting, when it became obvious that we needed a tool enabling us not only to systematize data collected in each case, but also to compare across local authorities. The information compiled by partners, as well as the various reports they have drafted, make up several hundreds pages of documentation, which would have been almost impossible to synthesize for comparative purposes. As a consequence, we have elaborated a new visual tool (radar charts) designed to "measure" on the one hand expectations of various target groups, and on the other hand policies set up at the local level. It has been built around a scale (see below for more details), which is flexible enough to account for various types of policies and for various degrees of integration (or lack thereof). Of course, this could not be done without reducing complexity. Most of the details, nuances and subtleties that were present in the reports have unfortunately disappeared, for the sake of comparison and clarity. In that sense, it is worth reiterating here that the results presented here are not meant, in any way, to replace those included in the reports, but simply to facilitate comparison across and within cases.

Measuring integration

Because we needed to find a way to measure inclusion (or lack thereof) at an individual level, without forgetting that individuals are socially embedded, we have decided to measure inclusion along several dimensions: employment; education; language; housing; mobility and social relations (participation), which each constitute an axis of our radar charts. Partners suggested these dimensions during the project meeting mentioned above, and these various aspects of integration also appear in one form or another in the reports provided by partners. It is worth noting here that both local authorities AND target groups have mentioned these aspects, though not in a systematic fashion across cases. We thus can hypothesize that these 6 dimensions really matter, though a lack of integration along one of these dimensions does not necessarily mean a failure of integration as a whole; however, this suggests that integration is multifarious and should be pursued along several axes at the same time.

It is also important to remember that this methodology is in no way intended to assess the effectiveness of local policies, but rather to highlight their potential discrepancy with perceived needs on the side of the target groups. Indeed, one problem that quickly appeared when trying to use interviews done with members of target groups is that this data is often difficult to interpret and map against local policies:

- The first reason for this is that, as some partners have already pointed at, Roma and other target groups often gave socially accepted answers to the questions they were asked, and their behavior is often at odds with these answers, for instance in the field of education. This is a classical bias induced by interviews, and in no way specific to the target groups under review here: people often answer what they think is expected of them, and not according to what they are actually doing or thinking. In a way, these interviews have thus also helped us measuring how aware the target groups were of how the rest of the society views integration, and thus of what is expected of them.

- The second difficulty lies with the fact that because we wanted to compare the target groups' needs with policies, we have used similar indicators for building radar charts in both cases – though with different interpretations, as we will see below. There is no way to tell whether target groups would have come up with the same list of indicators (employment, education, language, housing, social relations and mobility) or not. In that sense, what we have measured is also how target groups' expectations would fit our understanding of integration. We have to keep in mind that their understanding of integration – and consequently, their expectations – might significantly differ from ours, and this might partly explain difficulties encountered in this field.

- Third, in some cases, because of time and resource constraints, only a few interviews were made, which were not necessarily representative of the whole target group, not to mention the whole migrant/Roma groups. As a consequence, we have to be careful not to over-interpret data, and we have to keep our generalizations modest. These charts give us an indication of what is happening, but would have to be completed, in order to reach a totally accurate picture, by other means of data collection, such as observation on the ground.

In short, the radar charts reproduced in the following pages are not meant to say what the local authorities should or should not do. In some cases, these radar charts might point at a discrepancy between policies and needs, and/or at a different understanding of what integration entails. But what they provide is above all a useful picture of target groups' expectations across ten locations, and of what kinds of policies are implemented in response to

these expectations. They thus fulfill a triple comparative purpose: between policies and expectations within one specific location; between expectations of target groups across ten locations; and between policies implemented across these ten locations.

This mapping, conducted at the local level, for one target group per locality, will allow us to:

- Map these patterns of inclusion (or lack thereof) against policies currently implemented: along which dimension is inclusion perceived as the weakest? Are policies addressing these perceived weaknesses?

- Assess the relevance of these dimensions across cities and across communities;

- Identify gaps between individual needs – or at least between what individuals say they need – and implemented policies;

- Identify local policy models; as we will see, the focus on integration policies varies a lot from one place to another, a variation that might be explained by local views on integration, but also because local authorities do not have the same competences across countries;

- Compare across cases, but also across communities.

A few words of explanation on the scale:

It is intended that this scale of 1-5 for both 'needs' and for 'policies' correlates. For example a score of 1 for policies is broadly appropriate for a score of 1 for needs, etc. Perceived needs and expectations of migrant and Roma groups have been measured and analyzed alongside the emphasis of policies and strategies in the municipality.

One difficulty in allocating a score on this scale to particular needs or policies has been how to assess an item that was simply not mentioned in the baseline study or interviews. And even when a particular dimension was mentioned, it was sometimes unclear what kind of importance it should be given. This is why each radar chart has been sent and checked by each relevant partner.

Each of these charts can be considered as a 'snapshot' of the local situation at a specific point in time, and they would of course have to be revised on a regular basis to reflect upon the changes in the situation of the target groups, but also in the integration policies.

In the following charts for each municipality, 'perceived needs' and 'municipal policies and strategies' are assessed on a scale of 1-5:

Perceived needs of the target group:	Municipal policies and strategies in these areas:
Score 1: No perceived need in this area	**Score 1:** There is limited awareness of this issue
Score 2: There is a perceived need in this area, but not pressing	**Score 2:** There is recognition and discussion of this issue
Score 3: This is a clear need, identified by the target group	**Score 3:** Recognition of this issue has lead to small scale initiatives
Score 4: This area has been identified by the target group; there is clear desire for recognition from the municipality	**Score 4:** Recognition of this issue has lead to fully fledged policies
Score 5: Urgent need – the target group cannot integrate properly without this need being addressed by the municipality	**Score 5:** This is a major objective of the municipality

Key to the dimensions:

Dimension 1: Employment

Dimension 2: Language

Dimension 3: Education

Dimension 4: Mobility

Dimension 5: Housing

Dimension 6: Social Relations/Participation

It is important to mention that this scale is not value based: the numbers do not correspond to 'good' or 'poor' marks. The idea is more to notice where the level of needs and interventions could be better matched, and also to offer ways to compare policies and perceived needs across cases.

A final note of caution is that oftentimes, as we have already mentioned, municipalities and other local authorities are not directly in charge of integration policies. As these charts reflect *local* policies and initiatives, they might not always fully reflect the various strategies for integration that are available to the targeted individuals. Similarly, local authorities might not be in a situation where they can answer some of the needs expressed by target groups, simply because this is not within their competences.

3.2 Alt Empordà (county)

The region where Alt Empordà (total population: 142.692 in 2013) s located has seen an increase in the share of foreign population since 2000, from 9.56% in 2000 to 28.27% in 2013. Moroccans make up the largest group, representing more than 27% of the registered foreign population and 7.7% of the total population of the region. Most of these migrants came for economic reasons. As in many other countries, and in the context of the economic crisis dramatically affecting all sections of society, the population seemingly displays a growing hostility towards them, and migrants are also facing high levels of unemployment (unemployment rate in the total population: 18.7% in 2011, and 36.7% of the unemployed people in the county of Alt Empordá are migrants). These negative attitudes and stereotypes seem to be fed and strengthened by the limited presence of linguistic and cultural diversity in the media, which hinders the understanding of the migratory phenomenon in Alt Empordà.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *migrants*

As in many other cases, interviewees express their main needs in the fields on employment, language and education, which they see as the main ways for achieving integration. There is indeed a close link between linguistic skills, educational attainment, and the capacity to find a job. Mobility and housing seem to represent clear needs, though less pressing. Public transportation is expensive for migrants and most of them can't afford a private car. The less pressing of all these needs pertains to social relations/participation, though they have no voting rights and thus remain outside of decision making processes However, migrants in Alt Empordà enjoy a variety of rights, like the rights of association, of assembly, etc.
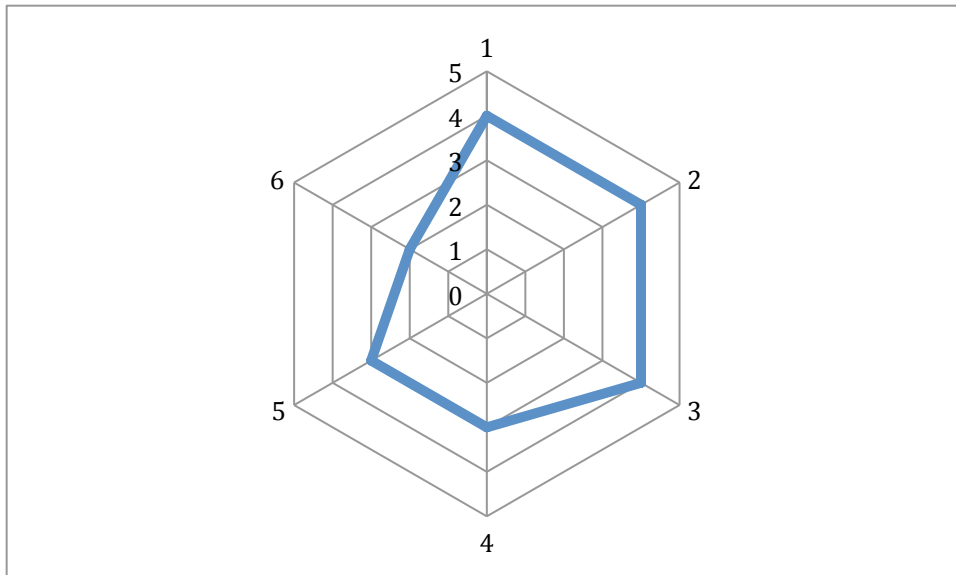
Key to the dimensions:1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

Various strategies for facilitating the integration of migrants have been developed both at the national and at the county levels. Alt Empordà has developed multiple strategies for the integration of migrants, mostly focused on information, education and communication, amongst which:

- Advice and support on immigration issues; translation of public documents; support and promotion of associations…
- Awareness and training on immigration issues: organization of conferences, seminars or lectures, of training activities, of courses and management training partnerships, coordination of actions in schools;
- Translation and intercultural mediation: support and referral services to other immigrants, advice to professionals with respect to the socio-cultural aspects of migrants/migration process, prevention, negotiation and/or mediation in conflict situations;

On the other hand, the State guarantees the universality of health and education policies, as well as a number of other rights such as rights of assembly, demonstration, association, education, freedom of association and strike,

health care and the right to education until the age of 16. Some rights are however restricted, such as in the case of housing policies, where the access to certain resources is conditioned by having to have resided in the country a minimum of years.
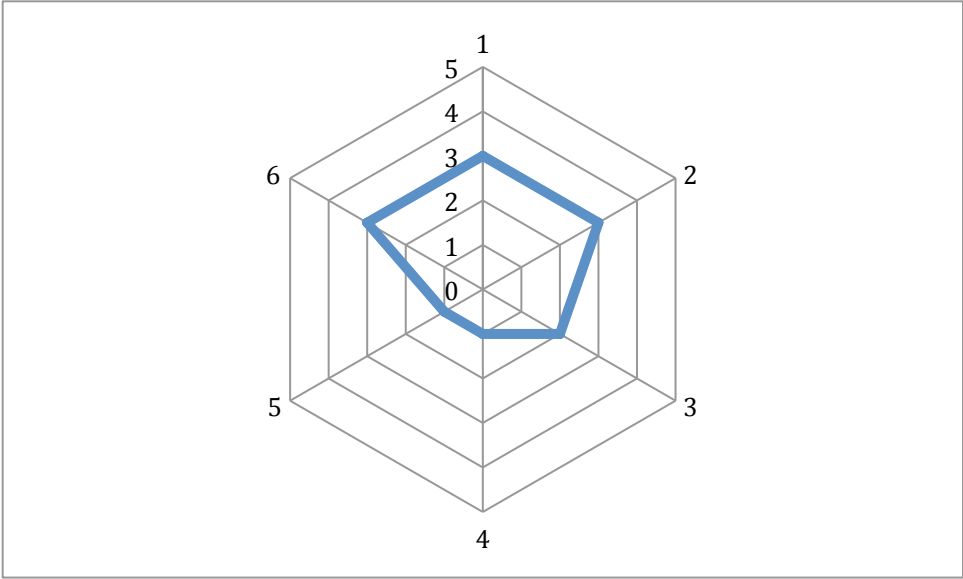
<u>Key to the dimensions:</u>1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two radar charts shows interesting results: the discrepancy between expressed needs and local policies is the highest in the field of education, mobility and housing, and the lowest in the fields of employment and language, and policies even exceed expectations in the field of social relations/participation. Overall, even if policies are generally below what the target group says of its expectations, there is a relative adequacy between policies and needs. In other words, and except in the field of education where migrants express a very clear need, migrants' expectations and implemented policies put the stress on the same dimensions of integration.
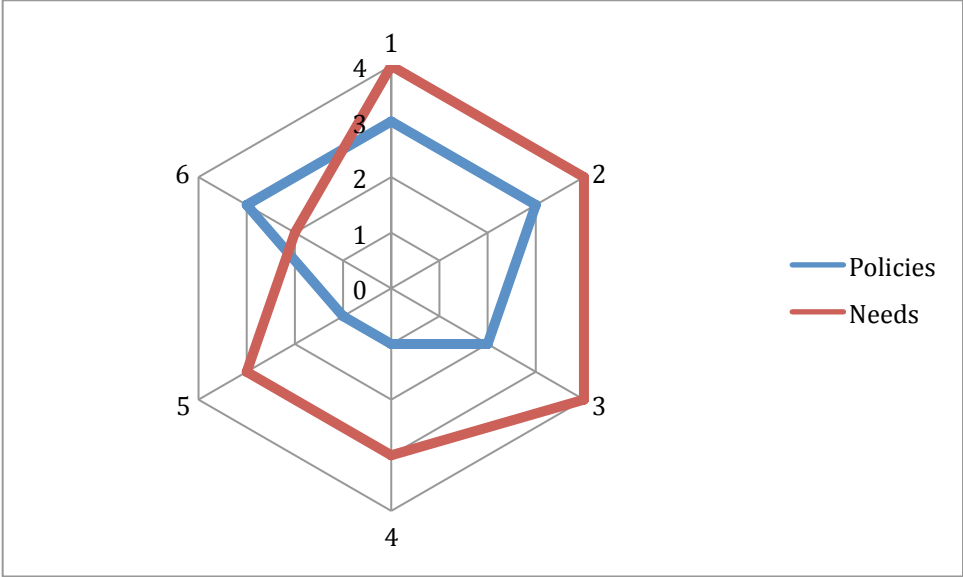
<u>Key to the dimensions:</u>1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.3. Antwerp (city)

As of September 2013, there are 511.716 inhabitants in the city of Antwerp, of which 42.1% are migrants, based on methodology 3[1]. In terms of nationality, 409.317 are Belgians (80%) and 102.399 foreigners (20%)[2]. 35.773 people (16.3 %) of the Antwerp labor force population is unemployed[3]. In July 2013 Antwerp has 17.645 (49,3%) migrants unemployed. ("Migrants" defined as having a previous or current nationality outside of EU 28. "New Belgians" with a previous nationality from within EU can't be detected as migrants in this system)[4].

Roma, especially from the Balkans, began to arrive in Antwerp at the end of 1990s. Today, it is estimated that they are around 5000. They don't live in separate estates or separate neighborhoods, but together with all the other communities in typical 'migrant' areas (where costs of living are lower). They however remain divided according to their region of origin, religion, ethnical background, level of education, residence status, etc. There are for instance some tensions between Roma from Kosovo and Roma from Macedonia, which pertain to differences in levels of education (Roma from Macedonia usually have a better educational attainment) and in gender relations (Roma from Kosovo seem to be more conservative when it comes to women's rights).

At the societal level Roma are particularly stigmatized and unpopular. The media portray them in a quite negative fashion, and focus on crime and negative news. This feeds a certain level of intolerance, which is further reinforced by the presence and influence of right wing parties. There is one small Roma organization in Antwerp, the Union of Roma Belgium, aiming at empowering Roma in fields of education, employment, housing, well-being, etc.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *Roma*

The radar chart representing the expressed needs of the Roma living in Antwerp shows a clear predominance of needs related to employment, language and education, and, to a lesser extent, social relations/participation. Expectations in the field of mobility and housing seem to be less pressing. This is consistent with findings in other cities/regions. The fact that expectations in the fields of employment, language and education reach the highest scores can be interpreted as a sign that it is in cultural areas that integration is lacking – difficulties of access to employment being a consequence of a lack of language proficiency, and of locally recognized diplomas.

[1] There are 3 ways in which a person can be labeled 'migrant'
- **Methodology 1**. Current nationality. Thus we can define people with a Belgian nationality and those with a foreign nationality. From the year 2000 on these dataare available.
- **Methodology 2**. Based on the individual history of nationalities within the City of Antwerp. Those who are Belgians now, but had a foreign nationality before, are considered as foreigners. From 2004 on, we know from which countries these 'new Belgians' are originated.
- **Methodology 3**. Based on origins. People who are born as a Belgian, to a mother who lives in the city, but wasn't always a Belgian. These people are considered foreigners. From 2012 on.

[2] Ethnicity: (based on previous nationality) 332 328 Belgians (64.9%) and 179376 migrants (35.1 %)

Ethnicity: (based on origins of parents) 295 948 Belgians (47.9%) and 215625 migrants (42.1 %)

[3] Data from: Stad Antwerpen , July 2013.

[4] Note: Because of the different ways in which 'migrants' are defined the numbers can't be compared and have to be treated with caution.
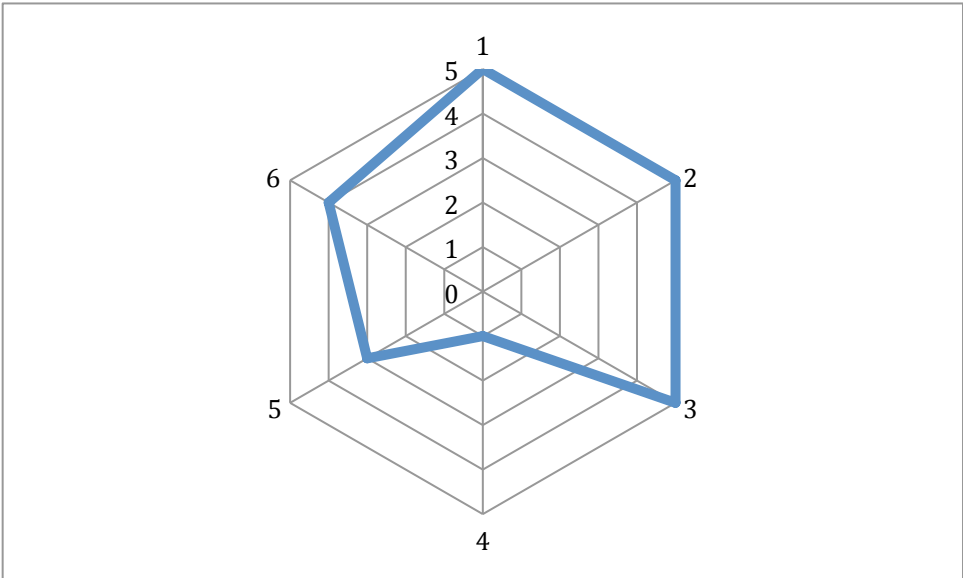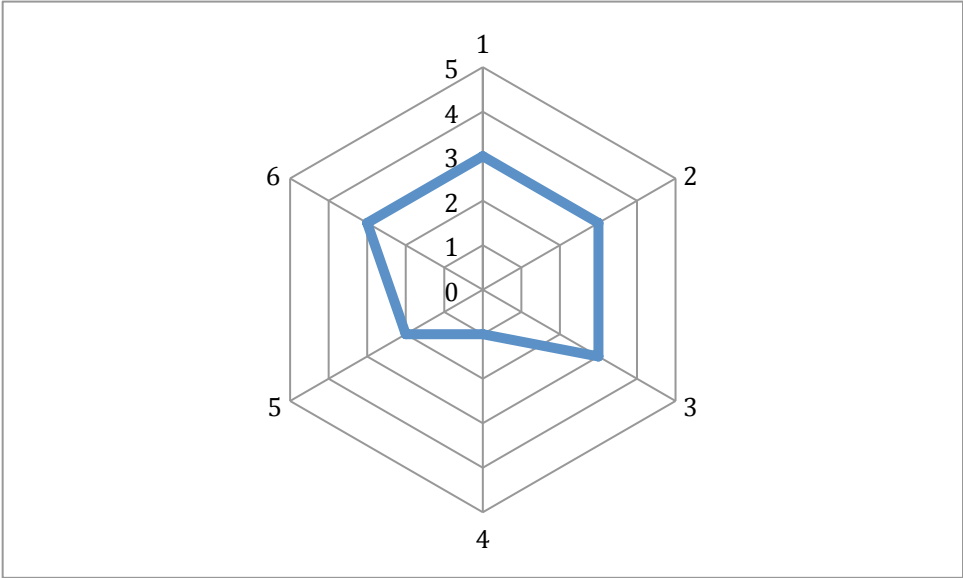
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

Antwerp's integration policies are characterized by a diversity management approach: the city employs diversity project officers, who make sure that all management levels pay sufficient attention to a diverse approach. At the municipal level, diverse services deal with integration and support diversity. E.g. the Office of Samen Leven has created for 2012-2014 a diversity plan with support of the Flemish government. Its aim is to harness minorities' talent, empower feeling of togetherness among citizens of Antwerp, and help Antwerp minorities guarantee fundamental rights in their family.

Within this device, schooling policies and social housing provisions have a specific importance, though the new elected local authorities want to restrict access to social housing to those speaking Dutch or willing to learn. Municipal services deplore the fact that it is difficult to work with Roma groups because of their internal lack of organization, but also the internal diversity of Roma groups, but also other factors such as the language barrier, the lack of education of knowledge of the organization of the Flemish society, etc. Because of these difficulties, some local organizations targeting the Roma communities employ people that specialize in working with Roma.

The interaction with local authorities is partly formalized, since there is a Roma council advising policy makers at the local, Flemish and federal level.

Some national policies favoring participation also play a role in integration processes, thus as a law passed in 2006 which authorizes non-EU citizens to vote in the local elections after having lived in Belgium for 5 years.

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Antwerp's integration policies, as described in the chart below, seem to closely mirror the target group's expectations[5]. Admittedly, the local policies' chart is "smaller" than that of expressed needs, but the shape looks strikingly similar, which demonstrates a shared understanding of what is needed in terms of integration. Mobility, which is perceived as a need for the target group, is apparently not the focus of specific local policies either. Participation, which is expressed as a clear need by the target group, has been recognized as an important issue by local authorities too.
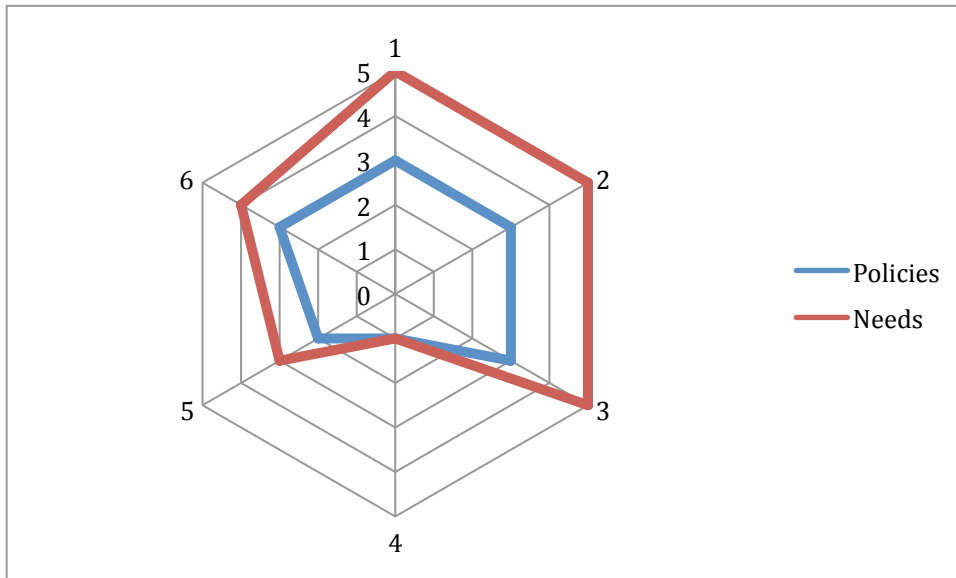
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

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[5] It is however worth mentioning that local elections of October 2012 were won by the right wing party N-VA, after 70 years of socialist government. This might lead to a drastic change in the way integration and immigration issues are dealt with on a local level.

3.4. Marburg (city)

Marburg is a city of 71.683 inhabitants as of May 2011, located within the county of Marburg-Biedenkopf (241.226 inhabitants). The unemployment rate in the city of Marburg in 2012 was at 5.5% (down from 6.3% in 2011). There are 22.1% of foreigners living in the city of Marburg. They mostly come from Turkey, the Federation of Russia, China and Ukraine[6]. Most live in deprived areas and are more likely to be unemployed than the rest of the population[7]. Refugees in particular make up a vulnerable population, since they don't have a work permit or a secure residence status; it is therefore difficult for them to find a job. They are not allowed to participate in integration classes, and also face problems related to the recognition of their diplomas.

It is worth noting that though Marburg is autonomous on certain issues and has special authorities (e.g. alien agency), most issues pertaining to integration, such as the integration office or the employment agency, are managed at country level. In the most of the categories covered by this study the municipality has no responsibility and therefore less possibilities to influence policy, even when the policies concern the city or region.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *refugees*

The radar chart representing the needs expressed by refugees shows, as in the majority of cases covered in this report, that it is with regards of employment, language and education, that the needs are the highest, as well as in the field of housing. As we have already seen in other cases, integration in the "cultural" field (education and language) is tightly connected to employment. Needs in the field of housing are particularly important for refugees settled in Marburg, since they cannot change their residence (restriction by law), and are often victim of discrimination when they look for a new lodging by homeowners or renting agents. Expectations with regards to mobility and social relations/participation are lower, which is also in line with results collected in other cities/regions represented in this project.
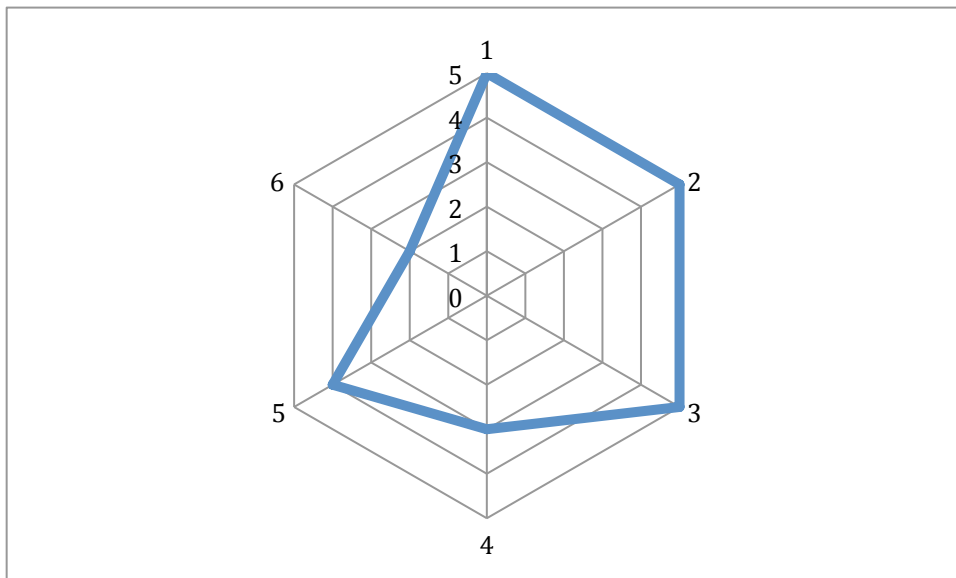
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation
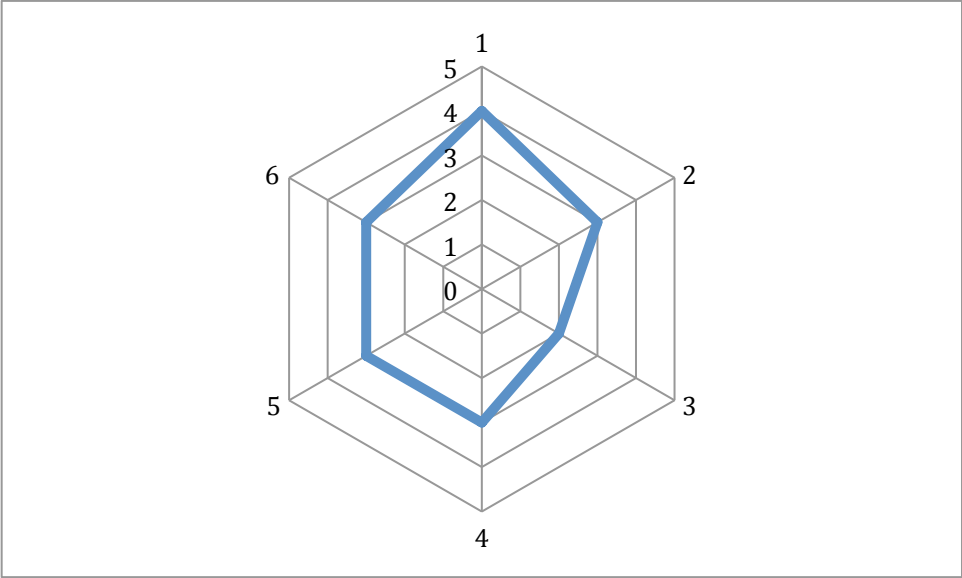
Local policies

The mode of migration policies in Marburg, as well as in the rest of Germany, is inclusive. As we have already mentioned the municipality does not have much leeway in the field of integration: for instance the linguistic training of migrants, refugees and Roma is under the main responsibility of the government of Germany and Hesse, as is the education system.

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[6] The main groups of foreign people in Marburg are (total numbers): Turkish: 522; Federation of Russia: 455; China: 418; Ukraine: 317; Italy: 316; USA: 217; Poland: 213. Total number of foreign people: 5,590. Total number of countries: 141

[7] No precise data on the unemployment rate of migrants in the city of Marburg is available. An average of 50 % (+/- 10 %) of unemployed persons in Germany are migrants or have a migrant background. The current rate of unemployed foreigners in the county of Marburg-Biedenkopf is 15,8 %.

The municipality nevertheless implements various initiatives in the field of integration, for instance via some public working groups (Roundtable for Integration, Office for Integration, Roundtable of Equality, AK Richtsberg) but these groups have only informal influence via the local representatives of NGOs, churches, political parties, members of the local administrations and other associations which are part of these groups. The municipality has also begun to implement diversity management in the field of employment policy, and there is a council of foreigners, where foreigners are allowed to vote and be elected (but it has little influence). A few initiatives for bridging migrants/rest of population have also been launched (days of intercultural diversity, small street festivals...), but the majority of population does not seem to be much interested. In the field of language the city of Marburg supports the participation in language trainings at the local "Volkshochschule", organized for all people with low income via the so called "Stadtpass". The city also supports mobility with subsidized tickets for public traffic, and calls for migrants to apply for jobs and apprenticeship at the municipality and its affiliated companies, among other initiatives.

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The radar chart on policies demonstrates that local authorities in Marburg are aware of the multidimensional aspect of integration, since all six fields are at least considered as relevant. The comparison with the charts on the expressed needs of the target group however shows some discrepancies, in the field of language and education in particular (which, as we saw, are not under the responsibility of local authorities). As was the case with Alt Empordà, policies even "exceed expectations" in the field of social relations/participation, and needs in the field of mobility are met with an adequate awareness on the part of local authorities. Some of these results seem linked to the specificity of the legal status of the chosen target group (refugees), since this status reduces their ability to access some programs available to other migrants. In any case, it is apparently in the educational and linguistic fields that efforts towards integration seem to be lacking the most.
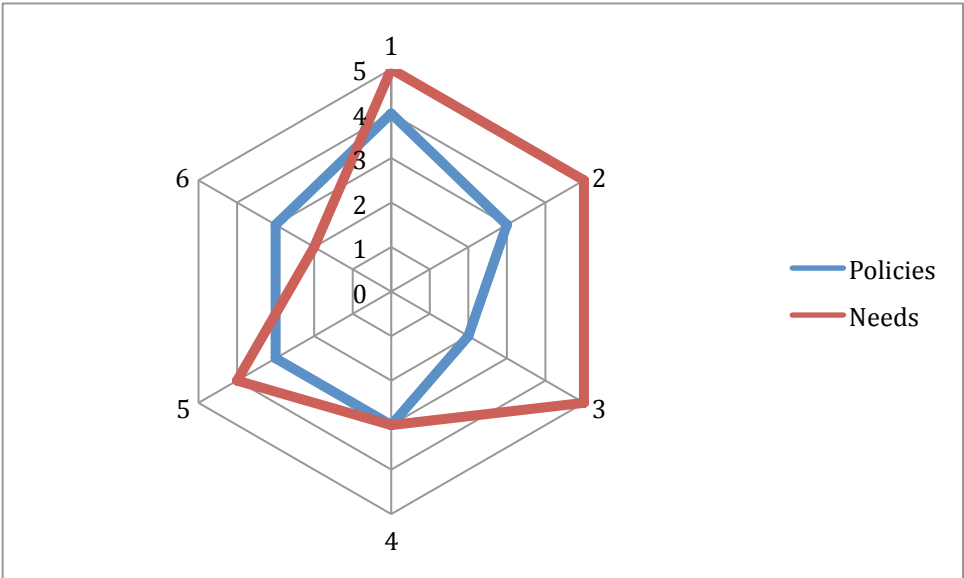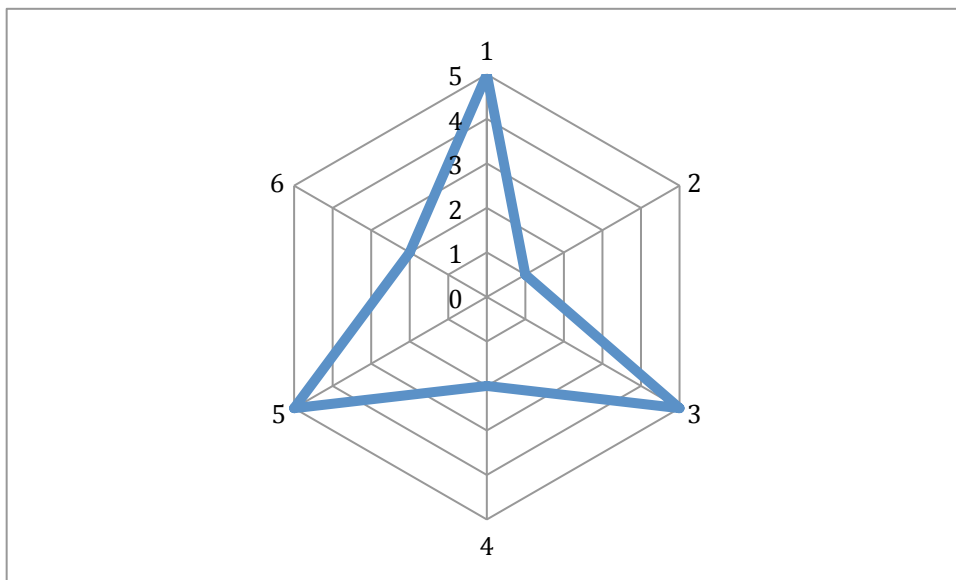
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.5. Nagykálló (municipality)

Nagykálló displays different characteristics from the previous local authorities. It is a municipality of 9?914 inhabitants, of which 10-15% are Roma (991-1487 people). As in other settings, they do not constitute an homogeneous group, but contrary to most other cases covered in this report, they have settled permanently in Nagykálló. They are poorer than the rest of the population, and work mostly as public workers or seasonal worker in agriculture. They are less educated than the rest of the population, and have below average income and life expectancy. Their level of unemployment is estimated at 70% (the general unemployment rate in the municipality is 17-18%), and most of them live in extreme poverty.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *Roma*

All interviewees in Nagykálló mention unemployment as the main source of their other problems (housing, food, heating, clothing…). They also mention a general lack of qualification of Roma, and of work places for under or not qualified people. Many of them live on social benefits. The radar chart representing these expressed needs closely reflects those statements, but displays a very specific shape, as compared to that of other local authorities represented in the Labour Plus project. The most pressing needs pertain to employment, education and housing, whereas other areas are not considered as major problems: language (because Roma have been inhabiting the area for a very long time), mobility and social relations/participation.

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

The municipality of Nagykálló does not implement direct or separated Roma policies but tries to support them in the fields of housing, social programs, etc. The municipality is in charge of most social activities (family support, temporary housing, support to elder people, etc.). Education is free from nursery school to the end of secondary grammar school for Roma pupils (incl. free lunches and books). They can also benefit from free access to higher education but this is sponsored by the state.

As is reflected in the chart, local and national policies put some stress on participation issues of Roma and other minorities. At the national level, Hungary's Minority Self Government System was created in 1993; it allows for any of the 13 recognized minorities to establish local, regional and national self-governments. They function in parallel to mainstream institutions, have the right to make decisions in the areas of local education, language used in public institutions, printed and electronic media, and the protection of their traditions and culture. The local MSG representatives have the right to provide input on all public policy matters through guaranteed access to local council committee meetings, but no other special rights. They are however heavily dependent on the local government since they don't have an independent administrative infrastructure and have to rely on the local government to provide for their operational needs.

The radar charts on local policies reflects these trends, and shows that education, housing and social relations/participation are the focus of fully-fledged local policies. It however also shows that the municipality is a

lot less active in the field of employment and mobility (and language, but this is not a pressing need for the target group, as we have already seen above).
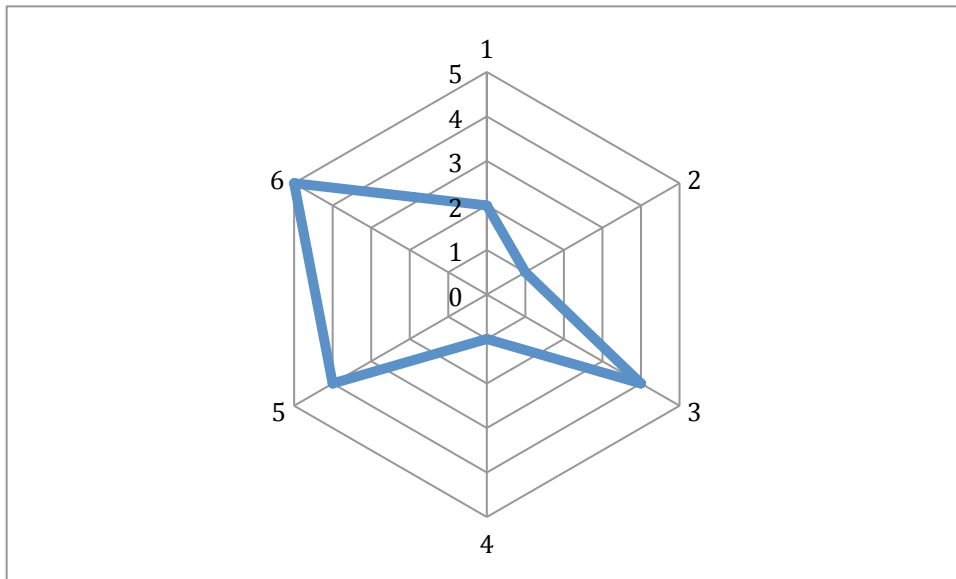
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two charts reveals a significant discrepancy in the fields of employment. It also shows, as in previous cases, that devices set up in order to ensure the participation of the target group exceed expectations – or are so successful that participation is not considered by the target group as an important topic anymore. Local policies in the fields of language, mobility and housing, seem to be in line with the perceptions of the Roma population. In short, policies seem to reflect rather closely the expectations of the target group, save with regards to employment, a field which probably requires further scrutiny.
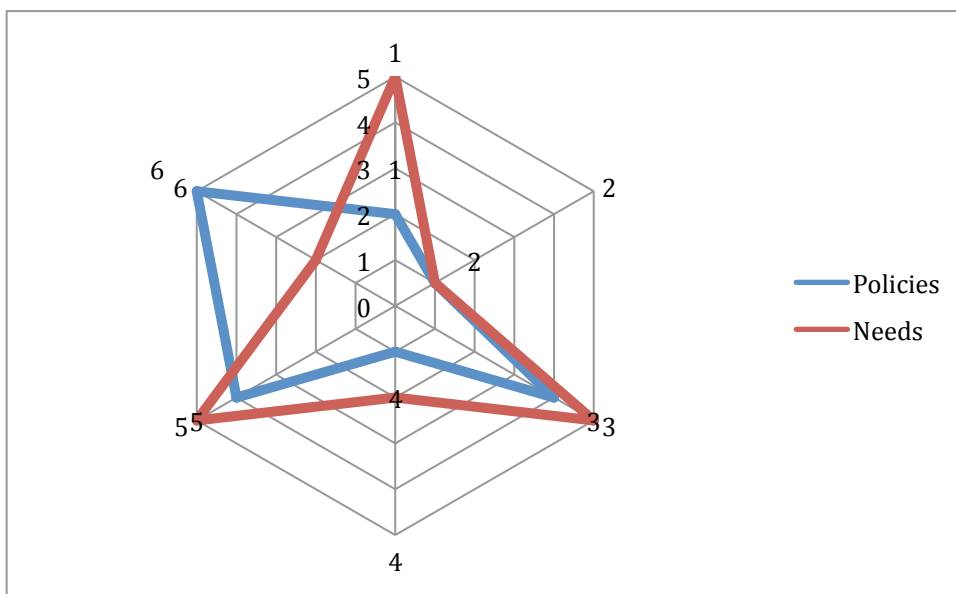
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.6 Newry and Mourne (district)

Migration is an old phenomenon in the district of Newry and Mourne, but the accession of 8 eastern European countries to the EU in 2004 provoked unprecedented wave of migration. Migrants tend to be young and well educated. They mostly want to improve their income and gain work experience abroad. However, their massive arrival in 2005-2006 has provoked additional pressures on health and social care resources, housing and education. Approx. 4-5% of the municipality's total population (99.480 inhabitants according to the 2011 Census) is composed of migrants[8], with Polish and Lithuanian as the largest communities. Though there is no widespread racism in the area, there is a sort of ambivalence towards migrants that also exist at the level of the province, and some myths about migrants "stealing jobs".

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *EU migrant workers and migrant workers on work permits*

Newry and Mourne identified two target groups for the purposes of the Labour Plus Project, the EU migrant workers/migrant workers on work permits and also Irish Travellers. However for comparative purposes the researchers focused on the results from the migrant worker target group.

Employment is the interviewees' main concern, together with the language barrier which makes it difficult for Polish men and women, as well as for Lithuanian men and women, to find a job. Interviewees express a general satisfaction with regards to health services, social relations or housing, but most mention that more regular public transport is needed. As we have seen, the target group tends to be well educated. As a result, their demands in the field of education are lower than in other local authorities. The radar chart below mirrors these various characteristics, with a stress put mostly on employment, language and mobility. Education is a less pressing concern, while housing and social relations do not seem to require any specific additional action.
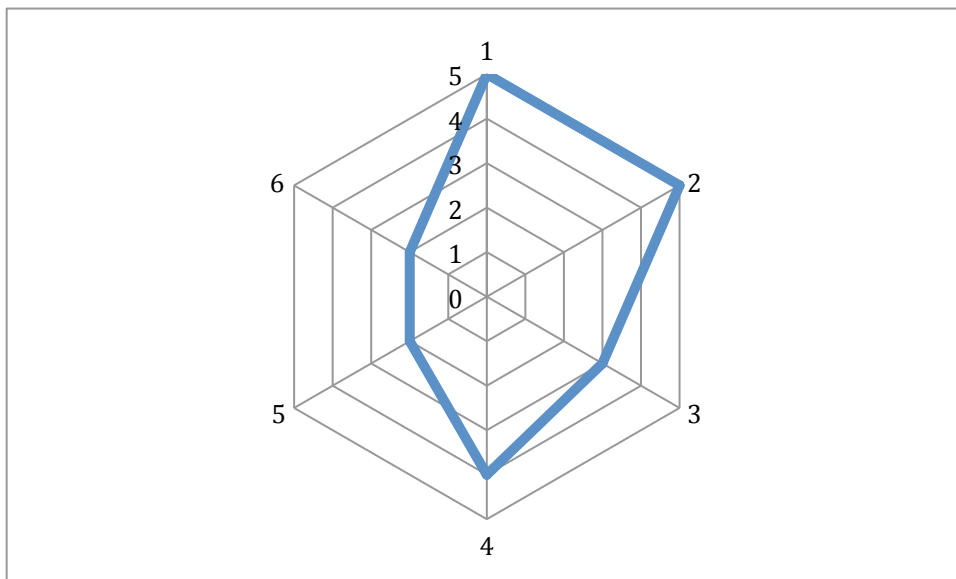
Key to the dimensions:1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

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[8] Establishing accurate migration figures is not easy and there are gaps. However the 2011 Census is helpful in providing a snapshot of migration numbers. In the District of Newry and Mourne the Census would indicate that of the 99480 usual residents, 3761 recorded their Country of Birth as being of a European Union Country(ie Non UK or Republic of Ireland), these figures can be further explained as follows: German 102, Latvia 287, Lithuania 918, Poland 1902, Portugal 68, Romania 33, Slovakia 106, Other-345. 108 people were recorded as being from a non-EU country of these 31 were Russian, 13 were Turkish and 64 did not specify which country. 4% of the population aged over 3 years recorded that English was not their first language. (Source : nisra.gov.uk) More recent figures compiled from GP registrations in July 2012 record migrant figures as 6972.(Source: HSC BSO)

Like in many other cases covered in this report, the Newry and Mourne District Council is not directly responsible for policies governing housing, transport (mobility), education and employment, and whilst it may form partnerships with the governing bodies to influence policy, it is the Central Government in Northern Ireland that is directly responsible for these policies. Participation is also decided by national policies, and migrants originating from EU countries can vote in local government elections and in elections for the Northern Ireland Assembly if they have been registered and resident in Northern Ireland for at least 3 months prior to application.

At the local level, the integration of all communities is a priority of a program called Challenge of Change, within the frame of which many projects bring culturally diverse groups together for workshops. This program also facilitates the creation of a Network to represent minority ethnic communities, and the local authorities work with migrant organizations to share information, facilitate communication, promote joined up working and ensure that the views of migrant communities influence policy and decision-making processes. Assistance from local authorities also includes access to interpreting services, promotion, funding and training. Among other initiatives, Challenge of Change has also been organizing English language classes, and the Ethnic Minority Support Centre regularly assists migrants with enquiries about self-employment possibilities, the availability of jobs, information on recruitment agencies, and employment related legal issues.

As a result, it is in the fields of employment and language that local policies are the most developed, and, to a lesser extent, in the fields of housing and social relations/participation. Mobility and education do not generate important initiatives, at least not by local authorities.
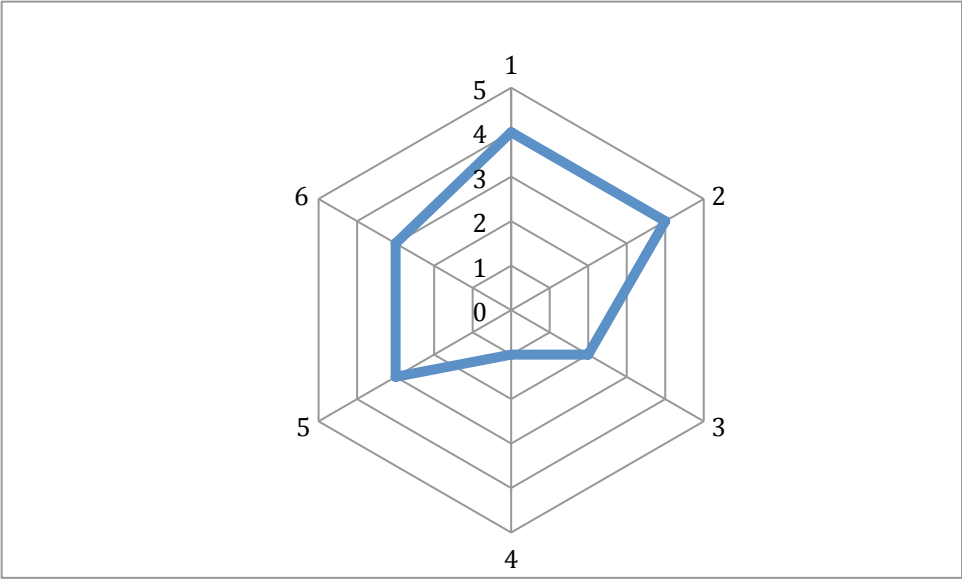
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two charts shows a relative similarity between needs expressed by the target group, and the local policies, except in the field of mobility where there is a clear need that has not yet given birth to meaningful local policies. In terms of housing and social relations/participation, policies are even "more advanced" than expectations, which can also mean that they are simply reaching their objectives. The specificities of the chosen target group with regards to education explain that needs in this field, as well as policies, are given relatively low "scores".
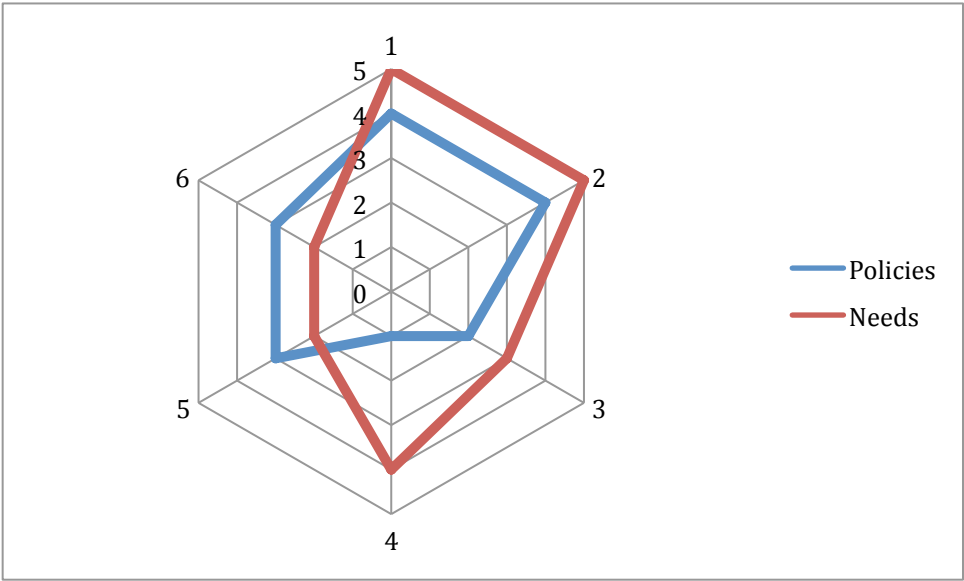
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.7 Nieuwegein (municipality)

The municipality of Nieuwegein counts 60.725 inhabitants, of which 1.657 are unemployed (2012 figures). It has a quite large immigrant population (24% of its 60.725 inhabitants in 2012), among which approximately 400 Roma, mostly from Eastern Europe and the Balkans. Most of them are unemployed, do not speak Dutch, have a low level of education and lack a basic qualification. Other obstacles to integration pertain to specific cultural habits such as marriage customs, strict unwritten laws that do not match with the Dutch legal system and a fragile form of self-organization. They do not enjoy a positive image in the eyes of the rest of the population, and that is mirrored in the media representations, and in the absence of mixed activities or organizations.

In spite of this, the recent years have seen some progress made, for instance now all Roma children are going to primary school, and more Roma participate in debt relief programs. There has also been a decrease in anti-social behavior in concerned areas. The progress has been slower with regards to secondary school (only 1/3 of children go regularly, and many girls are not even enrolled), and there has been no success with regards to employment. Interesting Roma in language training or work experience programs seems to represent a major challenge for local authorities. All in all, there seems to be a big discrepancy between what the local government believes to be the needs for the Roma in Nieuwegein, and what this target group itself pursues in life, education and employment not being perceived in the same way. The two charts below have to be read keeping this discrepancy in mind.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *Roma*

Views and expectations expressed by the target group are grossly in line with information collected in other cities/regions involved in the project. The stress is put on employment, education, language and housing. Mobility and social relations/participation do not seem to be as pressing needs. Some members of the target group think they are being discriminated against, and do not trust the local authorities, though they also confess being satisfied by debt rescheduling programs and other local initiatives.

Considering the opinions of stakeholders that were interviewed in the frame of this project (advisors on Roma issues, social workers, etc.), and that put the stress on the fact that many Roma living in Nieuwegein are not really committed to education or employment, one interpretation of the chart below could be that it reflects what the Roma think would be a socially acceptable answer. However, some of them, especially women and young people, seem to give an increasing importance to these aspects of integration.
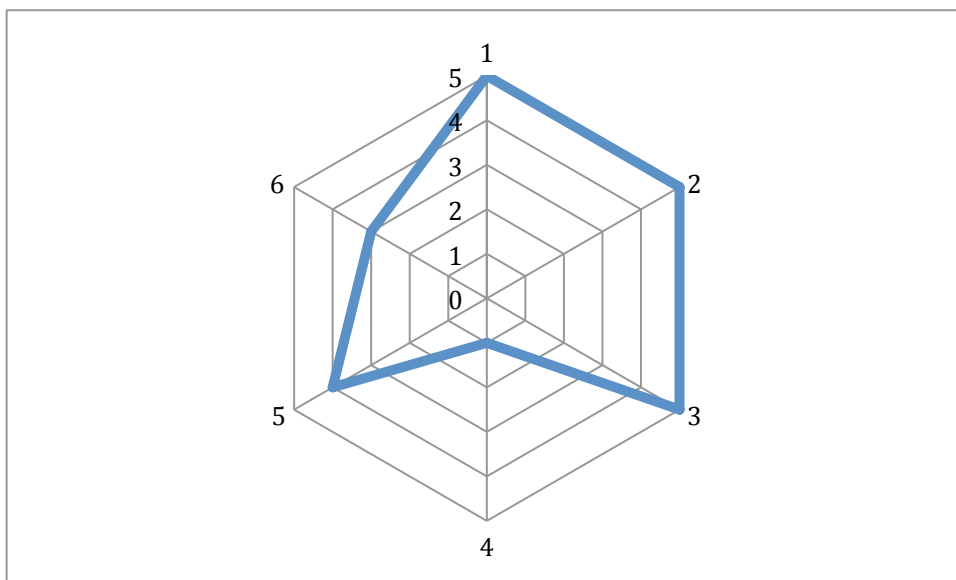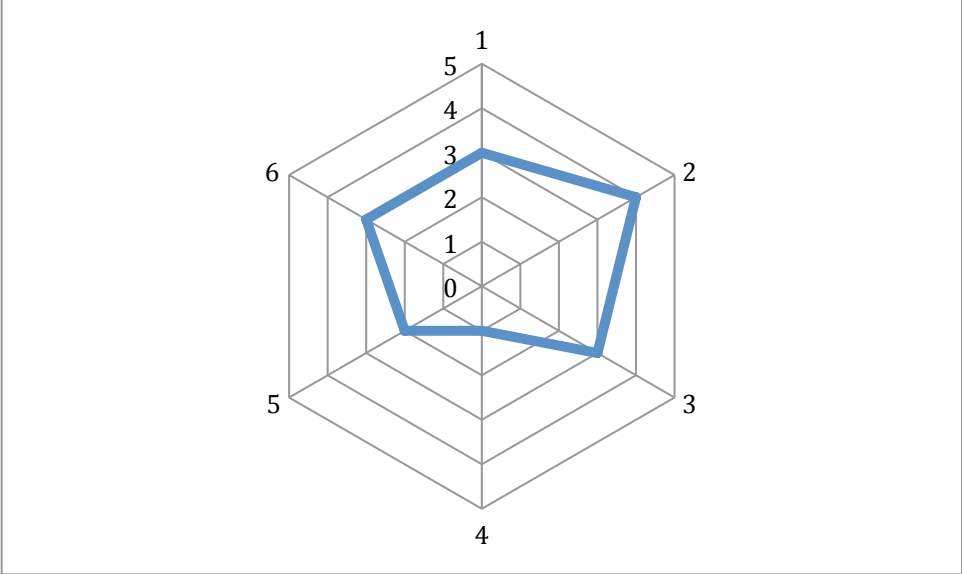

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

Local policies do not target specific groups, and are based on equal participation and accessibility, for example in the fields of housing, education, care, etc. The municipal approach is also characterized by a focus on Roma "complex families", where all important aspects in the lives of families (housing, employment, education, relations with the neighborhoods, etc) are tackled together, in a combined approach. The municipality also works together

with schools, youth care, the office of the public prosecutor, the police, the council of children's protection, housing corporations and social work, and other actors in order to favor integration. The rules of civic integration are set at the national level, but are implemented at municipal level, which organizes a civic integration course that comprises Dutch language and familiarization with Dutch society.

The radar chart on local policies reflects this integrated approach that tries to tackle most aspects of integration at the same time. The only area were policies are less developed is that of mobility; on the other hand, language is the focus of the most developed policies.

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two charts shows some areas of discrepancy (for instance in the fields of employment and education where the target group has expressed a pressing need, and which did not give birth to fully fledged policies), and some areas where there is a match between the target groups' views and those of the municipality (mobility and social relations/participation). Considering the various points made above, concerning the difficult interpretation of the data collected during interviews with the target group, we should however be careful not to over-interpret these results.
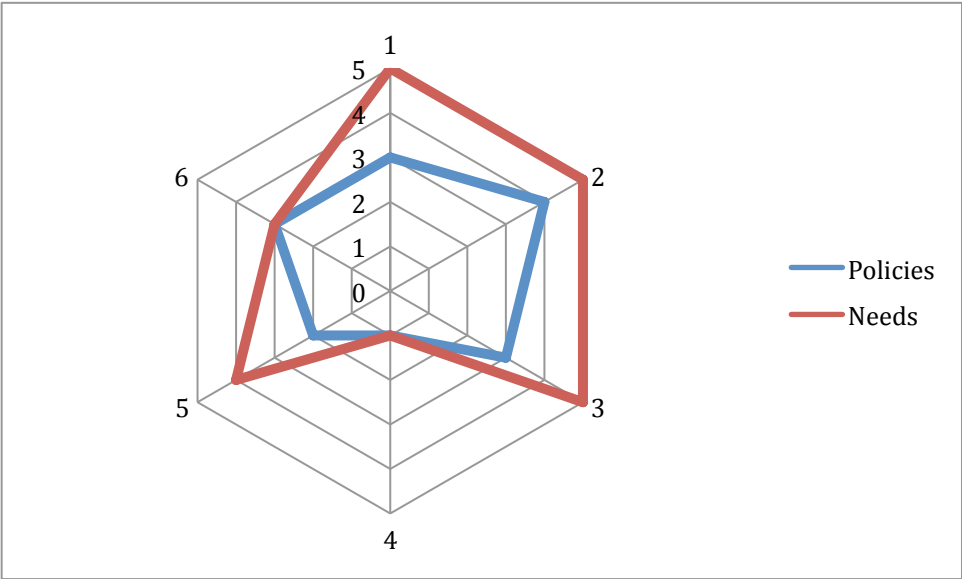
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.8 Padua

There are 14,4% of foreign residents in the municipality of Padua. In the 1980s, migrants came for employment from Morocco, Albania and Senegal. New arrivals are mainly due to family reunification, but there has also been an increase in forced migration, with many refugees from North Africa, and an increase in migration from Asia. These migrants are concentrated in some neighborhoods, and their socio-economic status is low to medium, with a limited social mobility.

Many of them live in the provincial capital, which provides the most opportunities in the sectors of care and domestic work. The presence of the Logistics center (Interporto), the fruit and vegetable market, the largest Chinese wholesale center located in the industrial area as well as all the commercial activities of a town of over 200,000 inhabitants, all represent an attraction pole for immigrants. Furthermore, thanks to the transport network, migrants can easily access the industrial areas located in the municipalities at the outskirts of the city, where - at least until 2009 - existed a high demand for unskilled labor, made up of migrant workers and in the past decade represented one of the cornerstones of the productive activities of the manufacturing and engineering districts of Padua.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *Sub-Saharan African migrants*

The most important need expressed by the target group pertains to employment. Almost all interviewees deplore the scarcity of employment and the fact that only occasional and temporary work is available. Education, especially for the younger generations, or second generations, is also very important. Surprisingly, or rather, in contrast to other cases covered in this report, social relations/participation is also described as an important need. Several interviewees indeed mentioned their wish to be granted voting rights at least in local elections, and citizenship to their children. Housing also seems to be a problem, and many mention: racism, discrimination and negative stereotypes in the media. Transportation doesn't seem to be an issue. The radar chart below illustrates such views.
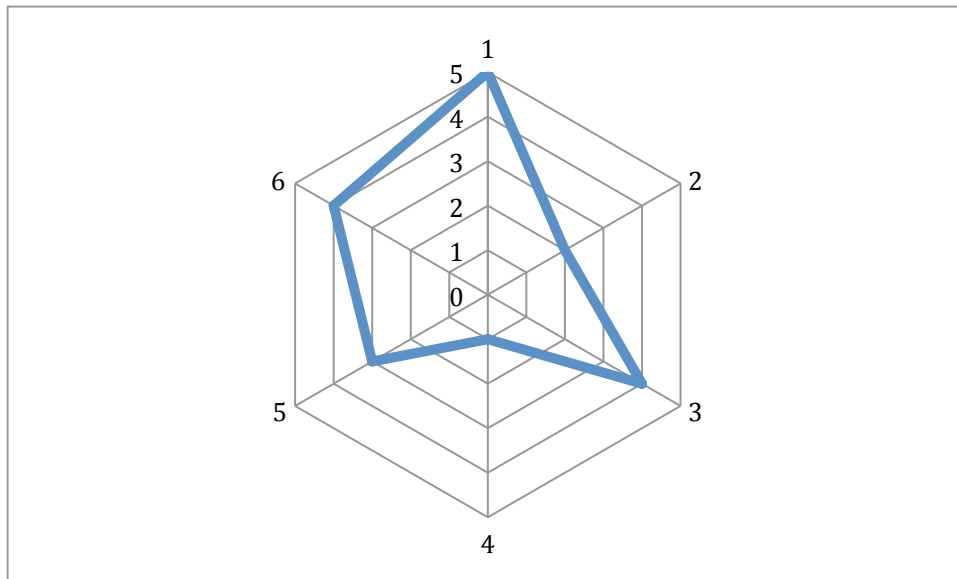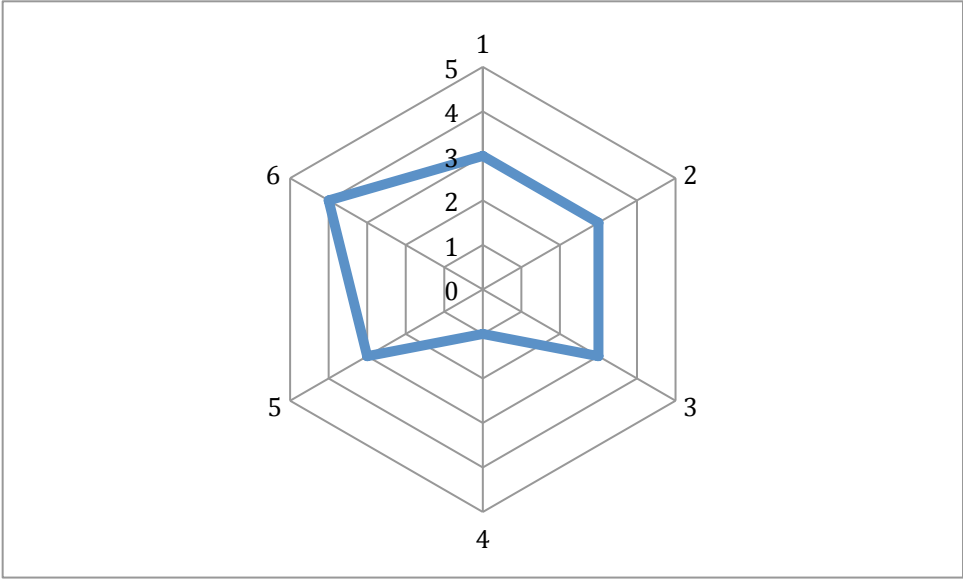

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

Local policies in Padua have followed an inclusive model, and are mainly focused on social inclusion issues. Education, care, guidance to health services and counseling are part of the developed strategies. Employment policies mostly fall outside of their competences. These local integration policies have also favored the participation and representation of migrants; in 1992 for instance, the Commission for the representation of citizens of foreign residents of Padua was established as the official body representing the non-EU citizens and stateless persons residing legally in Padua. It is an advisory body to the mayor, the council, the city council etc., which may deliver opinion on draft resolutions and submit its proposals on matters which concern the administrative life of the city of Padua. Local authorities also help migrants associations via a concrete orientation within the institutions, and provide them information. With regards to housing, some urban regeneration policies in

neighborhoods inhabited by migrants (e.g. project on Via Anelli) have been implemented. There are also intercultural facilitators working on the streets. The chart below reflects these local policies, with a strong focus put on participation, and, to a lesser extent, on employment, education, language and housing.

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two radar charts highlights a rather good adequacy between expressed needs and local policies, except in the field of employment – which, to reiterate, mostly falls outside of local competences. In the fields of mobility, housing and social relations/participation, policies and expectations seem to match. What is however interesting is to see that, with regards to participation for instance, the representation mechanisms put in place by local authorities do not seem to satisfy the migrants population, who would rather like to be granted full citizenship rights. Worth noting is also the fact that policies "exceed" expectations in the field of language, where needs are apparently not extremely pressing – which might just signal that policies are just being effective and meeting their target.
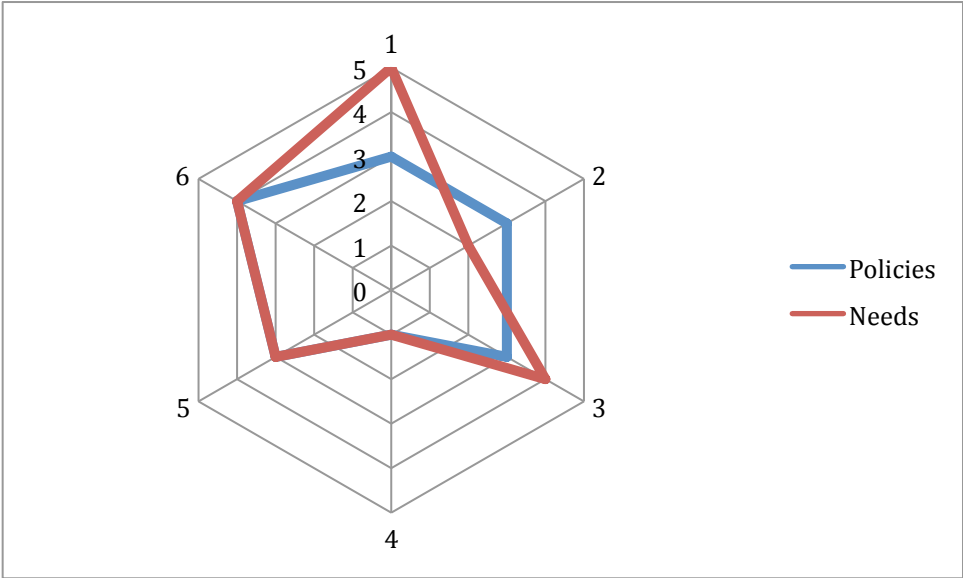
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.9 Riga (city)

Latvia is a small country (2.191.580 inhabitants as of July 2012) with very centralized policies. The unemployment rate is at 9.6% (in July 2013). Riga's case is a bit specific as compared to others covered in this report. Since immigration in Latvia is a comparatively new issue and very low in scale, the focus here has been put on another section of the population that has trouble accessing the labor market: youth. Youth unemployment rates are generally much higher than unemployment rates for all ages (at 20.1% as of the second quarter of 2013, down from 32% in 2012). Over the past years the employment rate steadily decreased while the youth unemployment sharply rose, and young people have been hardly hit by the economic downturn since they were amongst the first to lose their jobs as a result of the crisis. Certain social classes are more affected, for example low-skilled youth who show the highest unemployment rates and seem to be particularly exposed to unemployment in the current economic climate. This could be attributed to the collapse of many sectors - notably construction and retail - which in the economic boom years offered relatively high salaries to young people with low-skilled education.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *youth*

Interviews with young people in Riga reveal that employment, but also training and education, are among their most pressing needs. Housing can also be a problem, because it is difficult for them to pay for a rent. Some of them experienced problems acclimating to their social environment and put the stress on the usefulness of local youth organizations.
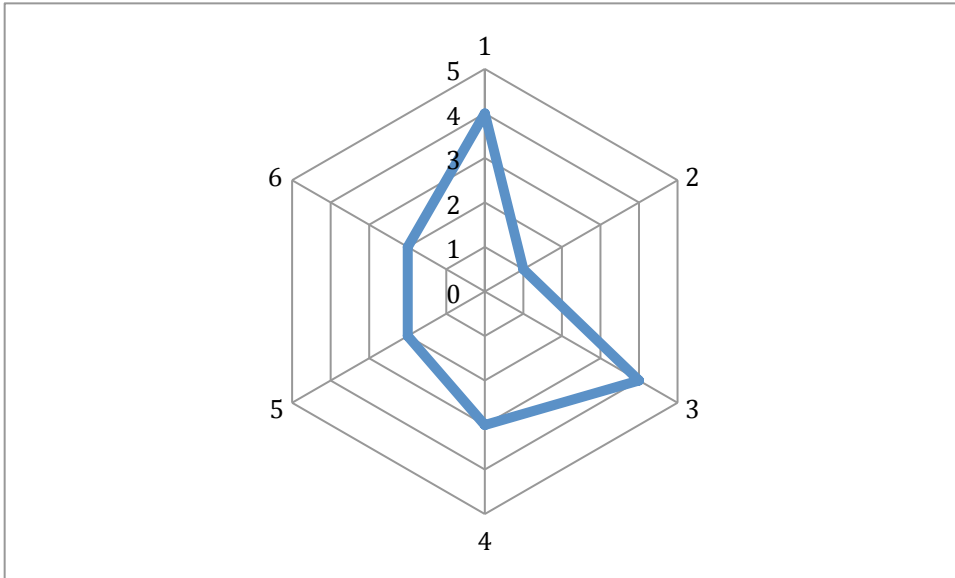
The radar chart below reflects such needs.
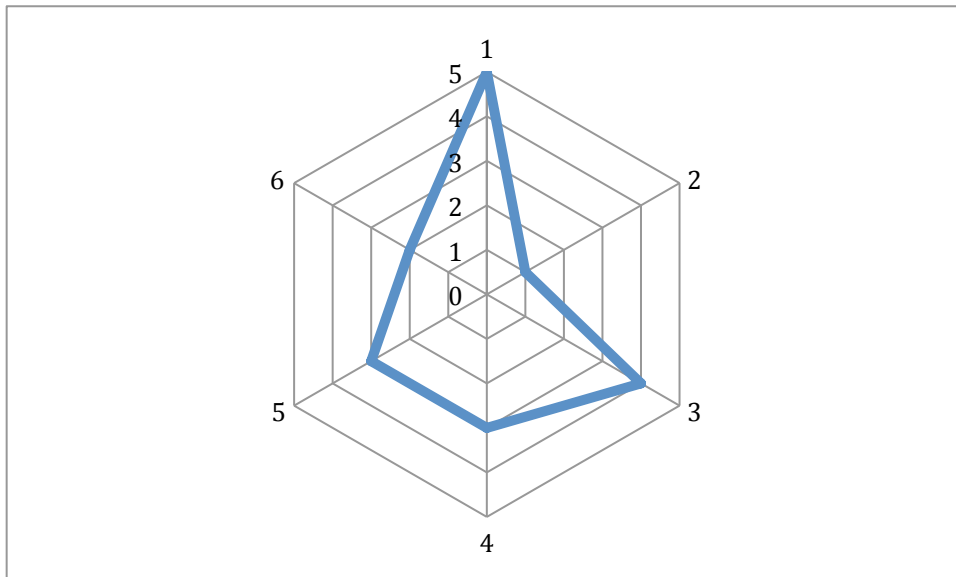
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

It is difficult to speak about "local" policies in Riga, since Latvia is a small country with a rather centralized government. Municipalities are yet to gain their strength and impact and are not very autonomous. Concerning unemployment benefits, in Latvia as in many other member states, there are no special allowances for young people. They are entitled with the same benefit of older age groups, which might means that many young people have not right to unemployment benefits since they do not meet the timeline requirement (having worked long enough before being unemployed). The consequences of the previous economic prosperity led a considerable number of young people to gain work experience in low qualified jobs without a proper education and/or qualifications. Currently, targeted active labor market policy (ALMP) measures to promote youth employment are being implemented with the aim to provide opportunities to young unemployed for acquiring the first work experience and, simultaneously, to foster their long-term inclusion into the labor market. Education is another main policy objective, as it plays a key role in ensuring successful integration of young people into the labor market.

Aside from education and employment, language is quite logically not a major focus of local policies, whereas there are some provisions for housing for socially excluded people (which however do not specifically apply to

youth). The radar chart below shows such a specific configuration of integration policies targeting young people in Latvia:

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two charts demonstrates a striking similarity between expressed needs and implemented policies. Policies indeed closely mirror expectations of the target group, save with regards to housing and employment, where there is a small discrepancy, which mostly pertains to the current degraded economic situation.
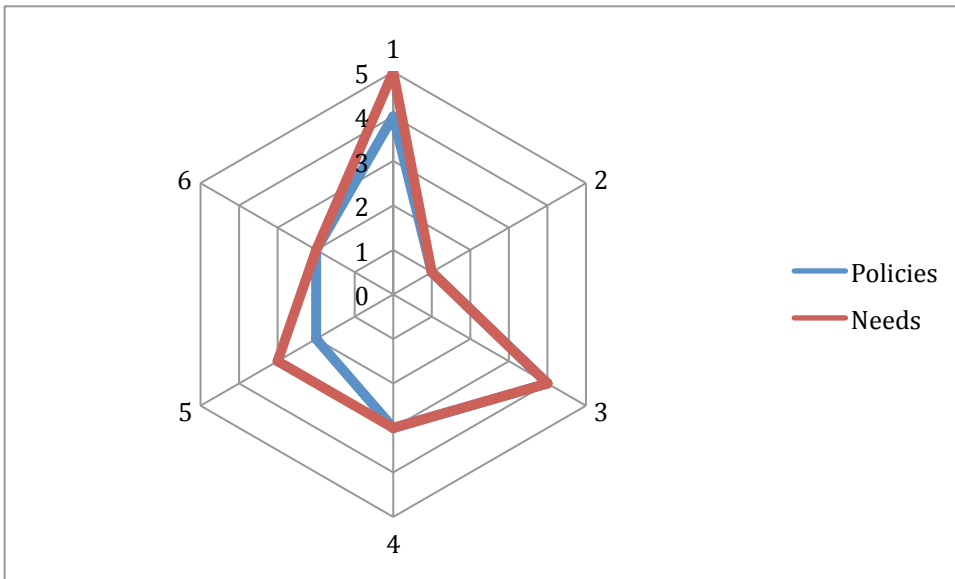
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation
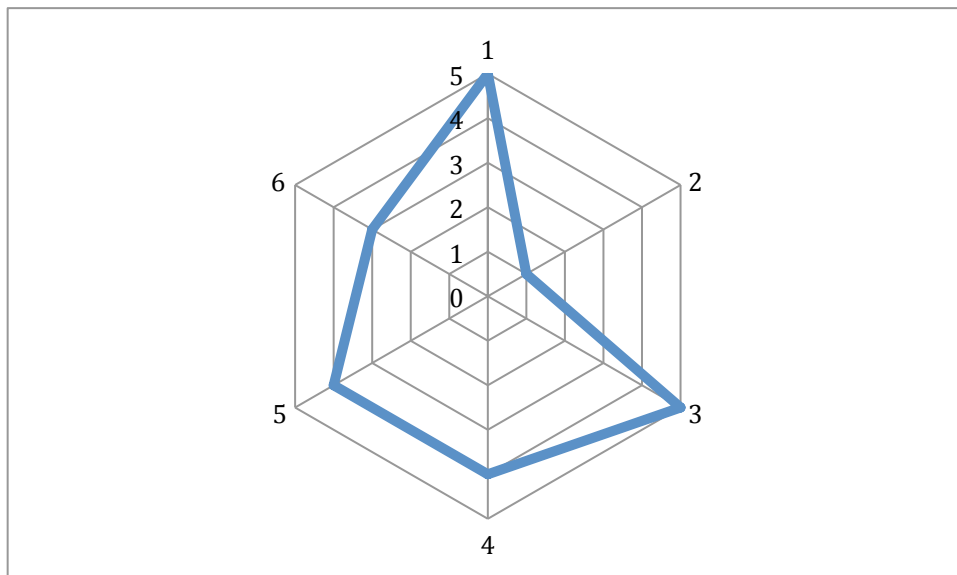
3.10 Santa Cruz

In recent centuries, the migration processes in the Canary Islands consisted of migratory flows towards America (Cuba in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and Venezuela in the third quarter of the twentieth century). At the end of the 1990's the buoyant economic situation caused a pull effect attracting thousands of low and medium skilled people that were employed in the construction sector, tourism related services and domestic work. Most of these people came from South American countries (Venezuela, Colombia, Bolivia, Peru…) followed by Africans in a second place. Today, with the bursting of the housing bubble and the subsequent economic crisis, though some migrants have decided to return to their countries (Latin-American specially), most of them have chosen to remain.

The reaction of the local society to the presence of these migrants is diverse and has changed over the years in line with the changes in the social and economic situation of the city. It is possible to observe mistrust and ignorance, the citizens are scared and there is rejection of foreigners, mainly due to the employment difficulties which give power to the local statements that work, above all in time of crisis, should be for local people. The current context of crisis has encouraged a discourse which is both political and popular based on "national preference", which amplifies an idea of competition for limited resources such as health, access to housing, public services, employment, education, etc. The attitude of the host society is influenced by the dominant talk in the media and in local politics, which has been exemplified by the increase in racism coinciding with the period of the greatest arrival of immigrants by sea in the islands (2006-2007).

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *South American migrants*

The target group mostly expressed needs in the field of employment, sometimes related to an absence of a work permit. The great majority of immigrants, except those from central Europe, are concentrated in five areas of activity: agriculture, building, hotel and catering, retail and domestic service, where the working conditions are considerably worse in comparison with other professions. The ethno-stratification of the labor market means that the position of immigrants in the employment system is more dependent on their ethnic origins than on their professional abilities. The current situation of social and economic crisis has accentuated even more the vulnerability of migrants. A common element in the majority of interviews carried out were the complaints about the situation of abandonment and generalized impoverishment of the population. Some of them mentioned also mentioned housing and public transportation as important issues, with education and language as secondary needs.

Such needs are reflected in the radar chart below:

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

As it happens in other cases covered in this report, local authorities in Santa Cruz are not responsible for all policy areas pertaining to migrants' integration. For instance, in the municipal strategy with immigrants, no special

attention is paid to employment, as these tasks are under the responsibility of the Development Society of Santa Cruz de Tenerife. The immigration policies in Spain have four main focuses: 1) Control and regulation of migratory flows; 2) Nationality policy; 3) Integration and access to rights; 4) Help for development. The first two are the responsibility of the State Administration. With regard to help for Development and, above all, in Integration and Access to Rights, the local authorities play an essential role in the development of measures in education, health, social services, in the promotion of social and civic participation and in the struggle against discrimination and racism. Local policies also strive to improve the public image of immigration and to promote the positive aspects of a society characterized by diversity. In February 2013, the "First Municipal Plan for Intercultural Living in Santa Cruz de Tenerife" was created. This Plan has the following foci: reception and care, awareness-raising, education and encouragement of participation.

Among the actions that are being carried out by the Santa Cruz de Tenerife Municipal Authority, some initiatives like Santa Cruz Diversa try to favor the full integration of the population of foreign origin in the municipality, using a web portal which permits wide accessibility, offering useful information both for foreign people and for those who work with these groups. Other initiatives promote an intercultural perspective and train the staff of the local authority in this perspective.

The radar chart below reflects such policies:
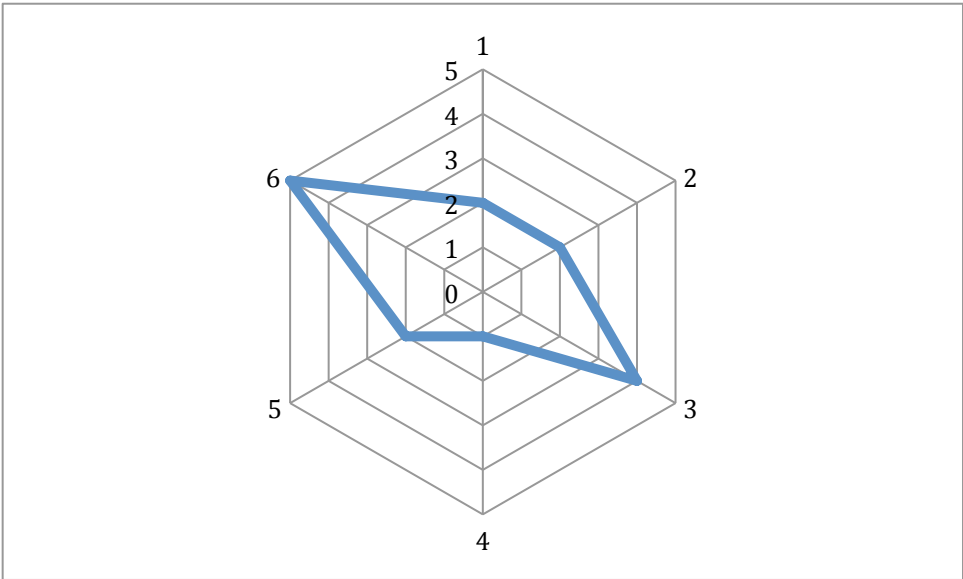
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two charts shows a discrepancy between expressed needs and policies, for instance in the field of employment, mobility and housing. In the fields of language, education and participation, policies go even far beyond the expectations of the interviewees. As it is the case with other cases previously reviewed, it is difficult here to tell whether this is because these policies are not well targeted, or because they have been so effective that the target group does not consider them as needs anymore.
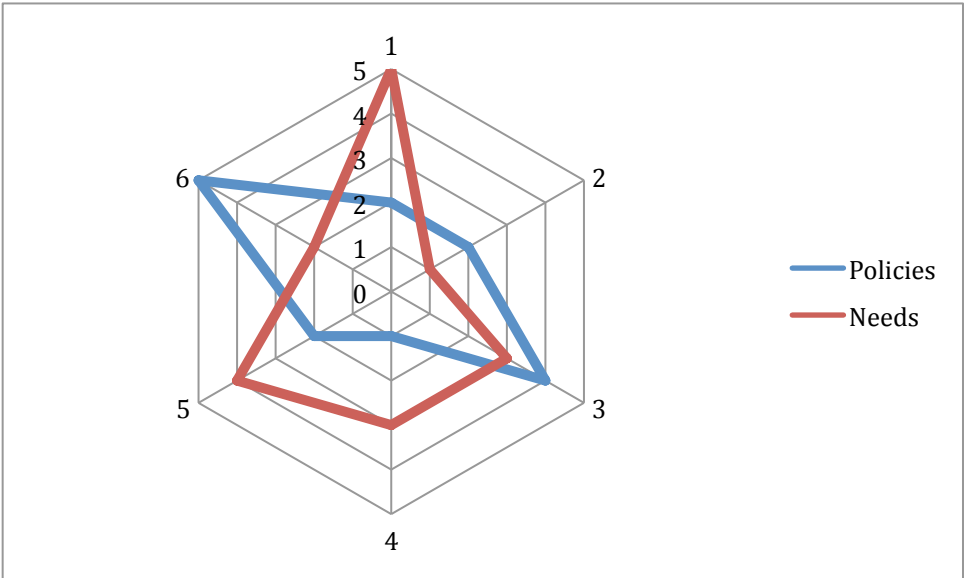
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

3.11. Sofia

The case of Sofia bears some similarities with that of Nagykálló. Many Roma have been inhabiting the area for a long time, and cannot thus be considered as "migrants". There are a few Roma neighborhoods in the region of Sofia, and Bulgarian and Roma are the main spoken languages. Integration policies are inclusive and multicultural, but did not totally manage to suppress racist and discriminatory behavior from the rest of the population. This latent racism is made worse by the fact that Roma don't have representatives in the media.

Needs expressed by members of the target group identified as *Roma*

Interviews conducted with members of the target group show that the lack of education and the low level of qualification are among the most pressing needs, since they prevent Roma from getting jobs, and from being competitive on the job market. Transportation and housing have also been quoted as being crucial for promoting their integration, since mobility is one other condition for exploring new labor markets. Housing seems also to be a prerequisite to decent work, since it has been shown that when a housing program is in place, Roma find work more easily. Very Roma living in Sofia region are nomads, so most of them see proper housing as a prerequisite to stay out of travel.

The radar chart below illustrates such expectations:
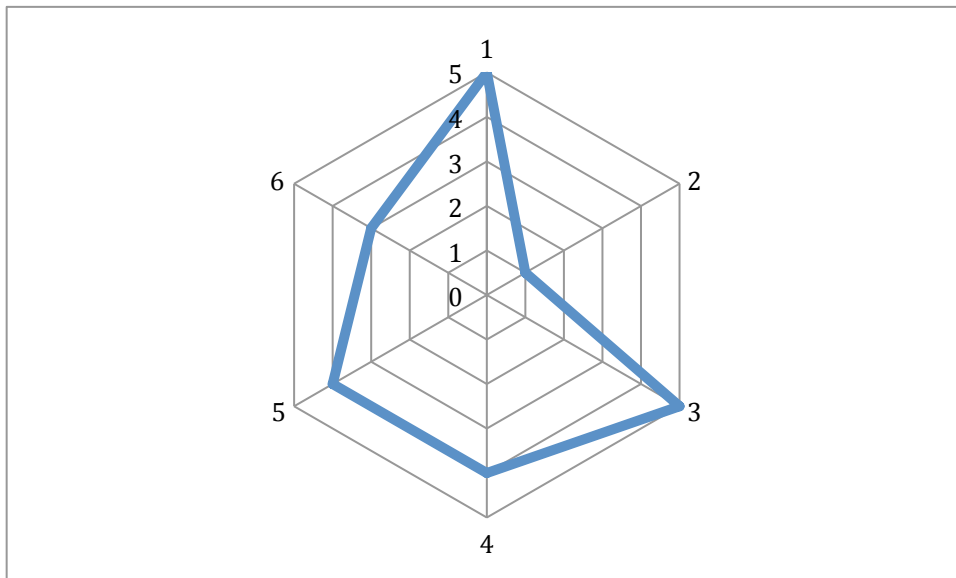
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

Local policies

Local policies for the integration of Roma focus mostly on education and participation and, to a lesser extent, on employment and housing. The municipality has for instance adopted a local strategy for the educational integration of Roma children, and initiatives have been developed to prevent the dropping out of school of Roma youth. With regards to social relations/participation, Roma mediators are present in public offices, health and education facilities; they work with the municipality in order to resolve any issue related to the Roma community. Roma enjoy voting rights when they are registered in their municipality of residence, and have a permanent address. They are voting regularly.

Other relevant local policies are focused on the creation of new jobs for Roma, and many of them participated in different courses developed by the local Labor Office Directorate. Some of them are included in the program "Personal Assistant". The local strategy also allowed for the creation in 2011 of the Centre for Community Development, which promotes an integrated approach to integration. Two community moderators organize and coordinate work with Roma children, youth and parents, provide help and advice when interacting with the institutions.

The radar chart below reflects *local* policies and not national ones (it thus does not include such national programs such as "From unemployment to employment" which has been in place for more than 5 years already and supports Roma employability especially).
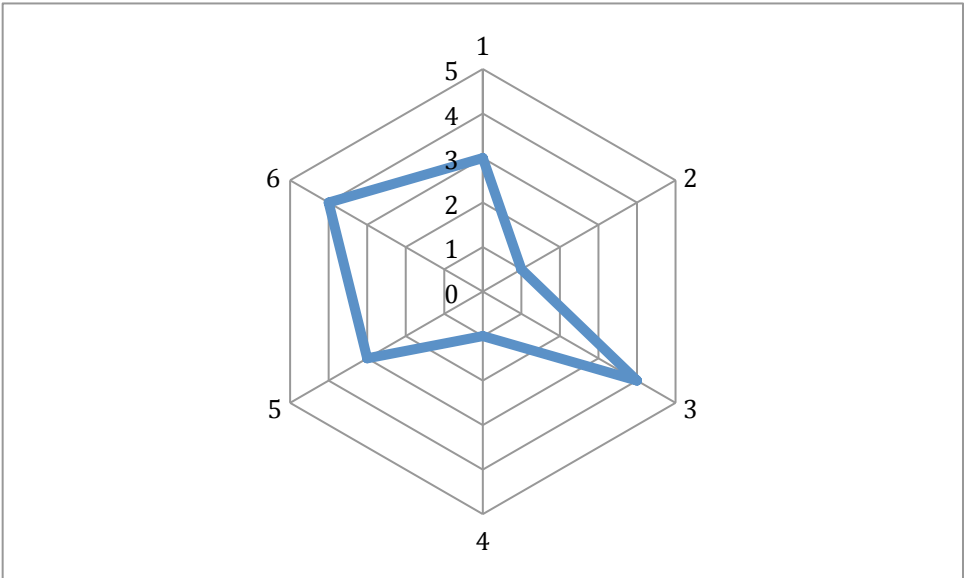
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The comparison between the two radar charts shows some areas of discrepancy, especially with regards to employment and mobility. Social relations/participation policies are, like in many other cases reviewed here, "beyond" expectations; we can hypothesize that it is because members of Roma communities have been granted full citizenship rights, with which they are satisfied. Since employment does not really fall within the competences of the local authority, it appears that it is perhaps in the field of mobility that initiatives should be implemented.
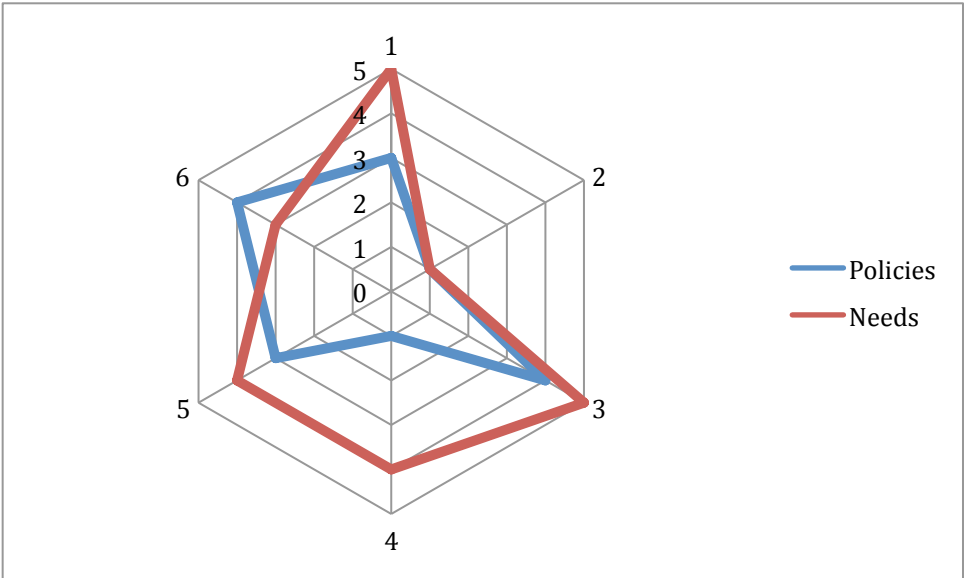
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

4. Policy assessment

4.1. An overview of local policies

This overview of local integration policies demonstrates that in spite of the harmonization ushered by European integration, there is a wealth of options and models that local authorities can follow. There is a quite clear predominance of inclusive policies, and a seemingly progressive abandon of multicultural policies, which is apparently unsustainable in societies whose diversity doesn't cease to increase. And even in cases where local authorities are not allowed, for legal reasons, to target specific migrant communities, one can observe a real flexibility in practices, which allows, up to a certain extent, social workers to adapt to the specificities of the groups they are dealing with.

In most cases, with some exceptions like that of Santa Cruz, the main focus is put on the economic and educational dimensions of integration, and even if the social-cultural aspect of integration (e.g. promotion of intercultural perspective) is not totally forgotten, it is often downplayed. In other words, local policies tend to put the stress on the more "practical" aspects of integration, a trend which is not necessarily seen as a problem by the target groups, who often are not asking local authorities to intervene on more societal/cultural matters, save of course when it comes to protecting them from racism and discrimination.

Most of the time also, local policies are segmented across municipal services. A few local authorities, like Nieuwegein, implement integrated strategies, but it is the exception rather than the rule. In most cases also, local authorities adopt a problem-oriented approach (unskilled, unemployed…) rather than a population-oriented approach. The exception is that of the children or youth, who are often the target of local integration policies (=population-oriented), logically focused on education. One can wonder whether a problem-oriented approach is the most relevant for dealing with target groups, like the Roma for instance, who experience multiple problems at the same time. Such a problem-oriented approach might better fit other communities, such as migrants from Poland settled in Newry and Mourne, who mainly wish to find employment, learn the local language, and be able to move around easily. In cases where problems pertain to most sectors of life, a population-oriented approach seems more adequate. In the case of the Roma, where gender disparities and specific gender cultures seem to represent a major challenge to Roma women's access to employment, a complementary approach specifically targeting women would seem highly appropriate.

It is also interesting to see that integration policies mostly target individuals rather than communities as a whole, or interlocutors like business, associations, etc. There has however been an evolution over the past few years, since an increasing number of local authorities have put in place mediators, and have targeted civil society organizations representing the concerned communities. The actions targeting individuals often pertain to educational and training activities, language courses, information and interpretation services. Liaising actions include mediation, cooperation with NGOs, media, business, schools, etc. Some actions targeting the environment are also led, like urban rehabilitation programs (e.g. in Padua), or the promotion of low-threshold employment, etc.

As a result, some weaknesses of these policies can be identified, such as the fact that the various levels (individual, group, societal) relevant to integration are often not addressed in a systematic and coordinated way. The individualized approaches that are often adopted do not take into account the close environment (family, networks…), which is particularly important for Roma communities, but also for most other migrant communities. Another weakness worth mentioning is that, in the cases where the target group was the Roma population, local policies often treat them as a unified group, when there are actually quite important differences between Roma, in particular according to their geographic origin.

4.2. Learning from the radar charts

The examination of the radar charts displayed in the previous section offers interesting complementary insights. Even if many questions are left unanswered, a review of the radar charts reveals fascinating as well as expected results. Keeping in mind that we should be wary of too many generalizations and comparisons since the target groups are not the same in each of the localities, and the local contexts vary a lot, an addition of the "scores" for each category, and across localities, reveals the following picture (NB: the maximum total for every cell is 50):

Needs/Expectations of the Target Groups					
Employment	Language	Education	Mobility	Housing	Social Rel/Part
49	30	43	25	35	26
Local Policies					
Employment	Language	Education	Mobility	Housing	Social Rel/Part
31	25	31	14	25	35
Discrepancy between Needs/Expectations and Local Policies					
Employment	Language	Education	Mobility	Housing	Social Rel/Part
-18	-5	-12	-11	-10	+9

These aggregated figures can in turn be translated into two radar charts:

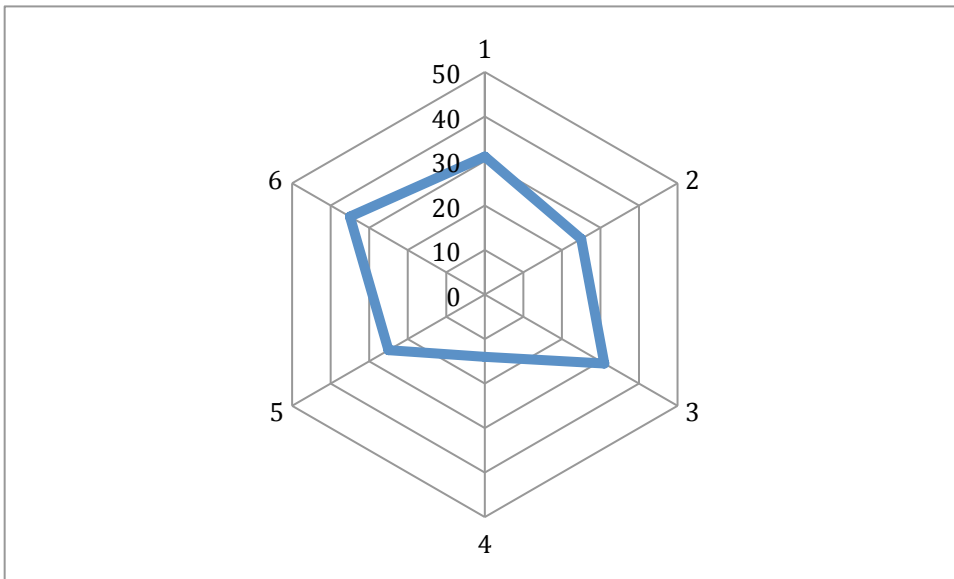**Summary target group needs**
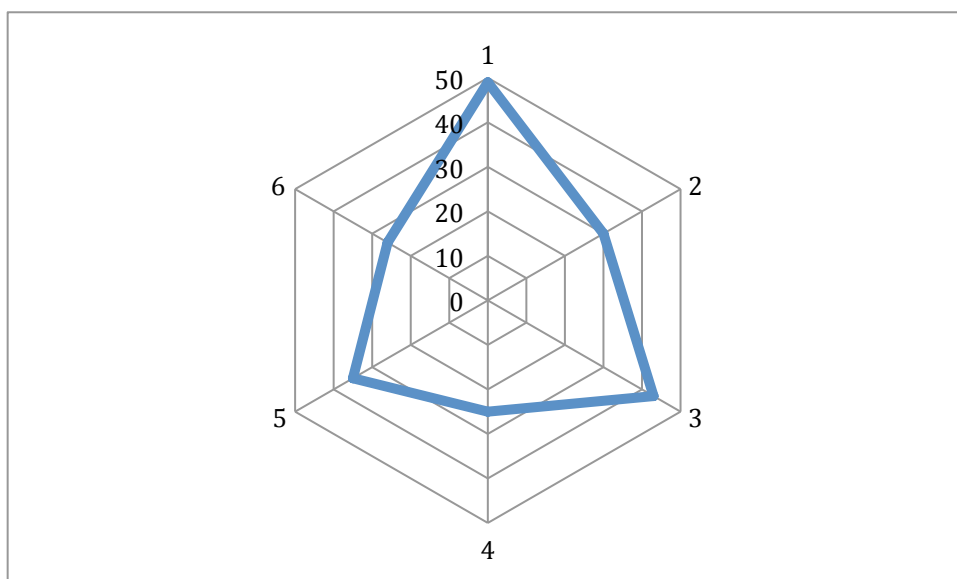
Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

With regards to target groups' needs:
- On average, employment, education and then housing stand out as the most pressing needs; this is not a real surprise since these elements traditionally play a major role in the integration of communities at the local level;
- Language is not as important a need as one might expect, but this might be due to the fact that at least 4 of the chosen target groups, out of 10, were "indigenous" (in Nagykálló, Sofia and Riga), or spoke the local language anyway (Latin Americans in Santa Cruz), thus were not in need of language courses, even if the Roma in Hungary and Bulgaria speak their own language;
- Mobility and social relations/participation appear on average to be the less pressing needs, but in many instances, for participation in particular, it seems that it is not because they do not matter in principle, but because policies have been set up (such as citizenship policies) to deal with them.
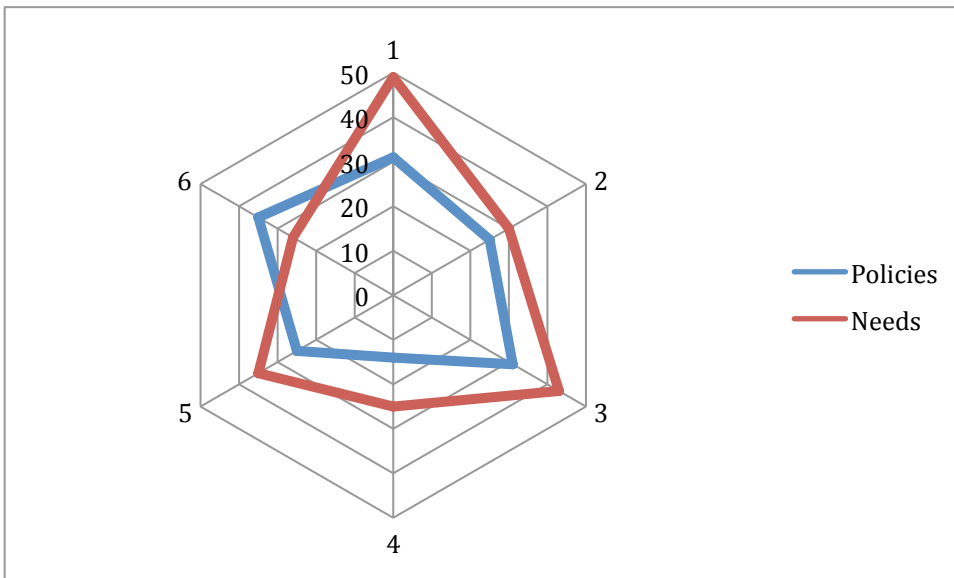
Summary local policies

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

With regards to local policies:

- On average, local authorities "invest" the most in social relations/participation, employment and education;
- Policies are on average less developed in the fields of mobility, but also housing and language.

Comparison between the two charts

Key to the dimensions: 1: Employment; 2: Language; 3: Education; 4: Mobility; 5: Housing; 6: Social Relations/Participation

The first impression that comes out of the comparison between these two "summary" charts is that they are quite different, and that on average policies and needs do not seem to "read" needs pertaining to integration in the exactly same way. However, one should not come too quickly to the conclusion that policies are not adequately designed and "miss" the most important aspects of integration. Local policies are sometimes rapidly evolving, and the fact that they are not tackling such and such issue right now does not mean that this issue isn't addressed by national or regional policies, with which local policies are complementary. It can also mean that this issue is not properly tackled, but that local authorities simply don't have the competences to intervene. What is more, discrepancies also sometimes pertain to the fact that policies are going beyond the target group's expectations.

In the area of social relations/participation, policies indeed exceed the expectations of the target group and seem to propose options and programs that the target groups are not even asking for. As already suggested, this can be interpreted in different ways: it can mean that the policies have reached their goals, and that this aspect of integration is not considered as a pressing need anymore; but it can also mean that social relations/participation are not as important for integration as one would think, and that policy resources in that field could be better used elsewhere; one might also hypothesize that this aspect of integration is indeed needed, but that since it is also very informal – especially as far as social relations are concerned – setting up policies in that field might not be the best solution.

The greatest average discrepancies between expressed needs and local policies can be found in the field of employment. This is both a field where the most pressing needs are expressed, and the field where the most significant policies are implemented. Such an observation is worrying, and might suggest that policies in this field are not totally effective and well targeted. However, most of the stakeholders interviewed within the frame of this project spoke about the difficulties induced by the economic crisis, and unemployment is of course not limited to migrant and Roma communities, but affects all sections of the populations. One could thus hypothesize that this discrepancy should not primarily be interpreted as a failure of integration policies, but more broadly as a result of an otherwise extremely difficult economic context.

Discrepancies are also significant in the fields of education, mobility and housing, and there is almost no discrepancy in the field of language (as we have seen above, this might be due to the specificities of some of the target groups). Among these fields, housing probably deserves specific attention since it features among the most important needs expressed by the target groups, and is met by initiatives of a rather modest size. This should probably be interpreted in light of public/private housing balance and availability.

A few words should be also said about aspects of integration that matter to the individuals, but that were not included in the analysis. Among these aspects, legal issues seem to really stand out, and are mentioned by many interviewees who struggle with the fact that accessing the labor market is often not possible without a permanent residence permit, and vice versa. We did not include this aspect in our analysis for an obvious reason: in the cases analyzed in this report – and, actually, in most cases everywhere in the world – such issues do not depend on local authorities, but strictly remain within the competences of national States. But the fact that these issues came out almost constantly in the interviews, especially for members of target groups not originating from EU countries, demonstrates that integration cannot happen in the absence of a coordination between national and local policies. While local authorities deal with most of the "practical" aspects of integration, such as employment, housing or schooling, integration cannot happen in the absence of the general and legal frame that the State is the only one to provide.

5. Policy recommendations

Out of this review, it is possible to spell out some limited but general recommendations, since the situation varies a lot from case to case, as we have seen in the previous sections:

- As a general principle, a case by case approach, or at least a group by group approach seems always to be more effective than one that does not distinguish between the various groups composing the society; however, for legal reasons in some cases a targeted approach, for instance of Roma as distinguished from the rest of the migrants, is not possible.

- It is important to take into account the specific expectations of each target group, as these expectations might vary across groups, and in time; a good knowledge of the culture, habits and needs of each target group is always necessary and should be acquired before devising and launching any new initiative.

- A multilevel approach of integration is needed, acknowledging the social, cultural and economic environment in which each person lives, but also the diversity of constraints and challenges existing at each level (individual, family, group, societal).

- With regards to Roma groups specifically, it seems that local policies should put a lot more focus on the community/group level. This lack of attention paid to the social and cultural environment in which the individual is embedded is probably the weakest point in most existing approaches, save a few exceptions.

- Still with regards to Roma, experience has demonstrated the inadequacy of a "global Roma" approach that does not take stock of the internal diversity of Roma groups. Local authorities should hire special advisors on Roma issues, with a good knowledge of that diversity, if it hasn't already been done. These advisors should then be consulted before devising policies – not after.

- An integrated approach, acknowledging the multifarious aspect of integration, is also necessary, especially when dealing with individuals/ communities who experience a multiplicity of problems at the same time. As mentioned in the previous section, in this case a population-oriented approach seems more promising and effective than a problem-oriented one.

- Such an integration approach commands a much better coordination and communication between local authorities' services. This may require a major and painful change of mentalities, but local integration policies are unlikely to be fully successful in its absence. Joint planning between the relevant policy actors is an absolute imperative.

- Gender dimensions should be better mainstreamed into integration policies. Integration does not mean the same thing for men and women, it does not follow the same patterns for men and women, and local integration policies should take stock of these differences, which are often even more stringent in migrant and Roma communities than in the rest of the population.

Of course Labour Plus Partners can also reflect on their own policies and devise their own specific recommendations using the radar charts inserted in the third section of this report. The comparison between the 10 cases analyzed in this report however shows that the problems and issues they face are often relatively similar; in that perspective, exchanging on good and innovative practices tried here and there cannot but lead to interesting discussions and, possibly, policy changes.